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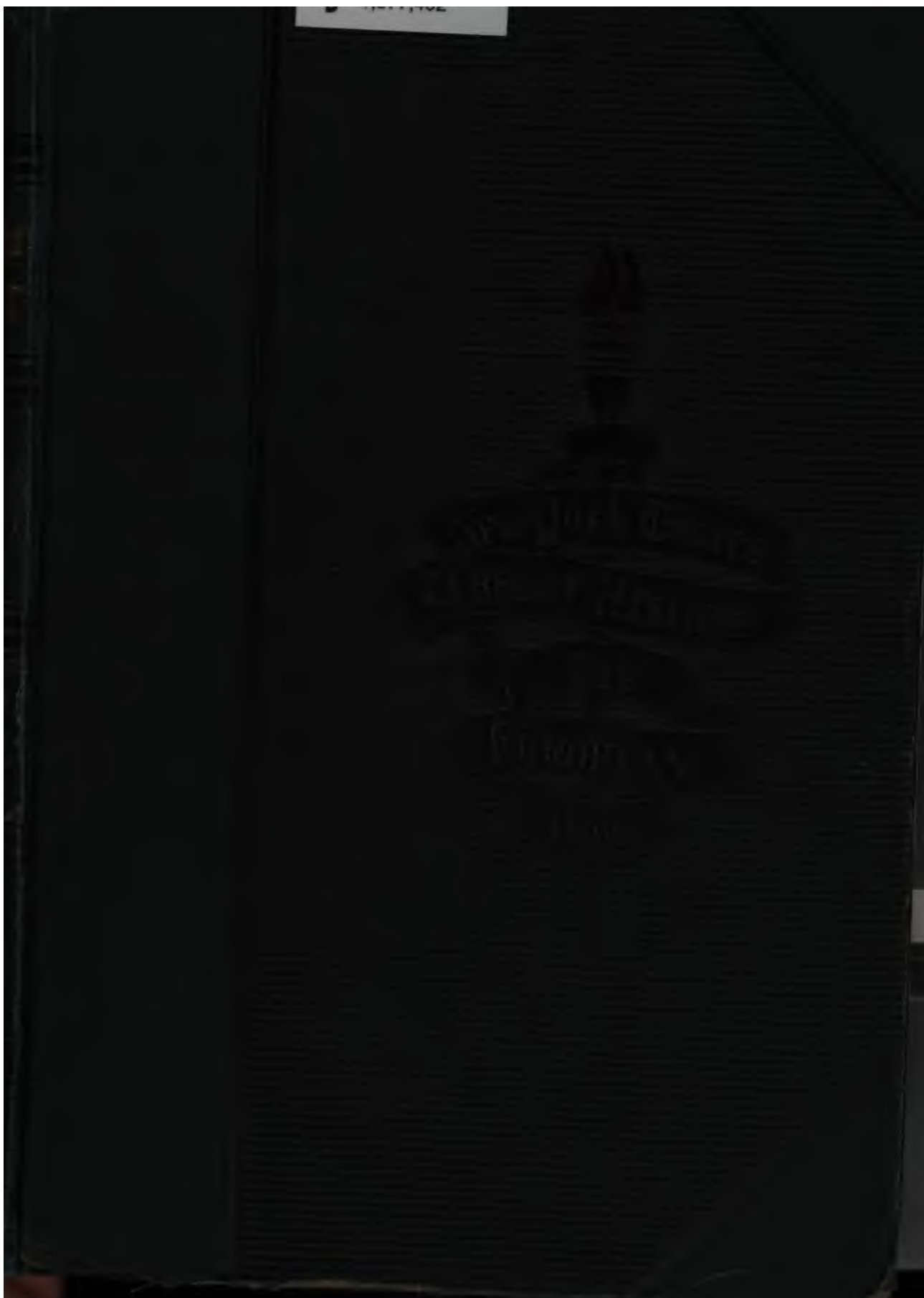
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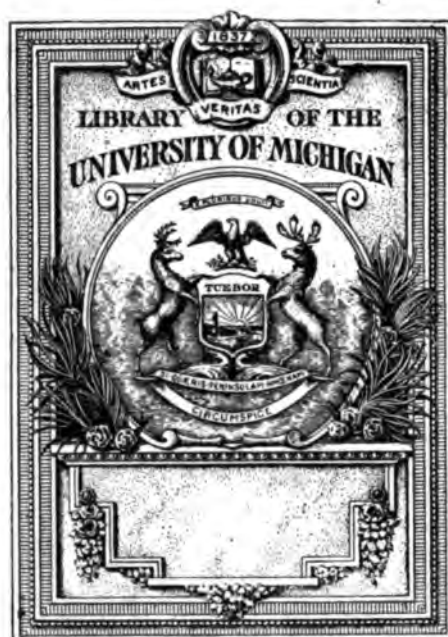
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EUROPEAN
WAR

VOLUME XX.

JULY, 1919—OCTOBER, 1920

Cumulative Index of Vols. I.-XX.—Treaties
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THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period July 1919—October 1920

INTRODUCTION

THE Treaty of Versailles that formally ended the World War was an imperfect instrument. None would have admitted this more readily than its framers. Few of its decisions were unchallenged. Many were the targets of bitter criticism. Most were the result of compromise. With all its defects, however, the treaty represented the best thought and effort of the allied statesmen. The world's long agony was over and the nations turned from the destructive energies of war to the constructive processes of peace.

The treaty was ratified by Great Britain, July 31; by Italy, Oct. 7; by France, Oct. 13, and by Japan, Oct. 27. It was submitted to the United States Senate by President Wilson July 10, and after a long and exhaustive debate, which will be referred to later, was rejected by that body, Nov. 19. The German National Assembly ratified the treaty July 9 by a vote of 208 to 115; 99 Deputies refraining from voting. As only the ratification of three of the major allied and associated nations was required in addition to that of Germany, the treaty became a valid instrument, though many months were to elapse before the formal exchange of ratification should put all its clauses into effect.

Signed on the same day as the Treaty of Versailles, but only made public four days later, were treaties between the United States and France, and between

France and Great Britain, by the terms of which the two powers agreed to come to the aid of France if any unprovoked act of aggression were committed against her by Germany. It was provided that the treaties should be submitted to the council of the League of Nations, which would decide whether to recognize them as engagements in conformity with the League covenant; it was also agreed that the Franco-American Treaty should be submitted to the United States Senate and the French Parliament for approval. The alliance had been suggested by France, who felt that adequate protection against a revived and revengeful Germany had not been accorded her by the main treaty. The supplementary pact referred to Articles 42 and 43 of the Versailles Treaty, which forbade Germany to establish any fortification or maintain any military forces on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometres to the east of the same river; and the binding clause was as follows:

"In case these stipulations should not assure immediately to France appropriate security and protection, the United States of America shall be bound to come immediately to her aid in case of any unprovoked act of aggression directed against her by Germany."

The agreement between England and France was the same in tenor, with the additional provision that the treaty im-

posed no obligation upon any dominion of the British Empire, unless and until the Parliament of such dominion should approve it.

In England the pact met with little criticism. Nor was any pronounced opposition evoked in the United States. The President formally presented it to the Senate July 29, 1919, and the Judiciary Committee, to whom it was referred, reported later that there was nothing in the pact which was in conflict with the Constitution. The controversy over the League of Nations, however, prevented any action being taken upon the French treaty.

Following the signing of the Treaty of Versailles came the problem of its enforcement. To carry out this successfully it was necessary that there should be good faith on the part of the vanquished and unity of will and purpose on the part of the victors. Neither of these conditions existed to the extent required.

Germany had signed under duress. She had sought the hegemony of Europe, and, having failed, was not willing to pay the price. Her "punic faith" had been demonstrated many times during the war; it was to be evidenced again in the period that followed. Nullification of the treaty was her first aim; modification her second. When everything else failed she sought refuge in a sullen *non possumus*.

On the other hand, the members of the Entente had lost something of the unity that had been forged in the heat and stress of war. The pressure of a common danger had been removed, and diverging national aims began again to clamor for recognition. England was intent on recovering her lost trade, and tended insensibly toward resuming her "splendid isolation." France was concerned with indemnity and security.

Italy felt deeply the non-recognition of her claim to Fiume, and was engrossed with grave domestic problems. Japan was bent upon strengthening her primacy in the Orient. The United States, by its failure to ratify the treaty, was debarred from taking part in its enforcement. The task that lay before the allied nations was calculated to test their wisdom and statesmanship to the utmost.

GERMAN DEVELOPMENTS

The gloom and bitterness in Germany that had prevailed since the armistice were accentuated by the signing of the treaty. The papers that announced the news were bordered with black, and had such headlines as "Germany's Fate Sealed" and "Peace with Annihilation." Fierce diatribes were launched against all concerned in framing the treaty, and attacks upon President Wilson were especially venomous. It was freely predicted that the Versailles pact would prove a mere scrap of paper. Revenge was hinted at, and in some quarters advocated. Sunday, July 6, was set aside as a day of national mourning. Germany's cup of humiliation was being drained to the dregs.

After the first outburst had subsided the Government faced the inevitable, and ratified the treaty July 9. The new Constitution, the full text of which will be found in this volume, was finally approved by the National Assembly at Weimar on July 31, and was promulgated by President Ebert Aug. 13. The preamble declared that "the German people, united in its branches and inspired by the will to renew and strengthen its realm in freedom and justice, to further inner and outer peace and social advance, has voted this Constitution." The document is divided into two parts—"The Composition and Ties of the Empire" and "The Basic Rights and Duties

of the Germans." In the first part the German Empire is declared to be a republican State, sovereignty being vested in the people. The generally recognized rules of international law are held as binding on the State. The President is to be elected every seven years. Elections to the National Assembly are to occur every four years. The Chancellor's position is virtually that of a Vice President, he and the rest of the Cabinet being appointed by the President. The second part declares that all Germans shall be equal before the law, and all men and women shall have basically the same rights. Provision is made for a second chamber, somewhat analogous to the American Senate; a Supreme Court, a budget system and other legislative machinery necessary to the functioning of the Government. It is declared that no State Church exists, and that religion has no bearing on citizenship. Immediately after the promulgation of the Constitution President Ebert appointed Premier Bauer as Chancellor, and issued a decree that all members of the defense forces should take the oath under the Constitution.

While the new charter was being debated and adopted controversy was provoked by the disclosures of Erzberger, the "stormy petrel" of German politics. He alleged that negotiations for peace had been initiated through the Vatican by the French and British Governments in August, 1917, and that only the ineptitude of the then German Government, headed by Michaelis, in neglecting or rebuffing the overtures had prevented Germany from securing an advantageous peace. The statement drew a denial from Alexandre Ribot, who at the time mentioned was Premier and Foreign Minister of France. Its repercussion in Germany was immediate. It loosed a flood of angry protests and recriminations

from which each political party sought to draw advantage. Bauer, Ludendorff, von Tirpitz, Hindenburg, Michaelis, von Bernstorff and von Bethmann Hollweg took part in the strife, which resolved itself into an attempt by the military party to throw the odium for the prolongation of the war upon the civil authorities, while the latter retorted in kind. Much of the responsibility was placed by both sides on the former Kaiser. The controversy subsided after a while, to revive with greater virulence later on in the Reichstag inquiry into the conduct of the war. To the world at large, surfeited with strife, the proceedings had only an academic interest, and the net result of the exculpations and accusations in this post-mortem analysis was a deepening of the conviction of Germany's guilt in bringing on the war.

The attempt to extradite the ex-Kaiser for trial before an allied tribunal ended in failure. Two difficulties stood in the way—the lack of a charge recognizable by international law, and the reluctance of Holland to surrender a fugitive who had sought asylum in her borders. The Allies sought to surmount the former by charging "a supreme offense against international morality," a charge that, in addition to its novelty and vagueness, had the drawback that always attaches to post facto proceedings. Two letters were addressed to Holland couched in persuasive terms, but carrying a hint of coercion if that should become necessary. Holland's replies were polite but firm. She refused to surrender the ex-Emperor, alleging the impossibility of departing from her customs and traditions in affording shelter to those charged with political offenses. She offered, however, to provide additional guards to prevent the royal exile from escaping to Germany or engaging in intrigues that might again prove a menace to the world

With this concession the Allies were forced to be content and the matter was dropped.

Almost equally abortive was the attempt to secure the surrender or punishment of Germans charged with war crimes. As first prepared the list of alleged offenders included between one and two thousand names, including Ludendorff, Hindenburg and others in high command. A revision was made with these higher officials eliminated, and the number was reduced to about eight hundred. Protests were made by the German authorities, who represented that it was utterly impossible to secure the arrest and surrender of so many, and that attempts to do so would surely result in the overthrow of the Government. The Allies' fear of Bolshevism in Germany was stronger than their determination to see that adequate punishment was meted out to the alleged criminals, and after prolonged correspondence a compromise was reached by which forty-five—the irreducible minimum to which the long list had dwindled—should be brought to trial before the German High Court sitting at Leipzig, the Allies to be represented at the sittings and reserving the right in case of a flagrant miscarriage of justice to insist on their original demands. The decision was an unquestionable triumph for German obstructionism, and there was every evidence that all the culprits would go unwhipped of justice.

Another indication of bad faith that aroused serious apprehension, especially on the part of France, was the maintenance by Germany of a larger armed force than the treaty allowed. Articles 160 and 163 of that instrument provided that within three months from its coming into force the effectives in the German Army must be reduced to 200,000, and after March 31, 1920, they must not

exceed 100,000. The old imperial armies were mustered out promptly enough, as they had become infected with Bolshevism and were not amenable to discipline. By August of 1919 the former military establishment was practically out of existence. Long prior to that date, however, Gustav Noske, the Minister of National Defense, had begun the building up of a new volunteer force that, by the middle of 1919, embraced 300,000 trained soldiers, each of whom had seen at least six months' service. The new force was known as the Reichswehr, but although the old military nomenclature was abolished, it was in reality an imperial militia, around which as a nucleus could be readily gathered a formidable army. Every possible means was used to secure enlistments. Special privileges and good pay were guaranteed. Recruiting offices were opened in towns and villages, posters placarded the walls and full-page advertisements appeared in the papers urging enrollment. Drill and discipline were of the strictest. By Aug. 1, 1919, the total strength of the Reichswehr, plus the strength of the old army units in the eastern theatre, added to the strength of independent volunteer units—these latter disguised as "rifle clubs"—was figured as being between 400,000 and 500,000 men.

That this program was an effort to retain German militarism was apparent, and evoked protests even from a certain section of German opinion, which declared that the plan was a clear violation of the treaty terms and that none could be deceived by the scheme into thinking that "Home Guards" would lose their military character and purpose. To justify his plan, Noske invoked the spectre of Bolshevism, and declared that his forces had no other aim in view than the maintenance of internal peace. With a lesser force, he pleaded, outbreaks

could not be effectively held in check, and if internal order were not maintained the reparations demanded by the Allies of Germany could not be secured. As a result of extensive correspondence, some diminution of the army was effected, but not to the extent demanded by the treaty. April 1, 1920, came and passed with the army still exceeding 200,000 men, although that was the date by which it was to be reduced to 100,000. It was not until the allied and German delegates met face to face at the Spa Conference, July 5, 1920, that a decision was reached that foreshadowed a belated compliance with the allied demands.

At that conference it was shown that Germany still had 200,000 soldiers, millions of rifles, 20,000 machine guns and 12,000 cannon. In explanation, it was alleged by the German delegates that the Government had met with insuperable difficulties. Strikes had been almost incessant. The rifles had been taken home by the soldiers and concealed so that they could not be recovered. Germany had no thought of revenge. The Government must have means to protect itself against Communism. In conclusion, they asked for a further delay of fifteen months in the matter of disarmament and army reduction. This was denied them, and the Allies laid down as terms that the safety police and home guards be disbanded; that concealed arms be found and yielded up under severe penalty for recalcitrants; that a law be passed converting the Reichswehr into a small regular army as provided by the treaty; and that all other military and aviation clauses be faithfully executed. On these conditions, the Allies agreed to extend until Jan. 1, 1921, the time for the reduction of effectives, but demanded that the army should not exceed 150,000 men by Oct. 1, 1920. They

threatened that if at any time the Allied Commission of Control should find that Germany was evading the fulfilment of the terms, the Allies would proceed to further occupation of German territory, whether in the Ruhr district or elsewhere, and would continue to occupy it until the terms were fully complied with. The German delegates demurred to the clause regarding occupation, but finally signed the protocol in which it was embodied. On Oct. 1, 1920, it was announced that the German Army had been reduced to 150,000.

Another evasion of the Versailles Treaty with which the Allies found it difficult to deal was that regarding coal. This was a matter of the most vital importance to France and Belgium, who relied upon the coal deliveries from Germany to build up their crippled industries. It had been originally stipulated that Germany should deliver 39,000,000 tons annually, of which 25,000,000 were assigned to France, 8,000,000 to Belgium and 6,000,000 to Italy. This total had been reduced by the Reparations Commission to 29,000,000 tons. In this as in other provisions of the treaty Germany defaulted. In May, 1920, her monthly deliveries had been reduced to less than half the demanded quota. In June of the same year this was further diminished by 10,000 tons daily, or 300,000 tons a month. Yet at the same time Germany was selling coal in large quantities to Switzerland, and had contracted to sell Holland 80,000 tons monthly. The matter was brought up at the Spa Conference for definite settlement, and provoked the most stormy discussions of the meeting. Hugo Stinnes, one of the most extraordinary figures of post-war Germany—a multi-millionaire, coal baron, owner of seventy newspapers—presented the German case in a speech whose truculence brought a rebuke from the presid-

ing officer, and was afterward apologized for by the German Government. He declared that the allied demands for 29,000,000 tons monthly could not possibly be complied with, palliated the destruction of the French coal mines as due to military necessity, and bluntly asserted that in the matter of coal the Germans would make the terms and the Allies must accept them.

The crisis in the deliberations came July 12, when the Allies demanded that 2,000,000 tons a month be delivered. When the Germans refused the allied military chiefs were summoned. Still the Germans paltered, until the patience of the allied delegates was exhausted. On July 16 the latter threatened an invasion of the Ruhr district by six divisions on the following day unless their terms were accepted. The menace proved effective, and the Germans signed. It was stipulated that in case the total German coal deliveries for August, September and October should be ascertained by Nov. 15, 1920, to have fallen below 6,000,000 tons the Allies would occupy the Ruhr district or some other German territory. If, on the other hand, the Germans should within six months supply 12,000,000 tons of coal they would obtain credits amounting to about \$100,000,000, which they would ultimately have to repay.

Other features of reparation were met by the Germans with equivocation or by counterproposals. A scheme presented by them dealt with the questions of indemnity, the rebuilding of devastated France and the delivery of materials for the restoration of the territories affected. The Allies were requested to extend the payment of reparations over a period of thirty years. Allied aid was asked in respect to food, fodder, fertilizers and raw materials. Regarding the obligation to pay on May 1, 1921, the sum of 200,000,000,000 marks in gold, the Germans

declared that they considered they had paid that amount already in other ways, thus calmly repudiating a future obligation. It was suggested that an international syndicate be formed to rebuild devastated France, the cost of which Germany would ultimately pay. As far as delivery of materials was concerned, she would do all that was possible. Nothing definite was done in the matter of these proposals.

On Jan. 10, 1920, the final exchange of ratifications between Germany and the allied powers took place at Paris. This formal act left the United States alone still technically at war with Germany. At the same time, a protocol was signed bearing on the indemnity to be paid by the Germans for the sinking of the interned fleet at Scapa Flow. The Allies had demanded 400,000 tons of docks, dredges and other maritime equipment as reparation for the sinking, but the final figure agreed upon was 275,000 tons.

On the same day that ratifications were exchanged the State Department at Washington announced that, as the United States had not ratified the treaty, it was the position of this Government that the armistice continued in full force and effect between the United States and Germany, and that accordingly the provisions of that instrument and its various extensions remained binding on the two nations.

GERMANS IN THE BALTIC STATES

During the greater part of 1919, a curious military situation existed in the former Baltic Provinces of Russia that engrossed the attention and finally aroused the apprehension of the Allies. The provinces in question—Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia-Courland—had been for generations under the domination of the Baltic Barons, who, though of Russian citizenship, were wholly Ger-

man in blood, served as intermediaries between Russia and Germany and could be counted on to further any German design. After the Russian forces had withdrawn from the war, the sons of the Barons enlisted in large numbers in the German armies. The Barons owned almost all the land in the provinces and ruled the peasants, whom they despised, with an iron hand. After the secession from Russia, the peasants rose, seized the land and evicted the former proprietors, who in most instances fled to Berlin. The effort of the Barons to recover their lost possessions was the moving cause of most of the events that followed.

They enlisted the services of a former Russian commander, Colonel Avalov-Bermond, who had served with distinction in the Russo-Japanese war. Under his leadership an army was created of about 50,000 men, ostensibly to fight against the Bolsheviks. The army consisted of diverse elements—mercenaries recruited in Germany, Russians who had been prisoners of war and other prisoners who had been sent by the Poles to join Yudenitch, but had been intercepted by Bermond and impressed into his forces.

Co-operating with Bermond was General von der Goltz's German "Iron Division." This was a creation of a German official, Winnig, a Social Democratic Army Commissioner, who had been sent by the Berlin Revolutionary Government soon after the armistice to reorganize the Eighth German Army in the Baltic region. He persuaded von Katten, the commander, to form a complete division of 6,000 men, nominally to fight the Bolsheviks, actually to perpetuate turmoil in the Baltic States and keep open a free passage from Germany to Russia. Only 600 volunteers could be obtained at first, but Winnig worked on the fears

of the Lettish Government so well as to secure a promise of Lettish citizenship and full political rights for every German soldier who agreed to fight for a month on the Letts's behalf against the Bolsheviks. To this was later added the promise of inalienable grants of land for homestead construction. This latter promise proved illusory, and its non-fulfilment was the basis of the refusal of the troops later on to evacuate the provinces.

Volunteers were obtained by the thousands in Germany and hurried off in batches to Courland, where they were placed under the command of General von der Goltz, who had been summoned from Finland. The army grew rapidly in size and was splendidly armed and equipped. Money at the rate of 800,000 marks a day was sent from Berlin for its maintenance.

It soon became evident that the forces of Bermond and von der Goltz were much more concerned in serving the interests of the Baltic Barons than in warding off the Bolshevik peril. Von der Goltz invaded Lithuania, and Bermond, under pretense of needing Riga as a base for operations against the Soviet armies, attacked that city. The troops were guilty of the most outrageous excesses against the Lettish population. Though the Allies themselves had asked von der Goltz to remain in the Baltic regions to stabilize conditions there, they soon awakened to a realization of the true situation and demanded his recall, Aug. 27. The German Government resorted to tergiversation. In a note of Sept. 3, it pleaded inability to compel the German troops in the Baltic to comply with its orders. Yet, as it later developed, the flow of money and supplies to the army continued. On Sept. 28 the Supreme Council issued what in effect was an ultimatum, re-

jecting the Government's excuses and threatening a food blockade if the Baltic troops were not withdrawn at once. This stimulated action, and Germany issued an urgent half-appeal, half-command to von der Goltz to return, and thus save the fatherland from the "vengeful" measures threatened by the Entente. Uneasiness was rife in official circles, and rumors were prevalent that the rebellious General intended to declare himself as dictator of the Baltic States. Finally, however, he transferred his command on Oct. 12 to General von Eberhard, who had been appointed to succeed him and take charge of the evacuation. A semi-official Berlin statement of that date declared that on the previous day the Government had ordered a complete stoppage of all provisions to the insubordinate troops and of all passenger traffic from Germany toward the Baltic region.

Much more effective, however, than the commands of the German Government in securing evacuation was the turn that took place in the military operations. On Oct. 8 the German-Russian army under Bermond, assisted by the "Iron Division," had captured the suburbs of Riga. A month later, the Letts, who had been reinforced, drove him back several miles from the city. Then commenced a brilliant military campaign that drove the Germans from the Baltic Provinces in headlong rout. Mitau was taken on Nov. 21, the Germans having looted and partly burned the town before their retreat. Everywhere they left behind them a ghastly trail of carnage. The remnants of the demoralized troops were finally concentrated at Tilsit and Memel and transported to their own country. Germany's Baltic adventure had ended in utter collapse and disaster.

THE JUNKER REVOLT

Reaction and militarism came to a head on March 13, 1920, in a counter-revolution that for a time threatened the overthrow of the Ebert Government. The incident that precipitated it was an outbreak of "rowdy patriotism" on March 6 at the Hotel Adlon, where some members of the French Military Mission were dining. Prince Joachim Albrecht of Prussia, a cousin of the ex-Kaiser, and Baron von Platen were seated at a neighboring table, and at an order of the former the orchestra played "Deutschland Über Alles." The French officers refused to rise, and the Prince hurled bottles, plates and other missiles at them, others joining in the fracas that ensued. The Prince was subsequently arrested, and following similar incidents that occurred at about the same time in Breslau and Bremen, the Government issued a proclamation condemning such militaristic excesses and threatening punishment for the perpetrators.

The possibility that the Hohenzollern Prince would be punished aroused the ire of the monarchist element and gave impetus to a revolutionary plot that was already in progress. The leading conspirators were Dr. von Kapp, President of the Fatherland Party, Captain Pabst, a cavalry officer of the guard, and Major Gen. Baron von Luettwitz. On information conveyed to Noske, he issued an order for their arrest, but they had established secret headquarters at Döberitz, twelve miles from Berlin where they had at their command the remnants of the former Baltic army, which had its own grievances against the Government and was ripe for rebellion.

From Döberitz on March 12 the rebels dispatched an ultimatum to the Ebert Government demanding new elections and the withdrawal of the order for their

leaders' arrest. The Cabinet sent an emissary to negotiate, but he was met with a new demand that the Government should abdicate by 7 o'clock on the morning of the 13th, failing which, the Baltic troops would advance and take possession of the capital.

The Government refused to accept the challenge. A meeting was called at which it was decided to withdraw to Dresden and make it the temporary headquarters of the republican Government. The Ebert troops were ordered to withdraw to the east and avoid a conflict. At the time appointed the rebel troops, augmented by two naval brigades, marched through the Brandenburg Gate and took possession of the capital without opposition. The astonished citizens of Berlin, on arising, found that their whilom Government had simply melted away through the night.

Kapp immediately proclaimed himself Imperial Chancellor and Prime Minister of Prussia and appointed von Luttwitz Commander in Chief of the army. Proclamations were issued charging the Ebert Government with inefficiency, with burdening the people by over-taxation, with curbing the freedom of the press and with refusing to dissolve the national assembly and issue writs for new elections. It was denied that the new régime was reactionary, and the economic resuscitation of Germany was asserted as its chief aim. Several members of the old Government were held under surveillance in their homes and steps were taken looking to the arrest of Ebert and Bauer for high treason.

The latter, however, were safe in Stuttgart, to which they had removed from Dresden as being further from the rebellious forces. But they had left behind them a manifesto for a general strike that proved a most powerful and

effective weapon. It ran in part as follows:

"We enter into no covenant with the Baltic criminals. Workers, comrades, we should be ashamed to look you in the face if we were capable of acting otherwise.

"We say 'No.' And again 'No.' You must indorse what we have done. We carried out your views. Now use every means to destroy this return of bloody reaction.

"Strike. Cease to work. Throttle this military dictatorship. Fight with all your means for the preservation of the republic. Put aside division. There is only one means against the return of Wilhelm II. Paralyze all economic life. Not a hand must move. No proletariat shall help the military dictatorship. Let the proletariat act as a unit."

The response was immediate. A complete paralysis of all its living and commercial facilities took place in Berlin. Food and service could not be obtained in restaurants or hotels. The water supply was cut off. Railroad and other transportation came to an abrupt halt. The conspirators were stunned by this unexpected development. Military opposition they might have overcome. With this passive resistance they could not cope. They threatened capital punishment, raved and stormed. The city remained as though dead.

They might still have triumphed, had the rest of Germany given them support. But almost everywhere there was instant opposition to the new regime. Bavaria, Baden and Wurttemberg declared themselves immovably opposed to "the unconstitutional machinery of reactionaries." Leipzig, Hamburg, Frankfort and other important cities supported the old Government. A few titled personages and military officers applauded the coup d'état. But the hostility to Kapp and

his fellow adventurers was almost unanimous.

The conspirators became panic-stricken. They turned to Hindenburg, Helfferich and Groener, who refused to be entangled in a cause that they saw was already lost. Ludendorff alone of notable Germans urged them still to hold out in the hope that the tide would turn. Endeavors were made to open negotiations with the old Government, but these were repulsed.

The end came on March 17, when Kapp resigned and fled from Berlin. Von Leutwitz had already preceded him. Noske returned to the city and proceeded to restore order. The Baltic troops sullenly marched back to Döberitz, turning at the Brandenburg Gate to send a stream of machine gun bullets into the jeering throngs of citizens, many of whom were wounded. The short-lived revolution with its opera bouffe features was at an end.

LABOR UPRISING

But the troubles of the Ebert Government, instead of being ended had only begun. The general strike, which had proved so potent, returned to plague its inventors. The Government had let the genie out of the bottle and found it almost impossible to get him in again. The Spartacans found at their hand a weapon whose power had just been proved, and they were minded to turn it to their own purposes. Exasperation against the Kapp forces deepened the resentment they had long felt against Noske, who, they alleged, was ready enough to repress the workmen, but who had fled when confronted with the militarists. Disorders broke out in Berlin, where in the course of six days 94 were killed and 721 wounded, while there was a savage massacre of officers at the aviation grounds. The strike spread like

a prairie fire throughout Germany, especially in the Rhenish and Westphalian industrial districts. In Leipsic a pitched battle occurred, resulting in 3,000 killed; 2,000 more were killed in various sections. The Ruhr district was seething with revolt and had raised a workmen's army of 70,000 men. In all its troubled existence, the Ebert Government had never seemed so near complete overthrow.

In Berlin the situation was finally brought under control by radical concessions, including the resignation of Noske, the promise of severe punishment for the Kapp conspirators and the formation of a Cabinet in which the Independent Socialists had an increased representation. This had no effect, however, upon the situation in the Ruhr district, which grew steadily more menacing. Gessler, the successor of Noske as Minister of Defense, acted however with decision, and the insurrection was put down with an iron hand; 75,000 troops were poured into the region, and battles with the Communist forces at Wesel and Essen resulted in the rout of the rebels and the collapse of the movement.

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION

The suppression of the Ruhr revolt had international results that had not been anticipated. It also gave rise to the most acute crisis that had hitherto occurred between France and her allies. The French had for some time looked askance at what they regarded as Great Britain's too lenient attitude toward Germany. On March 25 a bitter attack on Lloyd George by M. Barthou in the Chamber of Deputies, though disapproved by the Government as unwise, plainly indicated the sentiment of a large body of French opinion. The following day Premier Millerand referred to the danger that France was facing

from German militarism, deplored the failure of Germany to live up to her treaty promises, and declared that France could not wait indefinitely for the satisfaction due her. Approval of his sentiments was shown by an overwhelming vote of confidence and the passage of a resolution to insist on the strict execution of the Treaty of Versailles.

In this temper France received the request of the German Government to waive temporarily the provision of the Treaty bearing on the presence of German armed forces within the prohibited zone, and to permit them to be sent into the Ruhr district to cope with the disturbances there, the promise being added of prompt withdrawal when that work should have been accomplished. The French reply was a decided negative. Nevertheless the German Government sent its forces on April 4 into the forbidden territory. On the evening of the same day the French Government issued a note in which it declared that the Ebert Government had yielded to pressure by the militarist party, "not fearing to infringe upon the imperative and most solemn stipulations of the Versailles Treaty." It pointed out that if the German Government had fulfilled the disarmament clauses of the Treaty neither the Kapp revolution nor the formation of a Communist army would have taken place, and added that the abrupt offensive of the German troops put the French Government under obligation to consider prompt military measures, the sole object of which was to bring Germany to a due respect for the Treaty. The action, it was alleged, would be exclusively of a coercive and precautionary character.

Military advance followed close on the heels of warning. Frankfort and Darmstadt were entered by French troops

early on April 6. Homburg, Hanau, Dieburg and surrounding territory were occupied during the same day. The Reichswehr forces withdrew before the advance, and the population offered no resistance. A proclamation was issued by General Degoutte, commander of the French troops, declaring that his forces would be withdrawn as soon as the German troops evacuated the neutral zone. The German Government protested, charging the French with seizing on a slender pretext for wanton aggression and asserting that France herself was violating the treaty by taking action independent of the other Allies. Martial law was proclaimed in all the occupied territory and the German protest went unheeded. A false report that Great Britain and Italy had demanded immediate French withdrawal led to a clash in Frankfort between the French soldiers and the populace in which seven were killed and several wounded, but apart from this incident there was no serious disorder during the term of occupation.

The action of France was regarded by England as too summary, and aroused considerable resentment. A Cabinet Council was held in London, following which a statement was issued by the British Government disavowing the action of France and declaring that she had acted on her own initiative without sufficient provocation or necessity and that the other Allies had been opposed to the plan. A notification was sent directly to the French Government that if she persisted in acting alone in the execution of matters pertaining to the treaty Great Britain would withdraw her representative from the Committee of Ambassadors. The French Premier replied, defending the course his Government had followed. The animated correspondence that ensued resulted in an

agreement on April 14. France promised prompt evacuation as soon as the German forces had retired from the prohibited zone, and also agreed to take no other important action without the full consent of the Allies. Great Britain on her part agreed that German disarmament would be strictly insisted on. It was arranged that the matter should be discussed and if possible settled at a conference of the Allied Premiers to be held at San Remo, Italy, April 19.

The conference was duly held. The rift in the allied unity was healed and complete solidarity of opinion reached. If Germany had cherished any hope that the temporary clash would result to her advantage in the revision of the Treaty it was quickly dispelled. A drastic note was framed and dispatched to Germany, in which the Allies, after scoring her for bad faith, served notice that they were prepared to use every means, including military force if necessary, to assure the fulfillment of treaty terms. She was told that she had defaulted in the surrender of war material, the reduction of her armed forces, the delivery of coal, the payment of the costs of the armies of occupation and other important matters. She was assured that as soon as she withdrew her forces from the Ruhr district France would relinquish her hold on Frankfort and the other occupied territory. The difficulties that Germany was facing were frankly acknowledged, and she was invited to send delegates to Spa, Belgium, on May 25, with concrete proposals for carrying out the conditions of the Treaty.

On May 19 the Germans and the French withdrew their forces from the Ruhr district and a situation full of menace ceased to exist.

INTERNAL POLITICS

The first Reichstag since the over-

throw of the Hohenzollern dynasty was chosen on June 6, 1920. The campaign had been waged with great bitterness, and the multiplicity of issues and parties was bewildering. The result showed that no one party was strong enough to carry on the Government. In both the Conservative and Liberal elements the extremists gained, while the moderates were weakened. The Majority Socialists, who had formerly held 163 seats, had their strength reduced to 112. The Independent Socialists, on the other hand, increased their membership from 22 to 81. The Centrists (Catholic) lost 24 seats, while the People's Party (largely Junker and "big business") gained 39 members. The Nationalists (Junkers of the Reventlow type) increased their membership from 41 to 66.

It was evident that recourse must be had to a Coalition Government. This proved, however, to be a task of almost infinite difficulty, owing to the number of political groups and their diversity of aims. Finally the veteran Centrist, Konstantin Fehrenbach, succeeded in forming a Cabinet composed of members of the People's Party, the Centrists and the Democrats. The Majority Socialists and the Nationalists were persuaded to adopt a policy of "watchful waiting" until the new Cabinet should have had time to prove its capacity. The Independent Socialists promised nothing and held aloof. The parties represented in the Cabinet had only a total of 175 members in the Reichstag out of a total of 466, and its tenure of power depended more upon the difficulty of the other parties uniting than on its own strength. That it was to be permitted at least to have a fair start was indicated on July 3, when a motion of lack of confidence by the Independent Socialists was voted down by 313 to 64. The maiden speech of Fehrenbach, in which he outlined the

policy of the Government and its intention to fulfil as far as possible the terms of the Versailles Treaty, was in general well received.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The economic situation of Germany during the period under review was deplorable. The reaction after the strain of war left millions unwilling to work. This condition was intensified by the debilitated state of the population, due to underfeeding, and also by the despairing feeling that in view of the reparations demanded they would be working, not for themselves, but for the Entente. The factories in most cases could only operate on part time because of the scarcity of raw materials. Strikes were everywhere and the number of bankruptcies was appalling. Railway transportation had been crippled because of the failure to keep the properties in repair and because of the large amount of rolling stock turned over to the Allies. Staple articles of food were scarce, and while there was no real starvation the mass of the people had insufficient nourishment. There was great mortality among children. The birth rate was lowered. The price of necessities soared to unheard of heights. The mark, nominally 24 cents, declined to a point between 1 and 2 cents. Capitalists were unable or unwilling to undertake new enterprises, especially in view of the possibility that the Government, in order to meet its obligations, might have to resort to a levy on capital.

The figures presented to the Budget Committee of the National Assembly on April 15, 1920, revealed an alarming and almost hopeless financial condition. It was stated that the consolidated debt on March 21 amounted to 90,000,000,000 marks and that the floating debt had reached 105,000,000,000 marks, with a vast increase in prospect.

It had been a favorite theme of German doctrinaires that in the event of an unfortunate issue of the war, Germany would be able to recoup its financial fortunes by exploiting Russia. It was urged that the latter country was an almost inexhaustible reservoir of minerals, food and raw materials and would furnish an enormous market for German trade after the raw materials should have been turned into finished products. Plans were formed for turning toward Russia the tide of emigration that had previously been directed toward America. Colonization societies were formed and a campaign of education begun. A bill was introduced making the study of Russian obligatory in the Prussian schools. The movement, however, had scarcely passed beyond the initial stage by the middle of 1920 when it received a decided check by the report of the Socialist committees who visited Russia and returned with a despondent view of the possibilities of life and work under the Soviet régime.

THE AUSTRIAN TREATY

After four months of negotiation and interchange of notes, the treaty with Austria was signed at St. Germain-en-Laye, a suburb of Paris, Sept. 10, 1919. The main portions of the text of this instrument are contained in the present volume. In general it followed the lines of the Treaty of Versailles. The once great Empire of Austria-Hungary was reduced to a mere fragment of its former area and population. Its most fruitful and progressive portions had been swallowed up in the new States of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, or had been given to Italy and Poland. The name of the new State was to be "The Republic of Austria." It was stipulated that Austria should recognize the independence of the new States formed within her former borders and also of those

created from parts of the former Russian Empire. She was required to surrender her entire navy with arms and warlike material, and she was forbidden to replace them. Her army was to consist of a volunteer force not exceeding 30,000 men. Damages done to the invaded regions were to be compensated for under the direction of a Reparation Commission. Treasures and records taken from the occupied districts were to be restored. The war debt of the old Empire was to be distributed among its former parts. Elaborate provision was made for the protection of minorities, whose rights were not to be prejudiced by race or creed. She was forbidden by the Allies to effect a union with Germany. The terms were greeted with anger and despair by the Vienna press, which characterized them as "bitter, spiteful and unjust."

The conditions in the shrunken State immediately after the signing of the treaty were worse than in any other country of Europe. A new Cabinet was formed under the leadership of Dr. Karl Renner, and it strove as best it could to bring order out of chaos. But the difficulties it faced were almost insuperable. There was practically no coal, and food was extremely scarce and at prohibitive prices. Eighty-three per cent. of the children were suffering from rickets, due to malnutrition. The country was on the very brink of famine, and had it not been for the aid rendered by the American and other relief commissions thousands would have starved to death. Demobilized soldiers thronged the thoroughfares, begging for alms. The temperature in the hospitals was so low from lack of coal that new-born infants and their mothers died of cold. The krone, nominally 20 cents, sold for 1 cent of American money. Conditions were made worse by the refusal of unfriendly

neighboring States to trade with the bankrupt republic and send coal and food in return for almost worthless currency. In the very depth of Winter there were 6,000 homeless families in Vienna. The bread ration for each person was only two pounds a week. Only the charity of the world—the American Relief Commission alone supplied 20,000,000 meals in a four-months period—enabled the beggared State to get through the most miserable Winter its people had ever known. Serious bread riots broke out at various places, the desperate people plundering stores and warehouses. Conditions were finally relieved by the inpouring of food contributed by other countries and by a loan from the Allies of \$70,000,000 to enable the Government to tide over the desperate crisis. The plight of the children was relieved to some extent by sending them to other countries to be nourished, 28,000 being thus provided for in Holland, Italy and England. Coal was finally obtained in meagre quantities from Czechoslovakia, whose failure to help more largely was due not so much to hostile feeling as to labor and transportation troubles.

The financial burdens of the Government were crushing. A debt of 50,000,000,000 kronen had been allotted as its share of the old monarchy's obligations. By February of 1920 this had been increased by 20,000,000,000 kronen. A deficit was shown in every department, and the only real money in the country was that paid for mines, banks and other industries that were bought up by French and Italian capitalists, the future resources of the republic being thus alienated from national control.

Each political party had its own remedy to offer for the desperate situation. The Pan-German element in the population continued to work for a union with Germany, despite the fact that this

had been forbidden by the Allies, who had also compelled Germany to elide from her constitution a similar provision. The Bolshevik elements sought the establishment of a State modeled on the Soviet plan. The struggle of parties reached its climax on June 11, when Chancellor Renner with his Social Democratic colleagues resigned from the Cabinet. The underlying cause of the crisis was the fundamental difference between the two groups who made up the Coalition Government. The Social Democrats favored centralization, while the Christian Socialists demanded federalization with substantial autonomy for the several provinces. Moreover the Social Democrats favored union with Germany, to which the Christian Socialists were strongly opposed. An element of the latter advocated the formation of a new Austro-Bavarian monarchy with a Wittelsbach or Hapsburg for king, and this movement received a strong impetus from the reactionary movement under Horthy in Hungary. The Christian Socialists were charged by their opponents with deliberately blocking the working of the National Assembly and planning the overthrow of the Government with the aid of Hungarian and Bavarian monarchists. The matter was finally adjusted July 4 by the formation of a concentration cabinet in which each party was represented according to its strength in the National Assembly. Chancellor Renner took the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, while the functions of the Chancellor without the name were assumed by Dr. Mayr, a Christian Socialist.

More intestine strife was fostered by the international labor blockade of Hungary decreed by the Trade Union Congress at Amsterdam. This went into effect as scheduled on June 20. The Christian Socialists endeavored to defeat

the blockade, and this led to a clash between them and the Social Democratic workingmen. The latter prevailed and the blockade was enforced. Hungary by way of reprisal instituted a counter blockade on June 23, and the tension that had long existed between the two republics was further tightened.

A treaty was concluded between Austria and Soviet Russia, in which the Austrian Government pledged neutrality in all wars against Russia. The exchange of prisoners of war was provided for and the ordinary trade and commercial clauses inserted. Complying with its terms, the Austrian Government ordered Bela Kun, the Communist leader who had been interned since Sept. 1, 1919, to be transported to Russia, via Stettin. At the latter place, however, he was seized and interned by the German authorities.

HUNGARY

Few problems proved harder to deal with by the Supreme Council of the Allies than that of Hungary. The downfall of the Karolyi Government and the assumption of power by the Communist régime of Bela Kun and his associates created a situation of extreme difficulty, as the latter were thoroughly en rapport with the Russian Soviet and openly defiant of the Entente. The conditions of the armistice were flagrantly disregarded. The Allies had demanded the cessation of further attacks by Hungary on the Czechs in a note of June 9, 1919, and in a later ultimatum had insisted on the withdrawal of Hungarian troops from Slovakia. The former demand was refused, and the latter, while ostensibly agreed to, was practically evaded by leaving a Soviet form of government in the evacuated districts, supported by Red forces. The Supreme Council on July 5 reached the conclusion that negotiations with the Com-

YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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the Hungarian Army to 15,000 men, the surrender of 30 per cent. of harvest animals and farm supplies, 50 per cent. of railway equipment, a certain proportion of the shipping on the Danube, and supplies and equipment for an army of 300,000 men.

Before any action could be taken on these demands, the short-lived Peidl Government was overthrown by a coup d'état under the leadership of the Archduke Joseph, a member of the Hapsburg family. The change, which occurred on Aug. 6, was unaccompanied by bloodshed and disorder. The movement created a belief that a restoration of the monarchical régime was contemplated. The Archduke himself dispatched a telegram to Premier Clemenceau, in which he asked for allied recognition and support, and declared that his program would consist of stamping out Bolshevism, fulfillment of the armistice terms, restoration of normal conditions of security, resumption of productive work and preparations for the peace negotiations.

The Allies incensed at what they regarded as Rumania's high-handed procedure, sent a vigorous note to the latter Government, in which, after recapitulating "a series of actions which are as much in violation of the decision of the Conference as of the rights of the Allied and Associated Powers, and, likewise, primarily of humanity," demanded a recession from the stand taken by Rumania and immediate compliance with the demands of the Conference.

Rumania's response, while conciliatory, was evasive. It was asserted that the Rumania had entered Budapest on the supposition that they were accomplishing the desire of the Allies, that the primary object was to stamp out Bolshevism and that only such territory would be taken as was required by Rumania's national unity. Whenever a really stable Gov-

ernment should be established in Hungary that could be relied on to assure safety to the Rumanian frontiers and the fulfillment of the armistice terms, Rumania, it was declared, would be withdrawn within the borders prescribed by the Rumanian treaty of alliance with the Allies.

As regards the Archduke Joseph, the Supreme Council were at first disposed to adopt a waiting policy. Some doubt even existed for a time as to whether the step had not been taken by him with an assurance of at least tacit support on the part of some of the representatives of the allied missions at Budapest. This was later denied, however, and all doubt was dispelled when Mr. Hoover, who had been in Budapest at the time, made his report to the Supreme Council. He declared that the arrest of the Peidl Government had been effected by arrangement with the Rumanians and under Rumanian guns trained on the Ministry windows. It was his opinion that the Archduke should be displaced at once in order to give Hungary a chance to establish a popular government. The tolerance shown toward the setting up of a Hapsburg government, he asserted, was terrorizing the new States of Central Europe. Largely influenced by Mr. Hoover's report, the Supreme Council dispatched an ultimatum, giving the Archduke two hours in which to resign. On Aug. 20 the Archduke obeyed. Premier Friedrich was requested by the allied missions to continue the management of affairs until a new Cabinet could be formed. He resigned Nov. 23 and was succeeded by a Ministry headed by Huszar.

The Cabinet formed by the latter was a coalition one and included representatives of the Horthy element controlling the Hungarian "White" Army of the National Land Party, the Peasant Party,

the National Democratic Party and the Social Democrats. It was recognized by the Allies as a Provisional Government with which the Supreme Council could negotiate until elections should be held. Recognition was based on conditions that elections be held without delay, that order be maintained, that the provisional boundaries of Hungary be respected, that legal equality be granted all citizens, that liberty of the press and of speech be granted and that the elections be free, democratic and properly safeguarded.

Meanwhile the crisis created by the Rumanian occupation remained acute. The Allies sent note after note that received only evasive and unsatisfactory replies. Matters reached such a pass that the British Admiral in the Danube was prepared to take naval action if necessary to enforce the Entente's demands. Reluctantly, and carrying with them great quantities of supplies that had been requisitioned, the Rumanians at last evacuated Budapest on Nov. 14. They still raised difficulties, however, on other points put forward by the Allies, demanding the signing of the Austrian treaty and reparation for the requisitions, and on Dec. 3 the Supreme Council sent them an ultimatum fixing Dec. 8 as the time limit within which a satisfactory reply must be given. They finally complied on Dec. 10.

THE HUNGARIAN TREATY

The peace terms imposed by the Allies created consternation and protest in Hungary. The treaty was denounced as an outrage against justice and humanity, and its terms were declared impossible of fulfilment. Count Apponyi, the head of the Hungarian delegation at Neuilly, asserted that it contained "sixty absurdities."

The military clauses were identical

with those of the Austrian Treaty, with two exceptions. The total number of the Hungarian military forces was fixed at 35,000. They were to have no guns heavier than 105 millimeters. Hungary was compelled to recognize the independence of the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak States, and was to renounce in their favor and that of Rumania and Italy all rights and claims on the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy recognized as being an integral part of those States. All rights to Fiume and adjacent territory were taken from her. She guaranteed to pay, in addition to the Hungarian public debt, part of the Austrian debt representing her contribution to the general debt of Austria-Hungary. She was to give the allied powers an option on the annual delivery of railway coal for the period of five years, the amount to be fixed by the Reparations Commission, and the coal to go to Yugoslavia. Other reparation and economic clauses followed closely those of the Treaty of St. Germain. They are discussed at length in another part of this volume.

Prolonged correspondence covering a period of nearly five months followed, and it was not until June 4, 1920, that the treaty without serious modification was signed in the Grand Trianon of Versailles. The day was made one of national mourning in Budapest. The city was shrouded in black flags and draperies, railways and street cars stopped service, and banks and stores were closed. Riots occurred and several people were killed. Impassioned orators addressed mass meetings, protesting that the terms could never be carried out and contained the seed of future wars.

While the treaty was pending the new Huszar Government proceeded to take severe measures upon those whom it alleged had been guilty of crimes during

the Bela Kun régime. Czerny, one of the ringleaders, and the "Lenin Boys," who had ruthlessly carried out the orders of the Red dictator, were put to death. If the early executions were justified, however, it soon became evident that a "White" terror was being inaugurated that equaled, if it did not surpass, the atrocities perpetrated by the Reds. The Magyar element, restored to power and full of the spirit of revenge, was not to be stayed. The number of arrests mounted into the hundreds and then into the thousands, and the killings in many cases were accompanied with revolting cruelty and mutilation. At first these reports were met with denials, but the evidence was too strong and circumstantial to be doubted, and finally the Hungarian authorities themselves became alarmed at the enormities upon which they had at first looked with complacency and a certain amount of encouragement. In July determined efforts were under way to bring the epidemic of killing to an end.

The elections to the Hungarian National Assembly were held in the week beginning Jan. 25 and resulted in a sweeping victory for the Nationalist and Peasant parties, the Socialists being badly defeated. The Premier on Jan. 29 declared that Hungary would undoubtedly be a monarchy and that the new king would be chosen immediately after the National Assembly convened. Following this statement came a formal declaration from the Council of Ambassadors at Paris, Feb. 2, that under no circumstances would the Allies permit the restoration of the Hapsburg monarchy in Hungary.

On March 1 it was announced from Budapest that Admiral Nicholas Horthy had been elected as Protector of Hungary by a substantial majority in the National Assembly. He was a naval officer with a brilliant record during the war and was looked upon as popular hero. He was not a member of the highest aristocracy, but belonged to the small land-owning class. His sympathies were with the Conservative element and it was known that he strongly favored the restoration of the monarchy. His choice was a decided triumph for the reactionary element.

A new Cabinet was formed March 14 with Simonyi-Semadam as Premier. The announced program of the new Government was the signing of the Peace Treaty, land reform, revision of the Constitution and the solution of the Jewish question.

The alleged excesses of the reactionary Government roused strong resentment among the working classes of other countries, and the International Federation of Trades Unions declared an economic boycott beginning June 20, intended to cut off Hungary from communication with the world until her Government should have abolished methods of repression. The labor organizations of Austria, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Italy, Poland and Czechoslovakia were ordered to take part in the boycott, which was planned to include railways, mails, telegraph, telephones and water transport. The order was carried out to a serious extent and Hungary found herself in a precarious condition. She retaliated by a counter-boycott, especially against Austria, and the economic situation in the Balkans, already bad enough, was further imperiled.

THE BULGARIAN TREATY

Bulgaria suffered less under the terms of peace imposed by the Allies than any other of the vanquished nations. Many clauses were identical with those of the Versailles Treaty, as the League of Nations Covenant, labor, aerial navigation, prisoners of war and graves. In territory she lost Western Thrace and the Dobrudja, while on the side toward Serbia there was some modification of frontiers to the latter country's advantage. Her army was reduced to 20,000 men, with universal military service abolished and voluntary enlistment substituted. It was decreed that for a period of five years she should deliver 50,000 tons of coal annually to Serbia, in compensation for the latter's destroyed coal mines. Manufacture of war material was to be confined to a single factory, and the exportation and importation of war material were prohibited. A capital sum of \$445,000,000 was required as reparation, to be made in half-yearly payments beginning Jan.

1, 1920. Provisions were made for the protection of minorities in race, language, nationality and religion. Bulgaria was required to recognize the independence of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. All her warships, including submarines, were to be surrendered to the Allies. The treaty was signed at Neuilly, near Paris, Nov. 27, 1919.

A new Ministry favorable to the Entente was formed on Oct. 14 under the leadership of M. Stambulisky. It was created for the express purpose of signing the treaty, and all its members were of the political faction that tried to prevent Bulgaria from entering the war on the side of the Central Powers. One of its earliest acts was to order the arrest of 400 Germanophiles who had involved their country in catastrophe. Measures were taken also to secure the extradition of ex-Czar Ferdinand for trial. A Bulgarian-Greek convention was signed Nov. 27 that permitted free emigration for two years and established a mixed commission of supervision. Labor troubles and Communist agitation were checked by the new Government with a firm hand, and in the Sobranje elections of March 28, 1920, the Government received a new lease of power, its plurality in Parliament being materially increased. A notable feature of the election was the complete defeat of the Socialists, whose representatives were reduced from thirty-nine to nine.

Considerable progress was made in the rehabilitation of the country. Agriculture prospered, despite the lack of agricultural implements. The yield of cereals in 1919 was 2,527,614 tons, of which, after deducting the amount necessary for consumption and sowing, 727,614 tons remained free for export. Laws were passed looking toward an increase of educational facilities. Another law made labor of some sort obligatory on all.

A report that was not without its influence on the terms imposed on Bulgaria was that rendered by the Interallied Commission authorized by the Peace Conference to investigate the charges of Bulgarian atrocities in the Greek province of Eastern Macedonia, during the Bulgarian occupation from August, 1916, to the time of the signing of the armis-

stice. The report covered 635 pages, and forms one of the darkest chapters of the history of the war. The inquiry had been conducted in 339 cities and villages, and covered a population of 305,000 people. The results were classified under arrests, terror, requisitions, forced labor, spoliation, extortion, pillage, starvation, rape, kidnapping of children, taxation, destruction and deportations. Under each of these heads a host of instances were established by sworn evidence. Fiendish tortures were a common accompaniment of the crimes alleged. Among a multitude of other facts it was brought out that 94 villages had been literally destroyed, 30,000 Greeks had perished from starvation or violence, 42,000 had been deported into Bulgaria, where 12,000 of them had died—worked, whipped or tortured to death. The report asserted that the atrocities were not due to the criminality of an uncontrolled soldiery, but had been designed and organized by the Bulgarian General Staff.

A general denial was later made by the Bulgarian Government, which alleged that similar crimes had been committed by the Greeks and Serbs, both in the recent conflict and in the preceding Balkan wars.

TURKEY

The treaty with Turkey was the last to be concluded between the Allies and the four members of the Central Powers. In territorial matters it was by far the most drastic. The Turks had had reason to fear the worst after their emissaries had been brusquely dismissed from Paris in one of the most scathing notes ever addressed to plenipotentiaries of a sovereign State. Still they retained some hope of playing off one or more of the Allies against the others, as had been their policy for generations, and of extracting from the fears of their conquerors what could not be gained from their good-will. They relied upon the Mohammedan populations of India and Egypt to give the victors pause before the threat of a Holy War.

Had they relied wholly upon this they might not have been disappointed, for England hesitated long before stripping

Turkey of her provinces and reducing her sovereignty in Constantinople itself to a mere shadow. India was restless, and Egypt had broken out in open revolt. Cawnpore and Lucknow had not faded from memory. England, therefore, and to a lesser degree her allies, were inclined to temporize.

But the Turks, like the Bourbons, had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing," and their own truculence at this critical period proved their undoing. A Nationalist movement was begun under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, with the express purpose of resisting the demands of the Allies. He gathered together a force variously estimated at from 50,000 to 100,000 men, and commenced military operations in Anatolia, attacking and defeating a small French force in Cilicia, and carried out massacres of the Armenians at Marash and other places. The Allies protested to the Turkish Government, which issued orders to Kemal to abandon his campaign and disband his forces. These were disregarded by Kemal, who knew that the bulk of the population was in sympathy with him, and probably felt that the Government itself was not in earnest. Disciplinary action became necessary. The allied Premiers on March 6 announced that a note had been dispatched to the Turkish Government containing drastic demands, including the military occupation of Constantinople with the support of an interallied fleet. It was impressed upon the Turks that the world would not tolerate further massacres. It was agreed that the French defeat in Cilicia must be retrieved, and that the Turks must be shown that the Allies were ready to back their demands by military action. Premier Venizelos of Greece offered the services of 100,000 Greek troops for the purpose of crushing the Turkish Nationalists.

Concrete measures were taken on March 16, when allied forces under General Milne landed at Constantinople, occupied the Ministries of War and Marine, and took control of the administrative machinery. Some resistance was encountered at the War Office, and several casualties occurred. A proclamation printed in English, French and Greek was posted on the walls of the city,

warning that hostile acts would be punished by death. It was declared in the House of Commons on March 17 that the occupation would continue until the terms of the Peace Treaty were accepted and executed, and that further Armenian massacres would only make the terms of the treaty more severe. Thirty Turkish Nationalist leaders were arrested in Constantinople and transferred by a British battleship to Malta, where they were to be tried by court-martial.

A new Cabinet under Damad Ferid Pasha was formed and, spurred at length to action, troops were mobilized to suppress the rebels. Events, however, indicated that the latter were attempting not only to create a new Government but also a separate religious organization with a new Sheik ul Islam at its head. In view of the threatening situation, it was announced from Athens on April 7 that the allied Ministers, acting through the Supreme Military Council, had authorized Greek troops to advance against Mustapha Kemal. The Greek offensive did not really begin however, until June 22, when the Hellenic forces with their base at Smyrna advanced north, occupied Akhissar and attacked Salihli. On June 30 they landed 2,000 men on the south shore of the Sea of Marmora and moved toward Panderma. Several conflicts ensued, resulting in victories for the Greeks and heavy losses in killed and wounded to the Turks, of whom several thousands were captured. The Greeks by July 10 had reached and occupied Brusa, a former seat of the Sultanate. During the same period another army had dispersed the Nationalists, who, under the lead of the Governor of Adrianople, were attempting to resist the Greek occupation of Thrace. The British share in the military operations was purely defensive and had no notable incident except an action at Ismid, where an attack by Turkish Nationalists was driven back by combined British military and naval forces.

THE TURKISH TREATY

The Turkish Peace Treaty was delivered to the Turkish delegates at the French Foreign Office in Paris on May 11. It sheared away most of her former

territory and took from her all but a shadow of military, naval and political power. It did not wholly oust her from Europe, but it left her impotent as a factor in the affairs of that continent.

One of the most important points of treaty was the provision that the Dardanelles be internationalized. Navigation was to be open in time of peace and war alike to all vessels of commerce and war, no matter under what flag. This included not only the Straits proper but also the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmora. The waters were not to be subject to blockade, nor could any act of war be committed there, except in enforcing the decisions of the League of Nations.

The Turkish Army, to be used for police purposes alone, was reduced to 35,000 men, with a possible increase of 15,000 in case of special exigency. Military airplanes and vessels of war were forbidden. The fortifications of the Dardanelles were to be razed. An army of occupation, consisting of British, French and Italian troops, was to be maintained at Turkey's expense. Turks charged with war crimes and massacres were to be handed over to the Allies for trial. All religious and political prisoners were to be released. The financial losses of the Allies in the war were to be regarded as a Turkish liability.

The finances of the nation were to be placed wholly in the hands of an allied commission. This was to supervise the budget and approve internal and external loans. It was also to fix the annual sum to be paid to the Allies to defray the costs of the army of occupation.

Constantinople was to remain as the seat of government, but under allied supervision. This city, together with the sanjak of Chatalja, embraced all that was left to the Turks in Europe. It represents 2,238 square miles and a population of 1,281,000. The territorial losses in Asia were still greater. At the beginning of the World War the Turkish Empire included in Europe 10,882 square miles of territory, with a population of 1,891,000, while in Asia it controlled 710,224 square miles, with a population of 21,273,900. The Peace Treaty left it

with a territory of less than 100,000 square miles, with a population of about 5,000,000. It marked the elimination as a power in world politics of the Ottoman Government, whose baleful shadow had been cast athwart Europe since the day in 1453 when Mohammed II. had spurred his horse into the Church of St. Sophia.

The territorial losses included Turkish Armenia, which is to be administered under a mandate by the League of Nations. In addition, Turkey was required to recognize the independence of the adjacent territory, including Van, Bitlis, Erzerum and Trebizond, which territory is to be added to the Transcaucasian States already established. Mesopotamia was placed under the mandate of Great Britain, as was Palestine, which is destined ultimately to become a Jewish State. A mandate was given to France over Syria. The treaty gave Smyrna and the hinterland extending to a depth of eighty miles and a breadth of 150 miles to Greece under limited sovereignty.

The Turkish counterproposals rejected the surrender of Smyrna and Syria, objected to the demolition of the fortifications of the Dardanelles, and asked for representation on the commission that was to govern the straits. Strenuous efforts were made also to retain some of the islands in the Aegean. The representations, however, were without effect, and the treaty was finally signed at Sèvres, France, on Aug. 10, 1920.

EVENTS IN POLAND

The design of the Peace Conference was to make Poland one of the great powers of Europe. It was deemed essential to have a strong buffer State between Russia and Germany to prevent the junction of those nations in a war of revenge or conquest. Territorially the aim of the conference was realized. The borders of Poland were extended far into former Russia, though not so far as the line that existed before the infamous partition of 1772. Posen had been allotted to her; Danzig, though a free city, was practically under predominant Polish influence; part, at least, of Galicia was assured to her, and there was a possibility of some of the areas under

plebiscite coming ultimately under her sovereignty.

But while potentially strong, Poland at the beginning was in a deplorably weak condition. She had been in the very swirl of the conflict, and her territory had been swept again and again by the contending armies. Her lands had been devastated, her best blood spilled, her treasury depleted, her future mortgaged. The remnant of her population was on the brink of famine. Nor, despite the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, had her fighting ended. She was still maintaining military forces on several fronts—against the Germans in Posen, the Czechs at Teschen and the Ukrainians in the vicinity of Lemberg, while her strongest efforts were required to beat back the tide of Bolshevik invasion that threatened to overwhelm her.

Gradually the military situation cleared. The Peace Conference intervened and adjusted the Posen and Teschen disputes. In July, 1919, the Poles were successful against the Ukrainians and scored a decisive victory over the Bolsheviks in the capture of Minsk. In August an agreement was entered into by the Ukraine and Poland by which the former renounced all claims in Eastern Galicia, while Poland undertook not to enter territory occupied by Ukrainian troops. Both Governments agreed to continue military operations against the Bolsheviks.

During September and October the Poles continued driving the Bolshevik forces before them with scarcely a check. They cleared the whole lake region south of Dvinsk, cut the railway communication between Kiev and Petrograd and made important progress toward the Dnieper and Orsza. So far and fast did they go that the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference became alarmed and urged a halt. They held that Poland's advance, which had penetrated to a depth of 200 miles, was sufficient for purposes of self-defense; and they had no mind to encourage a war of conquest while so much energy was required of the young republic for purposes of reconstruction.

In November municipal elections were held in Upper Silesia, and these were

watched with keen interest because of the indications they might give as to the outcome of the plebiscite. The vote cast by the Poles was 75 per cent. of the total. The result caused profound chagrin in Germany and corresponding exultation in Poland.

The Paderewski Government, after having been a year in power, resigned Dec. 7, and was succeeded by a Coalition Cabinet under M. Skulski. The resignation of Paderewski was caused by hostility in the Diet and by dissatisfaction with the progress made under his administration. He was blamed for not having secured East Galicia for Poland. With his departure, General Pilsudski became the leading figure in the nation.

Much uneasiness was caused in allied countries by repeated reports of persecution of the Jews in Poland. It was said that pogroms had been savagely carried on and that thousands of Jews had been killed. There was no doubt of a wide-spread anti-Semitic feeling, and it was to guard against this taking form in oppression that the Peace Conference had drawn up the special pact with Poland for the protection of minorities. It was denied in toto by the Polish Government that systematic pogroms had been instituted. It was admitted that killings had occurred in isolated instances, but these had taken place, it was alleged, not because the victims were Jews, but because they had been involved in Bolshevik conspiracies. A special mission, headed by Henry Morgenthau, was sent by President Wilson to Poland to inquire into the treatment of the Jews. Mr. Morgenthau reported on Dec. 14 that the number of killed had been exaggerated, but that there had been some murders and many outrages and that an economic boycott against the Jews had been the cause of great suffering.

An offer was made on Dec. 26 by the Russian Soviet to begin immediate peace negotiations with Poland. The latter was asked to name a time and place for the opening of discussions. The offer at the time received little consideration, because the Poles believed it was not made in good faith. They claimed to have authentic information that at the time the offer was made Russia was pre-

paring for an offensive of colossal proportions in the Spring. They feared that the offer was sent simply to lull them into a sense of false security. Besides, the Polish military situation at the time was excellent. The army under the command of Pilsudski was holding a long front extending from Marienburg in the Province of Livonia along the Dvina across Poland and through Ukrainian territory to the Rumanian frontier. Prospects were bright for securing the military co-operation of the Ukrainians and the Letts, and the coming Spring campaign was looked forward to with confidence.

When, however, the peace offer was repeated in January, there had been a serious change in the situation. Yudenitch had been defeated on the Petrograd front, Denikin had been driven back in the South, and the Siberian forces of Kolchak had been routed. Esthonia also had concluded an armistice with Russia that ultimately developed into peace. Poland was isolated, and the Soviet armies released from other zones were able to concentrate against her. The Russian offer contained the statement that the Soviet Government from the first had recognized the sovereignty and independence of the Polish Republic, and that there was no territorial, economic or other question which could not be solved peacefully by negotiations, concessions and mutual agreement.

Before doing anything besides acknowledging the receipt of the offer, Poland sought and secured the consent of the Allied and Associated Powers to carry on negotiations. The Polish Minister to the United States declared in Washington on Feb. 3 that Poland would sign a treaty with the Soviet authorities if the latter would guarantee that Bolshevik propaganda would not be carried on in Poland and other European countries.

Nothing came at the time, however, from the peace tentatives. The Poles held a conference at Warsaw with representatives of Finland, Latvia and Rumania and reached an agreement as to the principles that were to govern the negotiations with the Soviet Government. Then they made a series of peace pro-

posals that demanded much more than the Bolsheviks could be expected to accept, especially in the matter of boundaries. Difficulties arose as to the place for holding the conference, the Bolsheviks suggesting Esthonia, while the Poles favored the city of Borysov.

While futile notes were being exchanged, the Poles suddenly launched a whirlwind campaign on a 250-mile front from the Pripet to the Dniester. The movement was undertaken in conjunction with the Ukrainians, with whom Poland had contracted an alliance for offensive purposes. The campaign was marked by a rapid succession of victories for the joint forces, which pushed deeply into the Ukraine, capturing immense amounts of rolling stock and war material from their demoralized enemies. In two days 15,000 prisoners were captured, Mohilev was taken and the Poles were moving southeast along the Dniester. By May 1, Polish cavalry had reached the outskirts of Kiev, one of the main objectives of the campaign. By May 6th the city was taken and a start was made toward the second objective, Odessa.

By this time the Bolsheviks had rallied, and heavy forces were being rushed forward to the fighting line. For nearly a month the line of battle swayed back and forth with alternate successes and defeats for both sides. A sudden stroke of strategy by the Russians on June 9 completely changed the situation. General Budenny, the conqueror of Denikin, with 5,000 cavalry drove through the center of the Polish lines southwest of Kiev. Having broken through, he divided his forces into three detachments, one moving on Berdichev, another on Fastova, while a third rode on to Jitomir threatening to cut the line of communication to Kiev. The brilliant action made necessary the evacuation of Kiev to prevent its isolation.

The tide of battle now turned against the Poles on every portion of their front. Much stronger Bolshevik forces harassed their retreat from Kiev, while in the north the Soviet armies won signal victories on the Beresina and threatened the capture of Vilna and

Minsk. By July 6 the Polish forces were being driven back in a retreat that grew ever more disorderly. The Fortress of Rovno was taken July 1 and it became evident that Warsaw was in great peril.

The whole nation rushed to arms. Women and boys, as well as the men, enlisted for service. It is doubtful, however, that the capital would have been saved from capture had not the Allies intervened.

The latter had followed Poland's latest offensive with grave misgivings. It was regarded as impelled by imperialistic motives. England and Italy, who were on the verge of resuming trade relations with Russia, especially disapproved. France alone viewed it with a degree of complacency if not with full approbation.

But while there was a feeling that Poland had invoked her own chastisement, the Allies were determined that she should not be crushed. The response to her appeal was immediate. Guns and ammunition were rushed forward. Hundreds of French officers offered their services. General Maxime Weygand, who had been Chief of Staff to Marshal Foch, hastened to Warsaw, and in co-operation with Pilsudski played an important part later in turning the tide of military events.

The Supreme Council issued a statement at Spa on July 11, in which it was announced that the Allies had sent to Moscow a proposal to the Soviet for an armistice between Poland and Russia, subject to the condition that the Polish troops retire behind Poland's legitimate boundaries. It was stated that the British Government had bound itself to give no assistance to Poland for any action hostile to Russia. It was however bound under the covenant of the League of Nations to defend the integrity of Poland within its legitimate ethnographical frontiers. If, therefore, Soviet Russia would not be content with the withdrawal of the Polish army, but intended to take action hostile to Poland within the latter's own territory, the British Government and its allies would feel bound to assist the Polish nation to defend its existence with all means at their disposal.

The proposal of the Allies was rejected by the Soviet Government on July 20. The latter declared that it was ready to grant an armistice and make peace with Poland and to give the Poles an even more favorable frontier than that laid down by the Allies. But the Poles themselves must first appeal for peace.

In compliance with the advice of the Allies, the Poles then made a direct appeal to Moscow for an armistice. This was granted on July 22. On one pretext or another, however, the negotiations were delayed first to the 26th, then to the 31st and again to Aug. 11. In the meantime the Bolshevik forces were sweeping forward with scarcely a check, and it became apparent that they meant to capture Warsaw and dictate the terms of peace in the capital. The Allies, roused by the danger and stirred by Russia's refusal of their demands, redoubled their efforts to help. A conference of the British and French Premiers was held at Boulogne on July 27 and a new note was sent to Russia declaring that Poland would not be permitted to accept terms that involved disarmament, a change in the Polish system of government, a boundary line less favorable than that granted to Poland by the Peace Conference or the use of Poland as a "bridge" in any sense between Russia and Germany.

Far more effective, however, than these diplomatic warnings was the military assistance rendered by France. Weygand at last, after much obstruction and delay, had been put in charge of Polish operations. He had as able assistants Generals Henry and Billotte. Eight hundred veteran French officers stiffened the wavering Polish line. Then on Aug. 15 Weygand struck like a thunderbolt. The Soviet forces gave way everywhere before the suddenness and fury of the assault. Soon the retreat degenerated into a rout. Whole brigades were isolated and captured. Town after town was retaken. Thousands fled across the tier of East Prussia and were interned. A more sudden reversal had seldom been known in the history of warfare.

That the military recovery was com-

plete was proved by the unabated success that attended the pursuit. The continued pressure toward the northeast compelled the Bolsheviks to withdraw that section of their forces that had reached the Vistula south of the Prussian border, and the Danzig corridor, which had been overrun, was completely cleared of the enemy. By Aug. 20 the Poles had taken Brest-Litovsk and had thwarted the attempt by Budenny to encircle Lemberg.

The Soviet leaders were working desperately to retrieve the disaster that had overtaken them just as they believed that they were about to garner the spoils of victory. Munition plants were busy day and night and all available reinforcements were hurried to the front. Attempts were made to rally their troops at Grodno and on the Lithuanian and Galician borders. Desultory successes attended some of their operations, but the initiative still remained with the Poles, who steadily continued their advance. By Sept. 29 they had taken Lida and Pinsk, had captured or dispersed the Fourth Bolshevik Army and were within easy striking distance of Vilna. The Ukrainian forces co-operating with them were planning to join hands with Wrangel and cut the Bolshevik line of communications between Kiev and Odessa.

The recuperative power of the Soviet Government had been so often demonstrated that again the Allies felt it incumbent upon them to warn Poland not to thrust too deeply into Russian territory, especially as Winter was approaching. Both Great Britain and the United States urged Poland not to transgress the ethnographic frontier that had been tentatively laid down by Lord Curzon with the approval of the Peace Conference. Referring to this ethnic line, Pilsudski declared that to halt there would be to affirm by deed that this "illusory Eastern frontier" corresponded to Polish aspirations. He justified his reluctance by the statement that the Bolsheviks had lost 100,000 men, that it would take them a long time to recover and that now was the time, if ever, to strike a decisive blow. The explicit disclaimer of territorial aggression against Russia

that had been requested by the United States was not given by Poland.

The reversal of fortunes in the field was reflected in the arrangements for peace negotiation. Where formerly Russia had paltered and postponed, hoping first to get possession of Warsaw, it was now Poland who sought pretexts for delay until she had reaped full advantage from her victories. The discussions which had been proceeding in a leisurely way at Minsk were brought to a close at the end of August, when the Polish delegates insisted that because of the insanitary conditions prevailing in that city the negotiations should be transferred to Riga, the capital of Latvia. It was made clear at the same time that the bases of peace must be wholly different from those that had been proposed at the initial meeting. Prince Sapieha, the Polish Foreign Minister, declared that his country was still willing to make peace, but not on the basis of a conquered State, and that the question of Polish disarmament would not for a moment be considered. Favorable omens were drawn from a visit of Radek, the personal representative of Foreign Minister Tchitcherin, to Minsk, in the course of which he privately assured the Socialist members of the Polish delegation that the Soviet Government was ready to meet Poland's fundamental conditions, providing that the latter would agree not to unite with Wrangel in his war on Moscow. The Riga Conference was scheduled to open on Sept. 15, but it was actually Sept. 21 when the first session took place. Seventeen proposals were made by Russia, most of which were unexpectedly moderate. The frontier she offered Poland was considerably more favorable than the Curzon line. She agreed to recognize unqualifiedly the independence and sovereignty of Poland, and to return all treasures of art taken from Poland since the partition. There were to be no indemnities or reparations on the part of either Government. Other clauses dealt with the establishment of trade relations and the protection of minorities. Disarmament was left for later discussion. A neutral zone of thirty miles was to separate the armies

pending negotiations. The independence of White Russia, Lithuania and the Ukraine were to be recognized by both Governments, while the fate of Eastern Galicia was to be determined by plebiscite.

THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM

In the early Summer of 1919 the Soviet Government seemed to be tottering to its fall. Its atrocities had roused the horror of the world. Its theories threatened the overthrow of civilization. It was the Ishmael of nations—its hand against every man and every man's hand against it. On ever side it was menaced by hostile armies. Allied forces were at Archangel and Murmansk. An expedition under Yudenitch was preparing an offensive against Petrograd. Denikin's troops were winning brilliant victories in South Russia, and in Siberia the forces of Kolchak were making a thrust toward Moscow. Japanese and American troops were occupying the Siberian coast and French troops supported by allied naval forces were seeking possession of Odessa. Ukraina and the Baltic States were beating back the Bolshevik hordes from their borders. The overthrow of the Soviet régime seemed near at hand.

As the Summer advanced, however, the military situation changed. The Allies admitted the futility of further operations on the Archangel front. The British War Office announced at the end of July that General Sir Henry Rawlinson would proceed forthwith to North Russia to arrange for the withdrawal of the British forces, warships being provided to cover the evacuation. At about the same time, Brig. Gen. Richardson, commanding the American forces in the same section, was ordered to return with his staff to the United States, the bulk of the American forces having been already withdrawn. The orders were carried out in face of urgent protests from the inhabitants, who feared that vengeance would be wreaked upon them after the troops' departure.

Serious reverses were sustained by the armies of Admiral Kolchak in the latter part of the Summer. It was upon Kolchak more than any other of the anti-

Bolshevist leaders that the Allies had pinned their hopes for the establishment of a sane and stable government in Russia. The full extent of Kolchak's losses was not appreciated until the first days of August, when it was learned that his armies had retreated 800 miles east of the positions they had held in the Spring. Not only did Kolchak lose heavily in men and equipment, but the morale of his forces had weakened during the constant retreat. Even the Czechoslovak troops, who had thus far fought gallantly, were becoming demoralized and threatening to withdraw from fighting on Russian soil.

The Allies redoubled their efforts to help. A loan of \$5,000,000 was made to the Omsk Government and large quantities of rifles and ammunition that had been originally made for the Kerensky Government were despatched to him from this country. But they were sent too late to be of service. The disintegration of the Kolchak forces continues. In a single week in September, the Bolsheviks claimed the capture of 45,000 prisoners. The Omsk Government issued a stirring appeal to all Russians capable of bearing arms to join the ranks, and declared that the destiny of Russia was at stake.

Some reinforcements were secured by this appeal and for a time the progress of the Red forces was blocked. The check was only temporary, however, and by the middle of November it became apparent that Omsk must be abandoned. All the allied missions except the Japanese had left by Nov. 6. The American Red Cross hospitals and the Government offices were provisionally transferred to Irkutsk. Omsk was occupied by the Bolshevik forces on Nov. 15. The city was partially burned. The booty obtained was said to have been enormous. The material seized included 2,000 machine guns, 4,000,000 rounds of ammunition, 30,000 uniforms, 75 locomotives and 5,000 cars loaded with supplies. Eleven Generals, 1,000 other officers and 39,000 troops were taken prisoners. The retreat of the remaining troops was accompanied by great disorder, the men throwing away their arms and con-

mandeering locomotives, trains and cars, in which to escape.

At Irkutsk a new Coalition Government was formed, and a program was enunciated that endeavored to remedy some of the admitted evils in the Kolchak régime that had been largely responsible for the disaster that had overtaken it. It was stated that there would be emancipation of the civil administration from the political influence of military leaders; decisive struggle against excesses and injustice by whatever faction or party they were committed; close relation between the Government and the people; friendlier relations with the Czechoslovaks and radical reforms in the managing and distribution of supplies. The entire program was declared to be based on the principle of a decisive struggle against Bolshevism for the regeneration of the country.

Added to their military misfortunes, a serious schism took place between the Kolchak leaders and their Czechoslovak allies. The latter drew up a memorandum in which they declared that they had been forced to support a state of absolute despotism and lawlessness, and that the Omsk Government was permitting actions that if known would stagger the world. They named as instances the burning of villages, the murder of peaceful inhabitants and the daily shooting of hundreds of persons of democratic convictions, and also those only suspected of political disloyalty. They declined to be placed in the position of apparent participants in these crimes, and asked the Allies to take steps looking toward their safe return to their own country.

Not satisfied with this strenuous protest, General Gaida on Nov. 17 led an actual armed revolt against Kolchak, which ended disastrously, Gaida himself being wounded and the uprising suppressed. Gaida was arrested and held, pending his return to his native country. Whatever criticism may be made of his revolt at that critical time, subsequent developments proved the mistakes of the Kolchak Government had not been exaggerated. Instead of conciliating the populations under his control and securing their allegiance, it had pursued a policy of cruelty and oppression, and when the

fortunes of war turned against Kolchak there were few to rally to his support.

The Bolshevik victories continued without interruption. By Dec. 16 they had advanced 390 miles east of Omsk and had captured Novo Nikolaievsk, with several Generals, 5,000 soldiers and large supplies of war material. Tomsk and seven other towns were taken on Dec. 26. Kolchak resigned on Christmas Day and turned over the military command to General Semenov, the Cossack leader, whom he made Commander in Chief of the Irkutsk, Transbaikal and Amur districts. The latter was a typical guerrilla leader, and the sporadic warfare that he thenceforth carried on was of that character, harassing the Bolsheviks, but not materially injuring their campaign. By Jan. 9 Irkutsk was completely in the power of the Soviet forces, and Kolchak's army had ceased to exist as an organized force.

The world was stirred on Jan. 28 by the news that Kolchak himself had been surrendered to the Bolsheviks at Irkutsk on the order of General Janin, the Czechoslovak Commander. It was asserted that it was a choice between surrendering one man and a conflict with overwhelming forces in which the Czechs were certain to be annihilated. Efforts were made to secure his release, but it was too late. The Admiral with one of his Ministers, M. Pepelaiyev, was shot at Irkutsk at 5 o'clock in the morning of Feb. 7. Whatever his errors of judgment had been, they were redeemed by the manner of his death. He faced his executioners courageously, refused to have his eyes bandaged, and died like a soldier.

An anti-Bolshevik campaign that at the outset was formidable, but like that of Kolchak resulted in ultimate defeat, was that carried on by Denikin in South Russia. His sweeping victories in June and July, 1919, had placed a large area of Russian territory under his control. His headquarters was the city of Ekaterinodar, the capital of the Kuban Cossack territory. The Don Cossack region also was largely in his hands. His administrative sphere covered the Governments of Ekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Crimea, Astrakhan and parts of the Governments of

Saratov, Voronezh and Kursk. In these areas he created a civil administration, in which the military element, however, was dominant. Military Governors General with civil Governors to assist them were appointed in the occupied provinces. Municipal councils were revived and a police force was organized to maintain order. Civil courts began to function, and a fair degree of stability was secured in the districts that had been in a condition approaching chaos.

His military front extended roughly from the Volga to the Dniester, and was approximately 1,200 miles in length. In August he made a successful advance toward Astrakhan, while a volunteer army operating under his orders captured the Black Sea port of Ochakov. The Bolsheviks were driven from Odessa on Aug. 18. East of Kiev all the important railway centres as far as the Volga, a distance of 650 miles, were occupied by Denikin's forces. On Sept. 4 Kiev was captured, throwing open the 600-mile road between Lemberg and Kharkov and also uncovering the most favorable base for operations against Moscow, the capital of the Soviet Government and Denikin's chief objective.

In October, the resistance of the Bolsheviks stiffened. All their strategical and tactical resources were called into action to check Denikin's advance. The latter's victories on certain portions of his long front were counterbalanced by defeats in other sections. In addition to his chief enemies in front, he had to combat attacks from the rear by Petlura, the Ukrainian leader, and by bandit forces that held up trains and harassed his supply columns. Petlura saw in Denikin the representative of reactionary monarchism, and feared that if he were successful the independence of the Ukraine would be imperiled. Severe fighting took place between the forces of Denikin and Petlura in the latter part of October, and although an armistice was concluded on Nov. 4 it was broken after a few days and the conflict was resumed. The peasant leader was beaten and 20,000 of his Galician soldiers deserted to Denikin.

The Bolsheviks, spurred by the threat to Moscow, fought obstinately, and grad-

ually the initiative passed into their hands. They had concentrated against Denikin 350,000 men and thousands of guns. Their armies were led by some of the most capable generals of the Czarist régime, and their cavalry under Budenny repeatedly demonstrated its value by breaking through their opponents' lines. By Nov. 20 the Russian Winter had set in, and the troops were fighting in snowstorms alternating with thaws that transformed the roads into swamps. On Dec. 13 Poltava was taken by the Bolsheviks, and at about the same time Kharkov, one of the five most important cities of European Russia, fell into their hands. By this time the collapse of Kolchak's armies had permitted the Soviet Government to release large forces from the Siberian front and turn them against Denikin. From that time on the cause of the latter was doomed. Success after success was gained by his opponents. Rostov fell on Jan. 9, and the Bolsheviks took 10,000 prisoners and vast stores of booty. Their advance could not be stayed. By the end of January, the Denikin retreat had ended in a debacle. Odessa was captured by the Bolsheviks on Feb. 8. A remnant of Denikin's army was fleeing toward the south while another part, headed north along the coast, was protected by the fire of British warships. Denikin himself fled to Constantinople, where he arrived on April 6. Two days later he was taken on a British warship to London, where he arrived April 19.

THE YUDENITCH CAMPAIGN

An offensive against Petrograd was begun Oct. 10, 1919, by General Yudenitch, with a force of Russian volunteers supported by Estonians. British warships co-operated in the movement. Initial successes attended the advance, and by Oct. 18 the Yudenitch forces were virtually in the suburbs of Petrograd. Gatchina, twenty-five miles south, had been captured on the previous day, and the Estonian wing had arrived within four miles of Krasnaya Gorka, facing Kronstadt. Strong resistance encountered at Pultovo compelled Yudenitch to bring his forces to a halt while awaiting

reinforcements. Petrograd was meanwhile being put in a state of defence, and large forces were hurried there from other portions of the Bolshevik front. By Oct. 27 the Red armies were strong enough to take the offensive, and the invading line was pushed back. On the 29th, Yudenitch was compelled to abandon Gatchina and remove his staff headquarters to Yamburg, sixty-eight miles from Petrograd on the road to Reval. By Nov. 1 Trotsky was able to announce that all danger to Petrograd had been removed. Desperate efforts were made to persuade Finland to come to the help of the anti-Bolshevik forces. It was declared that Petrograd could be taken in three days if Finland would throw its weight into the balance. The Finns had an army of 35,000 men, of whom 15,000 were on the Russian frontier and could easily join hands with Yudenitch. An animated debate on the subject took place in the Finnish Parliament, but on Nov. 4, the Government declared that it could not assist. The refusal was based on Finland's internal situation, her weak finances, the uncertainty of securing adequate war supplies and the fact that the Entente had not guaranteed that future Russian Governments would recognize Finland's independence.

Meanwhile the Yudenitch army had been driven to the very borders of Esthonia, and several divisions which had been forced to cross the frontier were disarmed by the Esthonian authorities. Despite the defeat that the Esthonians had suffered in conjunction with the Russian forces of Yudenitch, the morale of the former still continued good and they put up a strong resistance at Narva, where with only three divisions they continued to hold off forces five times their number. Without Finnish support, however, the hope of which by this time had faded, it was clear that the Esthonians must be soon overwhelmed, and proposals were made for an armistice with a view to concluding peace negotiations. Even prior to the Yudenitch venture a conference had been arranged at Dorpat between the Bolsheviks and the representatives of the Baltic States, but this had proved abortive through the

truculence of the Soviet envoy, Litvinov. Undeterred by this fiasco, the Esthonian Government still persisted in its desire for peace, and another conference was held at Dorpat on Dec. 5. Drastic demands were made by M. Krassin, the head of the Bolshevik delegation, including the severance by the Esthonians of all relations with the Allies and Finland and the turning over of all transit and dock facilities which would have made Esthonia a mere Soviet dependency. To reinforce these demands a determined military offensive was carried on against the Esthonian front. Prolonged negotiations followed, the question of strategical boundaries proving a thorny one that twice nearly disrupted the conference. Agreement was finally reached, however, and an armistice was signed on Dec. 31. Considering the military situation, the terms were as favorable as Esthonia could have hoped to gain. Russia recognized without qualification the independence of Esthonia, which was the one great object for which the latter had been fighting. The armistice was for one week, to be automatically renewable from week to week, with full liberty to either Government to denounce it on twenty-four hours' notice.

On Jan. 29 the final peace treaty was signed at Dorpat. Commercial arrangements were made on the most favored nation basis. The right to use the Narova River waterfalls was given to the Soviet Government which in turn lent Esthonia 16,000,000 rubles in gold and gave her concessions for the construction of a railway line from Revel to Moscow, besides materials for the line and 300 locomotives. There were to be no indemnities or reparations. Prisoners of war were to be exchanged as soon as possible. Each party to the agreement was to withdraw its military forces within its own borders. Any differing interpretations of the treaty were to be settled by mixed commissions. The treaty was to go into effect at once.

Thus one by one, the military forces opposed to the Bolsheviks were being put out of action. Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch had been defeated and their armies dispersed. Poland still remained.

The full story of the Polish-Russian conflict has already been narrated. A remnant of the Denikin army under Wrangel was cooped up in the Crimea, but for the moment was not formidable. Whatever importance it had was as forming a nucleus for the revival of anti-Bolshevist operations later on; and a certain status was given it later when it received official recognition from the French Government. But in the Spring of 1919, the military advantage was clearly with the Soviet Government on every front except the Polish.

All through the period of warfare, the Bolsheviki had been clamoring for peace. If they bore a sword in one hand, they carried an olive branch in the other. They deplored the hostility of "bourgeois" and "capitalistic" nations, which, they alleged, were trying to crush the proletariat State without giving it an opportunity to demonstrate the value of its theories and work out its own salvation.

Its opponents too wanted peace. The world was weary of war, sick of carnage. The earth had been drenched with blood and sown with graves. War had grown hateful and peace was the universal craving.

But there were special reasons why the hostile nations were unwilling to lift the blockade against Soviet Russia and admit her to their fellowship. One was her cynical attitude toward treaties. With the rest of the world, treaties, though sometimes infringed upon, yet had a certain sanctity and compelling force. To the Bolsheviki they meant nothing. They were mere scraps of paper, designed to lull their adversaries into a false security, and to be repudiated whenever expediency dictated. Joffe, the head of the Russian delegation that signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, declared that the article promising that the Bolsheviki would not seek to instigate revolution in Germany was not intended to be kept. Zinoviev, President of the Petrograd Soviet, had declared in a speech of Feb. 2, 1919:

"We are willing to sign an unfavorable peace with the Allies. It would only mean that we should put no trust whatever in the bit of paper we should sign.

We should use the breathing space so obtained to gather our strength in order that the mere continued existence of our Government would keep up the worldwide propaganda which Soviet Russia has been carrying on for more than a year."

Instances might be multiplied of similar duplicity, countenanced and preached by responsible leaders of the Soviet Government. Hence the reluctance of the allied nations to enter into compacts by which they would feel bound, while their opponents would feel free to repudiate them at will.

Another reason for hesitancy in acceding to Russia's desire for peace was the aggressive nature of Bolshevist propaganda. Not that the Allies questioned the right of the Russian people, if they so desired, to adopt that system as the basis of their Government. However repugnant the tenets of that philosophy might seem to the rest of the world, they had no special quarrel with it as long as it was confined within Russian borders. But the Soviet leaders, by the use of State funds, were waging a warfare of revolutionary propaganda in all the chief countries of the world, and the Allies felt that this was a menace to civilization. Their blockade of Russia was not so much an economic measure as it was a quarantine against a plague.

They deemed their dread justified by the actual working of the system in Russia itself. For more than two years the Lenin-Trotsky régime had been in force over the greater part of that once mighty country. Its fruits had been terror, economic ruin, commercial paralysis, destitution, disease and death. For the truth of this there was no need of depending upon the reports of enemies or the stories told by terror-stricken refugees. Abundant confirmation was found in the statements of their own leaders and quotations from their own official organs. Typhus, cholera and dysentery due to malnutrition had decimated the population. Transportation had utterly broken down. From having been the granary of the world, not enough was reaped from the fertile soil to feed the population. Manufactures were in a moribund state, the out-

put having fallen off from a half to two-thirds that of normal times. The population of Petrograd had dwindled from over 2,000,000 to 650,000. Coffins were too few to bury the dead and had to be hired for successive occupants. The peasants raised only enough to support themselves rather than produce a surplus to be confiscated or taken in return for worthless currency. The cost of living had soared to undreamed of heights, so that it cost 5,000 rubles to buy a pound of butter and 200,000 rubles to purchase a suit of clothes. How utter a failure Bolshevism had proved as an economic system was shown by the reports of the delegation of British, French and German Socialists who visited Russia in 1920 with the most friendly dispositions and returned from the heralded Utopia sorely disillusioned.

Moreover, as a political system Bolshevism had not justified its right to the world's acceptance. The testimony was overwhelming that it had reigned by terrorism. It was not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship over the proletariat, exercised by an oligarchy that represented only a fraction of the Russian people. The tyranny of the old Czarist régime was equaled or surpassed by that of Lenin, Trotzky and their associates. Widely hailed as the climax of democracy, Bolshevism proved itself the very negation of democracy. There was no such thing as free speech, free press or free ballot. Votes were taken viva voce, every one knew how his neighbor voted, and the man who voted in opposition to the ruling powers knew that the penalty might be the facing of a firing squad. All public halls and printing establishments were under Bolshevik control, and not a word could be spoken or written that was unfavorable to the tyrants in power. Extraordinary commissions were formed that had the power of life and death. Men and women were imprisoned, tortured and slain by thousands. That 8,500 were thus killed was admitted by the authorities themselves. The most revolting cruelty was practised, cruelties that sicken humanity and cannot be printed or read without a shudder. Spies were everywhere and

no man felt safe with his neighbor. The most rigid tyranny governed every relation of life. Not only the "bourgeoisie" and the "intellectuals" were despotically oppressed, but the workmen, the proletariat, who had been promised paradise, found that they were veritable serfs. Forced labor was introduced in a desperate attempt to stay the economic downfall of the Bolshevik experiment. Men were taken from their families and sent to any part of the country where their work was required without any choice of their own. Where the Czar had chastised with whips the Soviet authorities lashed with scorpions.

The moral aspects of Bolshevism were no less repellant to an onlooking world. Atheism was taught in the schools. Marriage could be contracted and dissolved with equal facility. Either party could obtain a divorce without any reason being alleged and promptly contract a new union, thus leading to legalized promiscuity. Altars were desecrated and the most sacred objects held up to scorn and derision. The institution of the home, on which civilized society is built, lost its meaning. The only free thing in Russia was free love.

With these fruits of Bolshevism before their eyes, it was understandable why the rest of the world should hesitate about admitting Russia into the family of nations. For the Soviet authorities were not willing to confine the working out of their theories to their own people. Bolshevism was of necessity a missionary creed. It sought proselytes all over the world. Lenin frankly admitted that his aim was to overthrow all other governmental systems and secure the substitution of his own. A worldwide propaganda was carried on with unwearied assiduity. Discontent was stirred up among the subject populations in the Near and Far East. Emissaries with large funds were sent to spread propaganda in America and Europe. Laboring men everywhere were incited to revolt. The program of the Soviet was not reform, but revolution.

Despite this program, however, there were not wanting voices among the allied nations that advocated the lifting

of the blockade and the resumption of trade relations with Russia. The most insistent of these came, of course, from those who sympathized more or less with the principles of Bolshevism and wanted to see them triumph. But there were others who argued with some show of plausibility that such resumption would more quickly cause a collapse of Bolshevism than any other course. As long as Russia was harassed by external foes, they declared, the Russian people would put aside all domestic differences and rally to the defense of the nation. Moreover, Lenin and Trotzky were able to plead the world's hostility as an excuse for the failure of their economic system. If this hostility were removed, they would have no such excuse, their system would go down under the weight of its own absurdities and the Russian people would depose their deceivers and establish a sane and ordered government with which the rest of the world could deal.

This latter argument, which was not without weight, was put forth by Premier Nitti of Italy at the San Remo Conference. His advocacy of the policy of reopening trade relations with Russia without formal recognition, though he admitted that such a resumption would eventually lead to recognition, was generally approved by the allied Premiers, though each country was left at liberty to bring about such trade reopening in the manner it considered best. France alone remained cool to the proposition. Soon after the conference adjourned Italy opened negotiations with the Soviet, ostensibly to discuss the question of an exchange of prisoners, but really to initiate negotiations toward trade resumption. In the beginning of May, 1920, Leonid Krassin, head of the Russian trade delegation, then at Copenhagen, was informed that allied representatives were prepared to negotiate with him in London. He and his colleagues reached that city on May 26. Nominally they represented the Russian Co-operative Union. Actually they represented the Lenin Government. To avoid the odium attached to negotiations with the latter, the fiction was indulged in that the former was practically an independent

commercial body, though it was known to all parties concerned that it existed only by the grace of Lenin and his confederates. The hands were those of Esau, but the voice was that of Jacob.

A formidable body of British opinion denounced the Government for what was transparently a negotiation with the Soviet Government. The French Government decided officially to oppose any trade arrangements on the basis of gold payment, which it contended should be applied to the liquidation of Russia's immense debt to France. It reluctantly agreed, however, to the British plan of an exchange of commodities that would not involve a gold payment. France formally requested the British Government to sequester all Soviet gold shipped from Russia to London, and to guarantee that this gold should not be paid over in any commercial transaction between British subjects and Russia.

The British Premier, replying to attacks on his policy in the House of Commons, set forth the alleged necessity which constrained the Allies, especially Great Britain, to resume commercial operations with Russia, and deprecated the idea that the objectionable character of Soviet government was a sufficient reason for not trading with it. Great Britain, he pointed out, had had no qualms in trading with the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia, though both were despots. In this explanation the French saw sophistry, though they admitted that Great Britain was probably influenced not so much by the desire to trade as by the fear that too abrupt an action in denying trade relations might give a further impetus to the spread of Bolshevik propaganda in her Eastern possessions. The French opposition to negotiations with Krassin was based on the contention that no agreement should be reached with the Soviet régime until the latter had agreed to be responsible for the debts of the former Government. It was intimated by the Bolshevik emissary that this might be considered by his superiors.

After a month's discussion in London Krassin carried back to Moscow the propositions of the British Government. They were that anti-British and anti-

Allied military activity in Persia, Turkey and the Caucasus should cease; that all British prisoners should be released; that Bolshevik propaganda in India and Asia should be abandoned and that the Russian debt should be recognized as binding on the present Government. At the insistence of France a further condition was added that the Bolsheviks should cease hostilities against Poland.

The reply of the Soviet Government expressed surprise that the subject of the resumption of trade relations should be complicated by the question of the Polish armistice. The note stirred up fresh trouble by insisting that the London Conference should be solely between Soviet and allied delegates and that neither Poland nor the Baltic States should be represented. The allied Premiers held a conference at Boulogne and decided to adhere to the original proposals. Their joint note declared that the Allies would discuss terms of peace with Soviet Russia only after the questions outstanding between Moscow and Poland, as well as those between the former and the Baltic States, should have been adjusted.

While these long distance negotiations were going on, Krassin and Kamenev had returned to England, but were able to accomplish little, since the whole question of trade relations had been made to depend upon a satisfactory settlement of the Polish question. The prospect of resumption receded still further when it became known that one of Russia's conditions of peace with Poland was the formation of an armed militia composed solely of workingmen, the object being to put the young republic at the mercy of an armed proletariat. This clause was withdrawn on the Allies' protest, though surprise was feigned that objection should have been made to it. Occasion was taken in the note of the Russian Foreign Minister to introduce a disquisition on the advantages of the Soviet system. Mr. Balfour's reply demolished the statements of Tchitcherin, implied Moscow's bad faith in dictating the clause which did not appear in the draft submitted by Kamenev, and reaffirmed Great Britain's unalterable opposition to the dictation of one class over

all the rest of a vanquished population, irrespective of what class it might be drawn from, whether workmen or capitalists.

Further illustration of the difficulty of dealing with men to whom a pledge meant nothing and in whom good faith was non-existent was furnished by the conduct of Kamenev, who at the very time he was carrying on negotiations with the British Government was detected in supplying Russian gold to a London labor organ to promote Bolshevism in England. As a result of the exposure Kamenev was compelled to return to Russia and trade negotiations were further deferred.

At this juncture the United States was brought into the discussion. Baron Avezana, the Italian Ambassador to the United States, had intimated that the Italian Government would welcome the views of this Government on the situation presented by the Russian advance into Poland. Secretary of State Colby, in his reply, which was a model of clear and cogent reasoning, took occasion to outline the attitude of the United States toward the whole Russian situation. Its salient features were a warm expression of sympathy with the Russian people and confidence in its ultimate destiny and strong condemnation of the Soviet attempt to instigate worldwide revolution. The letter, dated Aug. 10, declared that the American people believed in a united, free and autonomous Polish State, and were earnestly solicitous for the maintenance of Poland's political independence and territorial integrity. It declared that the United States maintained unimpaired its faith in the Russian people and did not doubt that it would eventually overcome the existing anarchy, suffering and destitution. It was heartily in accord with the desire of the allied powers to bring about a peaceful solution of the existing difficulties in Europe. It was unable to see, however, that a recognition of the Soviet régime would promote, much less accomplish, this object, and was therefore averse to any dealings with it beyond the most narrow boundaries to which a discussion of an armistice could be confined.

It was not possible, the note continued,

for the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a Government with which the relations common to friendly Governments could be maintained. This conviction had nothing to do with any particular political or social feature which the Russian people themselves might see fit to embrace. It rested upon a wholly different set of facts. These facts, which none dispute, had convinced the Government of the United States against its will that the existing régime in Russia was based upon the negation of every principle of honor and good faith and every usage and convention underlying the whole structure of international law. The responsible leaders of that régime had frequently and openly boasted that they were willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. They had not only avowed this as a doctrine but exemplified it in practice. Upon numerous occasions, the responsible spokesmen of this power and its official agencies had declared it to be their understanding that the very existence of Bolshevism in Russia depended and must continue to depend upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which would overthrow and destroy such governments and set up Bolshevik rule in their stead. They had made plain that they intended to use every means, including of course diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries. Inevitably, therefore, the diplomatic service of the Bolshevik Government would become a channel for intrigues and the propaganda of revolt against the institutions and laws of countries with which it was at peace, which would be an abuse of friendship to which enlightened Governments could not submit themselves. It was the view of this Government, therefore, that there was no common ground upon which it could stand with a power whose conceptions of international relations were so utterly alien to its own, so utterly repugnant to its moral sense. There could be no mutual confidence or trust, no re-

spect even, if pledges had to be given and agreements made with a cynical repudiation of their obligations already in the mind of one of the parties. The United States could not recognize, hold official relations with or give friendly reception to the agents of a Government which was determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats would be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen declared that they signed agreements with no intention of keeping them.

The letter concluded with the statement that the territorial integrity and true boundaries of Russia should be respected, that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the territory embraced by those boundaries, and that this withdrawal should be accompanied by the declaration that no transgression by Poland, Finland or any other power should be permitted. Thus only, the note averred, could the Bolshevik régime be deprived of its false but effective appeal to Russian nationalism and compelled to meet the inevitable challenge of reason and self-respect which the Russian people, secure from invasion and territorial violation, were sure to address to a social philosophy that degraded them and a tyranny that oppressed them.

The letter produced a profound effect in Allied countries. It aligned the views of the United States with those of France rather than those of Great Britain and Italy. The day after its publication, France created another sensation by her recognition as a *de facto* Government of the South Russian administration of General Wrangel. At the same time it was announced that the French Government had ordered its representatives on the Allied Economic Council to have no further dealings with Krassin and Kamenev. The action of France was a complete surprise to the British Government, which deprecated the action as likely still further to complicate an already tangled situation.

Wrangel, who had apparently been eliminated from consideration with the dispersion of Denikin's army, had again become a factor to be reckoned with. A

Bolshevist force had been sent to annihilate his small remaining army in the Crimea, to which he had retreated. The Polish offensive had diverted the Soviet forces to that front and during the respite thus afforded him, Wrangel had disbanded his volunteers and organized under the strictest discipline a regular army of 70,000 men. His army was equipped with airplanes and armored cars, and was otherwise well equipped. By June 14 he was moving northward from the Crimea and the sea of Azov in three columns. In several actions he defeated the Bolshevik forces, capturing 4,000 prisoners and 40 guns. In a few days the whole Crimean peninsula was cleared of the enemy. In the next two months he was increasingly successful. On Aug. 17, the Bolsheviks were driven across the Dnieper, sustaining large losses in killed and prisoners.

Apart from his military operations, Wrangel's administrative qualities were shown to be excellent. Warned perhaps by the failure of Kolchak to gain the good-will of the population, Wrangel established cordial relations with the peasants by giving land grants and a considerable measure of local autonomy, and by refusing to imitate the Soviet custom of requisitioning grain. His diplomacy was rewarded with complete success in the case of the Cossacks of the Don, Kuban, Terek and Astrakhan districts, with whom he signed a treaty late in August, by which the Cossacks acknowledged the authority of Wrangel in military affairs and foreign relations, while retaining full power over domestic administration in Cossack territories. His policy was declared to be the overthrow of the Soviet régime, the establishment of a truly representative people's Government and the payment of Russia's foreign obligations. A special order issued by Trotsky to the Ninth Army on Sep. 3 declared that Wrangel must "at all costs" be destroyed.

A feature of the Siberian situation worthy of note, in passing, was the closing of Semenov's campaign against the Bolsheviks of the Trans-Baikal region, owing to the withdrawal of Japanese support. Some 20,000 of his troops and those of the anti-Bolshevist leader Gen-

eral Kappel were permitted by the Chinese General Staff to pass through Manchuria to Vladivostok. It was officially reported in September that an agreement had been signed between Semenov and the Vladivostok Government providing for a unification of their régime under a National Assembly. An appeal was issued by Semenov to all Russians not to submit to the Bolsheviks nor to the monarchical elements of the Czar régime, proclaiming that the right to govern rested only with the people.

GREAT BRITAIN

The British Empire emerged from the World War with a heightened prestige, due to its victory, in conjunction with its Allies, over external foes. But its statesmen found themselves at once confronted with a multitude of problems that they must solve alone. There were the usual questions that trail in the wake of war—strikes, unemployment, the cost of living, taxation, pensions and similar issues. But in addition to these, there were conditions of unrest and revolt in her far-flung dominions such as had not existed before for a generation. The great war had stirred up subject and neighboring populations. A small war was going on in Afghanistan. Egypt was clamoring for independence. India was restless and self-assertive, and, most menacing of all, Ireland, the age-long enemy of England, was ripe for rebellion.

A conclusion was brought to the fighting in Afghanistan when an Afghan delegation signed a treaty of peace with the British representatives at Rawalpindi, British India, Aug. 8, 1919. The war had been largely a guerrilla one, and had been due in large measure to German and Bolshevik intrigue. The total casualties of the British had been 470—not as many as had often perished in an outpost action in Flanders—but the war had been especially menacing because of its possible effects on the population of India, and British statesmen were relieved when it was brought to an end. The only penalty exacted by the victors was the abrogation of a former agreement by which the Emir received a subsidy and the retraction of the commer-

cial agreement allowing arms to be imported from India.

The Egyptian trouble had been far more serious. The spirit of nationalism that was rife all over the world had found expression in a movement that embraced the whole of Egypt. In addition to this, the disaster that had befallen Turkey had aroused resentment among the Bedouin tribes among whom emissaries were going preaching a Holy War. A flame of revolt was kindled that swept over the entire Nile region, aroused the consternation of the Government and required extensive military forces to repress. Allenby, the conqueror of Palestine, had been placed in charge, and the rebellion was at length got under control. In the rioting 800 natives had been killed and 1,600 wounded. The casualties to European and other civilians were 31 killed and 35 wounded, and the soldiers lost 29 killed and 114 wounded. More than 2,000 native delinquents had been tried and sentenced, 39 of these being condemned to death and 27 to life imprisonment. Some of the Nationalist leaders were banished to the Island of Malta.

A mission was sent to Egypt with Lord Milner at its head to investigate conditions and report back to the Government. It was boycotted by the Nationalists, and members of the Egyptian delegation refused to appear before it. Despite this handicap, it traveled all over Egypt and became convinced that the demand for independence was universal. The tenacity with which Great Britain holds any nation that it has once controlled is proverbial, and the world was, therefore, taken by surprise when it was announced semi-officially on Aug. 23, 1920, that Great Britain had agreed to recognize the independence of Egypt. Salient points of the agreement were that Egypt would recognize Great Britain's privileged position in the valley of the Nile and agree in case of war to afford every facility for access to Egyptian territory. Great Britain was to maintain a garrison in Egypt in the canal zone. Egypt regained control of foreign relations subject to her not making treaties contrary to British policy,

and was accorded the right to maintain diplomatic representatives abroad. Capitulations would be abolished.

India also with its 300,000,000 population had not been left unstirred by the war. Here, too, a holy war was preached and the revolt in Egypt was held up for emulation. Serious troubles had broken out in the Spring of 1919 at Amritsar, Lahore, Bombay and Ahmedabad. The whole Puniab was seething with rebellion. The rioting at Amritsar had been especially severe; 379 natives had been killed and 1,100 wounded by the British forces under General Dyer in suppressing the outbreak. Loud complaint was made that in this instance the British commander had been too drastic, and as a consequence, he was tried and found guilty by a majority report, though a minority report contended that his action had been justified. The disorders in the Punjab were finally repressed, but the demand for a larger measure of autonomy, if not complete independence, persisted, and were finally successful. A Home Rule bill was passed by the British Parliament that granted to India a far larger measure of self-government than she had ever before enjoyed.

CRISIS IN IRELAND

The Irish problem was by far the most serious with which the British Government had to deal. Ireland had grown rich during the war, and was more prosperous than ever before in her history. She alone had been exempt from the conscription that had extended over every other part of Great Britain. The immemorial antagonism between the Celt and Saxon still persisted, however, and had been exacerbated by the drastic measures taken by the British in executing the ringleaders of the abortive Easter rebellion of 1915. At the Peace Conference Irish delegates had sought in vain to lay before the members the Irish claim to complete independence. Great Britain was willing to grant to Ireland the fullest measure of autonomy possible in internal affairs, but was not willing to grant complete independence on the ground that thereby the security of the empire would be imperiled. With this

one reservation the British Premier and other responsible members of the Government asserted that if a united Ireland would only tell Great Britain what she wanted she could have it.

A united Ireland, however, was something that had not existed for 200 years. In the North were the Ulster provinces, prosperous, Protestant, and violently opposed to any legislation that would separate them from Great Britain or place them under the control of the vastly more numerous Catholic population of the rest of Ireland. In an Irish Parliament the Ulsterites would be in the minority, and to that extent powerless to protect what they believed to be their peculiar interests. What pleased the South was certain to offend the North, and vice versa.

Difficult as the problem was, the British Premier made another attempt to solve it by the introduction of a Home Rule bill in the House of Commons Dec. 22, 1919. The principal feature in which it differed from previous measures was the suggestion that there be two Irish Parliaments, one for the North and the other for the South, with a Council to which differences between the two Parliaments could be referred. The powers of the Parliaments were to be considerable. They would have full control over education, government, land, all roads and bridges; transportation, including railways and canals; old age pensions, insurances, municipal affairs, local judiciaries, all the machinery for the maintenance of law and order with the exception of the higher judiciary, of the army and navy and housing.

The Federal powers reserved for the British Parliament were to include the Crown, peace and war, foreign affairs, army and navy, defense, treason, trade outside Ireland, navigation, including merchant shipping, wireless and cables, trade marks, lighthouses and the higher judiciary, until an agreement should be reached by Irish Parliament as to how the latter were to be appointed.

The proposals were violently assailed by both Unionists and Sinn Feiners. Extremists in both parties became more bitter than before. The election that took place Jan. 15, 1920, shortly follow-

ing the introduction of the bill into the House of Commons showed an overwhelming majority for the Sinn Fein elements, 85 per cent of their candidates being elected. This showing served to accentuate the demand for complete independence. Outbreaks and rioting took place that gradually developed into a veritable reign of terror. An attempt was made on the life of Lord French, Governor General of Ireland. Military and police officers were shot dead in their clubs or on their way from church. Men were dragged from cars and shot. Police barracks were raided and their defenders killed or wounded. Income tax officers were entered and the records burned. Cattle were driven away by organized bands. Policemen were shot from ambush. In Belfast, Cork and Londonderry riots took place that lasted for days and required machine guns and armored cars to subdue. In many places, the fighting was based on religious differences, and Protestants as well as Catholics were the aggressors. Special courts were set up by the Sinn Feiners in defiance of the constituted authorities. As the disorders increased, the military measures grew more rigid. Troops were poured into the island, until they aggregated more than 80,000. In some cases the troops themselves got out of hand and looted, burned and killed in reprisal for the murder of their comrades. The prospect had never been so dark as it was in the Fall of 1920. Hunger strikers were dying in British prisons, assassinations were of almost daily occurrence and the spectre of civil war hovered over what could only in sarcasm be called the United Kingdom.

FRANCE

Although the terms of the Peace Treaty had not satisfied France either as regarded security of indemnity, she began work at once with indomitable energy to rebuild her devastated areas and rehabilitate her economic life. The task that faced her was a staggering one. A report of former Premier Viviani as President of the Parliamentary Commission of Peace stated that the foe's damage to France had

amounted to \$40,000,000,000, including the damage to agriculture of \$7,400,000,000 and the \$23,800,000,000 damage done in the invaded regions to buildings, public ways and machinery.

By June, 1920, a marvelous recovery had taken place: 75 per cent. of the demobilized soldiers had returned to cultivate the fields; the population of the ten devastated departments had increased from 2,000,000 to nearly 4,000,000; out of 6,400 schools at work before the war, 5,300 had been reopened either in repaired buildings or in huts; out of nearly 9,000,000 acres of farm land, 7,000,000 had been cleared of explosives and 6,000,000 of barbed wire; of 277,000 houses partly destroyed, 185,000 had been repaired, and to house people whose homes to a total of 297,000 had been wholly destroyed, 28,500 barracks and 44,000 temporary houses had been built. In the great manufacturing districts of the north, 3,500 factories had been destroyed. Of these 2,600 had been put in sufficient state of repair to begin work and were employing over 300,000 workmen. In this work of restoration over 10,000,000,000 francs had been spent, not one of which had as yet been received in reparation from Germany.

Politically the Clemenceau Cabinet maintained a strong hold on the confidence of the people. Two votes of lack of confidence offered by political opponents had been defeated by impressive majorities. The position of the Government was further strengthened by the overwhelming defeat of the Socialists in the national election of Nov. 16, 1919. The defeat was attributed to defection in the party itself after the revelation of conditions in Soviet Russia, the repudiation by Socialist soldiers because of Defeatism and by the peasants on account of the Soviet land scheme.

On Jan. 17, 1920, Paul Deschanel was elected President of the Republic, succeeding Raymond Poincaré. It had been expected that the honor would go to Premier Clemenceau as a reward for his

glorious service to France, but he himself was indifferent and only permitted his name to be used because of the pleading of his friends. Deschanel was a brilliant man, an experienced politician, and had been President of the Chamber of Deputies since 1912. Alexandre Millerand was commissioned to form a Cabinet. M. Deschanel's tenure of office was short, owing to a nervous breakdown, culminating in a fall from a railway train in May, after which he was unable to fulfill the duties of his office. He resigned in September, 1920, and was succeeded by M. Millerand, who was strong in public favor because of the way he had filled the exacting position of Premier.

Most of the international activities of France have been touched on in the previous pages. The question of Syria remains. At the Peace Conference conflicting claims had been advanced by the Arabs and the French. The former claimed it because of services rendered by the Sherifian Arabs during the war and also by virtue of an alleged agreement with Sir Henry McMahon, the British representative, that if the Allies were victorious in the war the Syrian coast should be included in the new Kingdom of Arabia that it was proposed to establish.

Besides, it was urged that considerations of race, religion and contiguity made this the best possible solution. On the side of France it was urged that she had for a long time been the prevailing influence in Syria, that the mandates over Mesopotamia and Palestine given to Great Britain required as a counterweight that the mandate over Syria be allotted to France and that finally in a secret treaty of 1917 this disposition had been agreed to by England. Prolonged discussion ensued and the Supreme Council finally gave the mandate to the French. How far Prince Feisal acquiesced in this is a matter of dispute, but on his return to Syria he became the centre of a movement intended to resist

the French claims, and was even chosen by his adherents as "King of Syria." The situation became more and more strained, and finally on July 15, 1920, General Gouraud, the commander of the French forces in Syria, dispatched an ultimatum to Feisal, which among other things demanded the acceptance by him of the French mandate over Syria. Four days were given in which to answer. The answer not having been received at the expiration of that time—Feisal afterward claimed that it had been sent but was accidentally delayed—Gouraud's forces moved forward, and after a clash with Sherifian troops occupied Damascus July 25. Other towns were later occupied, civil administration was inaugurated and the French control of Syria was complete. In the presence of the fait accompli, Feisal retired to his father's kingdom and later sailed for Europe. The French action created some uneasiness in England, where it was regarded as high handed and calculated to cause complications with the Arabs. In French official quarters it was believed that the action of Gouraud came none too soon, for by July 27 the Turkish Nationalists, taking advantage of the obstacles placed in the way of the French in Syria, had completely isolated the city of Adana, Cilicia, with a population of 70,000 Christians and 10,000 Moslems, in an attempt to starve it into surrender. It was later relieved by French forces.

ITALY

The vexing question of Fiume continued to engross the minds of Italian statesmen after the adjournment of the Peace Conference, as it had during the sessions of that body. Both the Italian and Jugoslavic claims to the possession of that city have been fully presented in the preceding volume. In the midst of the endless discussions, a new element was introduced by the dramatic coup of d'Annunzio—poet, novelist, orator, aviator—in taking possession of the city Sept. 13 with a force of about 2,000 men.

No resistance was offered. On the contrary he was received with plaudits. The news created a great sensation throughout Italy, where the daring adventurer was hailed as a national hero. It caused consternation among the Allies. After due deliberation, however, they declined to interfere, leaving to Italy the task of disciplining and ousting d'Annunzio. The Italian Government as a matter of form instituted a blockade by land and sea and summoned d'Annunzio to surrender the town to the constituted authorities. His answer was a flat refusal, followed by a later raid on Zara and an announced determination to seize the Dalmatian coast.

This project, however, was abandoned. For a year he remained as practical dictator of the city, with the intention of delivering the city to Italy if it were finally assigned to her, but of defending it to the death if it were allotted to Jugoslavia. In the meantime various attempts were made to reach a solution that would be satisfactory to the rival claimants. The most promising one agreed upon by the allied Premiers was rejected by President Wilson when submitted to him Feb. 10, 1920, and up to October, 1920, the matter was still undecided, though Italy and Jugoslavia were reported as gradually nearing an agreement.

Economic development was seriously hindered by strikes and Bolshevik agitation. The Nitti Cabinet fell on May 11, 1920, and though at the request of the King he promptly formed a second one he again resigned on June 9. He was succeeded as Premier by Giolitti, whose leanings had been pacifist and pro-German prior to the war. He encountered considerable opposition from the Socialists on the occasion of laying his program before the country. The Socialists declared that "the new Giolitti Ministry, born under the cloud of proletarian massacre, is also a coalition of the bourgeois parties against socialism and reaffirms, therefore, its intention

to offer strong Parliamentary opposition."

The most striking development under the new administration was the seizure of metallurgic plants in Turin and Milan by workmen who ousted the owners and operated the plants themselves. It was a practical application of Soviet doctrine and seemed nothing less than confiscation. The Government did not intervene by force, but left the matter for settlement between the workmen and owners. A settlement was finally arranged that secured higher wages for the workmen and supervision by them over the whole domain of industrial production. The workers were to be represented on the Board of Directors and have a voice in the decisions. In the event of an impasse being reached by the owners and workmen, the Italian Parliament was to be the arbiter. The action of the workers was declared to be based purely on economic conditions and to have no political significance. It was ominous, however, that the red flag flew over the buildings, and that on Sept. 12, the day the factories were seized, in a vote taken by the National Labor Convention at Milan the advocates of Sovietism were able to muster 450,000 votes out of a total of 1,100,000. For Syndicalism, which closely approaches Sovietism, a vote taken on Sept. 13 by labor and Socialist representatives gave 591,000 to 245, a practical unanimity.

The question of Albania was approaching an amicable solution on the basis of independence for that country, although Italy was still negotiating for permission to occupy Avlona temporarily to prevent its possible seizure by some power whose interests might be opposed to those of Italy.

BELGIUM

Belgium was the first nation to experience the horrors of the World War, bearing as she did the brunt of the German invasion. She was also the first to recover from its affects. Within a year

after the signing of the armistice she had ceased rationing her people. At the end of the war, there were 1,000,000 unemployed among her population. A year later, all were at work who wished to be.

The pre-war average had been attained. The pre-war average had been attained by 87 per cent. of the coal mines, 100 per cent. of the railways and 75 per cent. of the textile factories. Part of this rapid return to normal or nearly normal conditions was due to the fact that the devastation and spoliation had not been nearly so great in Belgium as in France. The reason was obvious. The Germans had hoped to retain their grip on Belgium as a prize of war. It was, therefore, to their interest to preserve it in fair condition as a hoped-for asset of the German Empire. France on the other hand was to be robbed and crippled as much as possible, so that she could not be an important competitor with Germany after the war.

Politically Belgium has been drawing closer to France. Her interests were largely identical, and her need of security against possible German aggression in the future quite as pressing. An agreement in principle on a defensive alliance between the two nations was reached in June, 1920.

The duration of the treaty was to be from five to fifteen years. Belgium agreed to maintain a larger army than before the war and to restore the fortifications of Antwerp and other cities.

Belgium's borders were enlarged on July 11, 1920, by the inclusion of Eupen and Malmedy. A provision of the Treaty of Versailles was that the people of these districts should be permitted, within six months after the Treaty went into effect, to record in writing a desire to have the whole or part of the region remain under German sovereignty. Only 200 out of 60,000 expressed such a wish, and the territory therefore came under Belgium's rule.

THE FAR EAST

The tension between Japan and China, so marked during the sessions of the Peace Conference, grew steadily greater after its adjournment. The Chinese had refused to sign the Treaty because of the cession of the former German concessions in Shantung to Japan. The latter had declared that she would at some future date return them to China, but refused to be more definite. Chinese resentment found expression in a boycott that inflicted enormous loss upon Japanese merchants and evoked strong remonstrances from the Japanese Government. The discussions were acrimonious, and at times drew the two nations close to the verge of open hostilities.

China, in addition to her strained relations with her martial neighbor, had serious internal troubles. Her treasury was bankrupt, her Government inefficient and her richest provinces were devastated by the civil war that had existed since 1916 between the Peking and Canton factions. In the Summer of 1920 the fighting had reached the very gates of Peking, and negotiations that had been in progress for a settlement of the conflict were dissipated.

Japan, after a period of unprecedented prosperity, was shaken by a panic in the Spring of 1920. There were serious strikes, and also riotous demonstrations over the question of suffrage. Korea was in the throes of revolt, and the stern measures introduced for its suppression were viewed with disfavor by a large section of her own people. She had not withdrawn her troops from Siberia, as had the other Allies, and while this was alleged to be due to the necessity of checking the advance of Bolshevism toward her shores, it was thought by some to be due to imperialistic aims. On July 4, 1920, it was announced that Japan had decided to occupy such parts of the Province of Saghalien as it deemed necessary, pending the establishment of a legitimate Government and a satisfactory settle-

ment for the massacre of Japanese at Nikolaievsk.

Both Great Britain and the United States looked askance at this action and the latter Government sent a note which was interpreted in Japan as a protest. Correspondence followed, but the occupation continued. The incident served to accentuate the anti-American sentiment which had been noticeable for some time in the Japanese press and among the people.

SMALLER STATES

The new States of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, carved from the former Empire of Austria-Hungary, made notable progress in national development. The difficulties they faced proved grave but not insuperable, and the assistance of the Allies was freely given in the matter of food and loans, as well as in the straightening out of political and diplomatic tangles.

Of the two Czechoslovakia had been the most prosperous. Her resources were richer and her cultural development greater. Under the wise guidance of President Masaryk she advanced steadily. Her Constitution, given textually elsewhere in this volume, is perhaps the most democratic in the world. Internally the Government had to struggle against the Bolshevik peril and the hostility of the German minority. Externally it clashed at times with the Poles over the question of Teschen, with the invading forces of the Hungarian Communist Bela Kun and with Rumania in the matter of boundaries. None of these differences, however, was serious, and all were composed or were in process of adjustment.

Yugoslavia had graver problems. Chief among these were the strained relations between the Croats and Serbs in her population and the reluctance of part of the Montenegrins to be incorporated in the Yugoslavic State. Her contention with Italy over the possession of Fiume at one time threatened to develop into

open warfare, but there were evidences late in 1920 that the two powers were nearing an agreement.

Rumania emerged from the war with accessions of territory that raised her almost to the rank of a great power. Parts of the Banat of Temesvar, Transylvania and Bukowina enlarged her boundaries, together with Bessarabia. Her military adventure in Hungary has already been referred to in previous pages.

What has been styled "The Little Entente" was the understanding between Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, announced to the world Aug. 13, 1920. It was largely economic in nature, bearing mainly on the industrial and commercial rehabilitation of the three States. A political feature was the maintenance of an attitude of neutrality toward Russia, while there was reason to believe that it also included a definite military defensive alliance.

The territorial accessions of Greece were more than she had perhaps expected and were due in large measure to the sagacity and statesmanship of Premier Venizelos. Thrace was given to her, together with Smyrna, although over the latter a shadowy suzerainty was permitted to Turkey. All of the Dodecanese Islands except Casrellorizo and Rhodes became Greek, and the latter was expected later to revert to her. The Hellenic dream of centuries had been realized. The fortunate failure of an attempt on the life of Venizelos preserved to Greece her greatest statesman, and under his guidance Greece had every prospect of achieving a great national development.

UNITED STATES

The Peace Treaty was presented to the Senate by President Wilson July 10, 1919. A long and bitter debate, lasting over four months, ended in the defeat of ratification Nov. 19. The discussion centred about the League of Nations Covenant, which with the exception of the

awarding of Shantung to Japan, was the only feature of the Treaty that aroused serious opposition. In the main, the Democrats supported the Covenant, whose chief framer had been a Democratic President, while the Republicans were arrayed in opposition. The latter were divided into two groups—the "bitter-enders" who rejected the League in toto, and the larger number who were in favor of ratifying with reservations that materially modified the provisions, especially Article X., which President Wilson had declared was the heart of the Covenant. While the debate was in progress, the President himself undertook to influence public opinion in favor of the League as originally framed by making a speaking tour of the country. He was stricken with illness, however, on Sept. 26, and forced to abandon his trip. The treaty was defeated in two different ways. The vote on unconditional ratification—without amendments or reservations—was 38 affirmative and 53 negative. On ratification with the reservations the vote was 39 for and 55 against. The debate is covered in the following pages.

The economic growth of the country following the war was very marked. The vast body of demobilized soldiers was absorbed into the national life without disorder or dislocation of business. Unemployment was almost unknown, wages were high, and manufacturing plants found it difficult to fill their orders. The cost of living increased steadily, and the Government was called on to curb profiteers and punish the hoarders of commodities. Some prosecutions were instituted and convictions gained but the effect of these was scarcely noticeable.

In the Spring and Summer of 1920 the people took matters in their own hands by ceasing to buy at extortionate prices. At the same time the Federal Reserve Bank and its member banks began to curtail credits in cases where the money borrowed was to be used in hoarding or speculation. A period of gradual defla-

tion set in and the abstention of the public from unnecessary buying was reflected in a marked recession in prices. The process was accelerated in the Fall and while there was no probability of a return to pre-war prices there was evidence that the orgy of spending had ended and that the nation was returning to more sane and normal conditions.

In common with all other countries, the United States suffered from labor unrest. Strikes were frequent, though seldom attended with violence. Railroad and harbor strikes resulted in great injury to business and congestion of freights. Strikes in the bituminous and anthracite coal fields required Government intervention to prevent disaster to the public. A police strike in Boston, which was happily defeated by the courage of the State authorities, caused the most serious apprehensions. The radical element in the country seized on the labor disturbances as an opportunity for the spread of revolutionary doctrines. As a result of a campaign of the Department of Justice, thousands of revolutionary agitators were arrested, and 249 of the most dangerous of these were deported to Russia. This drastic action had its effect and the advocates of violent overturn of American institutions abated their activities to a marked extent.

Many Cabinet changes took place, the most notable of which was the resignation of Secretary of State Lansing. The correspondence preceding his resignation showed that friction had existed for some time between him and the President. He was succeeded by Bainbridge Colby.

Two amendments were added to the Constitution—the prohibition amendment which went into force July 1, 1920, and the Woman Suffrage amendment which became effective Aug. 26, 1920. Both marked the triumph of strenuous struggle that covered many years in the history of the Republic.

Nominations for the Presidency and Vice Presidency were made in the Summer of 1920. The Republican Convention met at Chicago June 8 and nominated Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio for President and Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts for Vice President. At the Democratic Convention, held in San Francisco, June 28, Governor James M. Cox of Ohio received the Presidential nomination while Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, was chosen for the Vice Presidency. The principal issue of the campaign was the League of Nations. Governor Cox favored its adoption with what interpretative modifications might be necessary, while Senator Harding advocated its rejection and the substitution of a free association of nations, devoid of what he believed to be the objectionable features of the League Covenant.

The following pages include a Cumulative Index covering the entire twenty volumes of this work; a gazetteer of the States, provinces, cities, towns, rivers, seas and waterways in the zone of conflict; the official report of Marshal Haig and General Pershing; the Constitutions of the German and Czechoslovak Republics; the debates on the Treaty in the United States Senate, and the complete text of the various treaties that ended the war.

Subjects are treated in the following order:

Signing the Peace Treaty.
 German Peace Treaty.
 Sinking at Scapa Flow.
 Terms of Rhineland Occupation.
 German Ratification of Treaty.
 The Polish Treaty.
 Rumania and Greater Rumania.
 Rumanian Minorities Treaty.
 Austrian Peace Treaty Signed.
 Text of Austrian Treaty.
 The Yugoslav Minorities Treaty.
 Bulgarian Minority Guarantees—
 Peace Terms.

- Haig's Final Dispatch.
Hungary and the Treaty of Neuilly.
The Shantung Controversy.
Constitution of the German Republic.
Depositing the Peace Treaty.
Rhineland Occupation Terms Modified.
German Property in the Allied Countries.
Stages of the German Collapse.
General Pershing's Final Report—First Half.
Germany and the Armenian Massacres.
Syria and the Anglo-French Pact.
General Pershing's Final Report—Second Half.
Our War Effort Told in Brief.
Bagdad Under British Rule.
The Turkish Peace Treaty.
Constitution of Czechoslovakia.
Origin of the World War.
International Labor Boycott of Hungary.
The Russo-Esthonian Treaty.
Debates on Treaty in U. S. Senate.
No American Mandate for Armenia.



GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING



New Portrait of the American Commander, Who Was Showered With Honors and Given Full Rank of General on His Return Home.

(By Paul Thompson.)

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM



King of the Belgians, Who Led His Forces in the Field Throughout
the War, and Who is an Honored Guest of the United States.

(© Harris and Ewing.)

QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS



Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, Who, With King Albert and Crown Prince Leopold, Is Making Her First Visit to the United States.

CARDINAL MERCIER



Archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium, Famous for His War-time Utterances, Who is Visiting the United States.

VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON



New British Ambassador to the United States, Succeeding Sir Cecil
Spring-Rice.

(Photo P. S. Rogers.)

OFFICERS LATELY IN THE PUBLIC EYE



MAJ. GEN. J. W. McANDREW
President Army War College

(© Harris and Ewing.)



MAJ. GEN. E. F. McGLACHLIN
Commander 1st Division

(U. S. Official Photo.)



REAR ADM'L A. C. GLEAVES
New Commander Asiatic Squadron

(© Harris and Ewing.)



REAR ADM'L T. WASHINGTON
Chief U. S. Bureau of Navigation

(© Harris and Ewing.)

AMERICAN CEMETERY ON THE EDGE OF BELLEAU WOOD IN FRANCE.



"God's Acre" Near Château-Thierry, Where, Row Upon Row, White Crosses Mark the Graves of Gallant Americans.
In the Insert Are Seen the Snow-covered Graves of American Soldiers Near Archangel in Russia.

(© International Film and American Red Cross.)

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU IN THE ACT OF SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY



The French Premier Signed the German Treaty While Standing. Behind Him Are Seen Messrs Pichon, Klotz, and Tardieu, Other French Delegates, Awaiting Their Turn.

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU IN THE ACT OF SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY



The French Premier Signed the German Treaty While Standing. Behind Him Are Seen Messrs Pichon, Klotz, and Tardieu, Other French Delegates, Awaiting Their Turn.

VICTORY
PARADE IN
LONDON

American
Troops
Passing the
Admiralty
Arch in
London.

July 19, 1919,
Cheered by
an

Unnumbered
Throng of
Englishmen,
on the

Occasion of
the Great
British
Military
Pageant

Celebrating
the Successful
Termination
of the War.

(© Press Illustrating Service.)



GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING



New Portrait of the American Commander, Who Was Showered With Honors and Given Full Rank of General on His Return Home.

(By Paul Thompson.)

BATTLESHIP
TEXAS
PASSING
THROUGH THE
PANAMA
CANAL

The Great
United States
Warship,
Towed by an
Electric

Locomotive
on Either Side, Is
Seen in the
Middle Chamber
of the

Gatun Locks,
July 25, 1919.
(Times Wide World
Photos.)





erland, Is the Temporary Home of the League of Nations,
of the Earlier Work of Sir Eric Drummond's
erland House, London.

Wick Photos.

CARDINAL MERCIER



Archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium, Famous for His War-time Utterances, Who is Visiting the United States.

VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON



New British Ambassador to the United States, Succeeding Sir Cecil
Spring-Rice.

(Photo P. S. Rogers.)



Appendix (A)

SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY

Final Negotiations and Historic Ceremony at Versailles That Ended the War With Germany

[THE FULL TEXT OF THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY WILL BE FOUND ON PAGES 285-368.]

THE great European war that followed the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, was ended exactly five years later, on June 28, 1919, by the signing of the treaty that brought peace to the embattled nations. With the conclusion of the Peace of Versailles by Germany and the allied and associated powers, the long labors of the Paris Conference, which had opened on Feb. 14, were finally crowned; Germany agreed to make full reparation for her crimes, and a new charter of international law and order, the League of Nations covenant, was incorporated in the treaty as signed.

The delivery of the first draft of the German treaty was followed by a period of uncertainty and even of anxiety. The protests of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau and the German counterproposals of May 29 were answered by the Allies on June 16 with a long communication which in stern language traced the guilt for the origin of the war and the inhumanity with which it had been waged. Accompanying this answer was a new version of the treaty, with certain modifications written in red ink on a copy of the original version. None of these alterations was essential; the German counterproposals were rejected almost en bloc, the arguments being refused or passed over as negligible; a plebiscite, however, was provided for in Upper Silesia; a method of reparation for the devastated districts was proposed; a hope of ability to admit Germany to the League of Nations within a reasonable period was held out, and a few alterations of a minor character were incorporated; at the same time Germany was warned that this revised form of the treaty was the Allies' last

word, and that an expression of willingness to sign was required by Monday, June 23, when the armistice would expire and the allied and associated powers would "take such steps as they thought needful to force their terms."

Count von Brockdorff and most of the German peace delegation departed for Germany bearing the Allies' ultimate terms. Brockdorff, before leaving, sent the allied council a long document pointing out discrepancies between the original and revised treaty text in parts not stated to have undergone change. The answer was forwarded to the Count later in Germany by Herr Haniel von Haimhausen, the temporary peace plenipotentiary who took his place. In this reply a number of the so-called discrepancies were explained as supplemental changes, and others were accepted as valid corrections.

TO SIGN OR NOT TO SIGN

Meanwhile the Allies proceeded to perfect their military plans for the invasion of Germany in the event of a refusal to sign, unmoved by the storm of protest that swept over the nation when the final terms became public; at the date of the expiration of the armistice the British, French, and American forces on the Rhine were equipped to the last detail for immediate advance. In accordance with the plan of Marshal Foch a complete circle was to be drawn around Germany; she was to be cut off from all communication with the world and her territories invaded, unless she yielded to the allied terms.

Would Germany sign? German newspapers, German statesmen, the Scheide-
mann Cabinet and President Ebert said "No." The masses of the war-weary people, led by the independent Socialists,

YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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*has instructed me to communicate the follow-
ing to your Excellency:*

The Government of the German Republic has from the moment when the peace conditions of the allied and associated Governments were made known to it let no doubt exist as to the fact that the Government, in harmony with the whole German people, must regard these conditions as being in sharp contradiction to the principle which was accepted by the allied and associated powers on the one hand, and Germany on the other, as being binding in accordance with the laws of nations for the peace before the conclusion of the armistice.

Relying upon this principle of justice, which was agreed upon between the parties to the negotiations, and assisted by a clear exposition of conditions in Germany, the Government has left no stone unturned in order to arrive at a direct verbal exchange of opinions and thus obtain some mitigation of the unbearably harsh conditions, which might render it possible for the Government of the German Republic to sign the treaty of peace without reservations and to guarantee its execution.

"GERMAN DIGNITY IMPAIRED"

These endeavors of the Government of



SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY

powers, could expect the German people to agree with thorough conviction to an instrument of peace whereby living members of the very body of the German people are to be cut off without consultation of the populations concerned, whereby the dignity of the German State is to be permanently impaired, and whereby unendurable economic and financial burdens are to be laid upon the German people.

The German Government has received passionate expressions of opinion from the population in the districts to be cut off in the East, to the effect that they will oppose themselves to the separation of these districts, which have for the greater part been German for many centuries, by all means they possess. The German Government, therefore, finds itself compelled to decline all responsibility for any difficulty which may result from the resistance of the inhabitants against their separation from Germany.

If the Government of the German Republic is, nevertheless, ready to sign the conditions of the Allies with the above mentioned reservation, yet this is not done of its free will. The Government of the German Republic solemnly declares that its attitude is to be understood in the sense that it yields to force, being resolved to spare the German people, whose sufferings are unspeakable, a new war, the shattering of its national unity by further occupation of German territories, terrible famine for women and children, and mercilessly prolonged retention of the prisoners of war.

The German people expects, in view of the grievous burdens which it is to take upon itself, that all German military and civilian prisoners, beginning July 1, and thereafter in uninterrupted succession and within a short period, shall be restored. Germany gave back her enemies' prisoners of war within two months.

ACCEPTANCE WITH RESERVATION

The Government of the German Republic engages to fulfill the conditions of peace imposed upon Germany. It desires, however, in this solemn moment to express itself with unreserved clearness in order to meet in advance any accusation of untruthfulness that may now or later be made against Germany.

The conditions imposed exceed the measure of that which Germany can in fact perform. The Government of the German Republic therefore feels bound to announce that it makes all reservations and declines all responsibility as regards the consequence which may be threatened against Germany when, which is bound to happen, the impossibility of carrying out the conditions come to light, even though Germany's capacity to fulfill them is stretched to the utmost.

Germany further lays the greatest emphasis on the declaration that she cannot accept Article 230 of the treaty of peace, which requires Germany to admit herself to be the sole and only author of the war, and she does not cover this article by her signature. It consequently follows without further argument that Germany must also decline to recognize that the burden should be placed upon her on the score of the responsibility of the war which has unjustly been laid at her door.

Likewise it is equally impossible for a German to reconcile it with his dignity and honor to accept and execute Articles 227 to 230, by which Germany is required to give up to the allied and associated powers for trial individuals among the German people who are accused by the allied and associated powers of a breach of international law and of committing acts contrary to the customs of war.

Further, the Government of the German Republic makes a distinct protest against the taking away of all the colonial possessions of Germany and the reasons given therefor, which permanently deny to Germany fitness for colonial activity, although the contrary is clearly established and irrefutable evidence to this effect is contained in the observations of the German peace delegation on the conditions of peace.

REVISION AFTER TWO YEARS

The Government of the German Republic assumes that it is in accordance with the desires of the allied and associated Governments that it has spoken openly both as regards what concerns its good-will and also as regards its reservation. Therefore, in view of the condition of restraint into which the German people are forced by the requirements of the Allies—a condition of constraint such as has never been inflicted on any people in a manner more crushing and more disastrous in its consequences—and relying on the express undertaking of the allied and associated Governments in their memorandum of June 16, 1919, the German Government believes itself to be entitled to address the following modest request to the allied and associated Governments, in the expectation that the allied and associated Governments will consider the following declaration as an integral portion of the treaty:

"Within two years, counting from the day when the treaty is signed, the allied and associated Governments will submit the present treaty to the high council of the powers, as constituted by the League of Nations, according to Article 4, for the purpose of subsequent examination. Before this high council the German plenipotentiaries are to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the representatives of

YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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time. In accordance with a dispatch re-
ceived from Weimar at midnight June
22-23, Herr Haniel von Haimhausen
transmitted a note to M. Clemenceau by
a French officer from Versailles, who
reached Paris at 2:30 in the morning.
M. Dutasta was awakened, as were
Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and
Wilson, and a meeting was arranged for
the morning. The note from von Haim-
hausen read as follows:

*To his Excellency, the President of the
Peace Conference, M. Clemenceau:*

MR. PRESIDENT: The Minister for Foreign
Affairs instructs me to beg the allied and
associated Governments to prolong for
forty-eight hours the time limit for an-
swering your Excellency's note, communi-
cated yesterday evening, and likewise the
time limit for answering the note of June
16, 1919.

It was only on Saturday, after great
difficulties, that a new Cabinet was
formed, which, unlike its predecessor,
could come to an agreement to declare
its willingness to sign the treaty as re-
gards nearly all its provisions. The
National Assembly has expressed its con-
fidence in this Cabinet by a large major-
ity of votes.



SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY

for blockade and invasion. The note was short, making only one typewritten page; on its receipt by Paul Dutasta it was at once translated and copies were transmitted to Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson. The text of the note is given herewith:

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has instructed me to communicate to your Excellency the following:

It appears to the Government of the German Republic, in consternation at the last communication of the allied and associated Governments, that these Governments have decided to wrest from Germany by force acceptance of the peace conditions, even those which, without presenting any material significance, aim at divesting the German people of their honor.

No act of violence can touch the honor of the German people. The German people, after frightful suffering in these last years, have no means of defending themselves by external action.

Yielding to superior force, and without renouncing in the meantime its own view of the unheard-of injustice of the peace conditions, the Government of the German Republic declares that it is ready to accept and sign the peace conditions imposed.

Please accept, Mr. President, assurances of my high consideration,

(Signed) VON HANIEL.

This final surrender on the part of the German Government brought relief to tense nerves all over the world. The great war was ended at last. The peremptory refusal of even a forty-eight-hour delay had shown the temper of the victorious powers, indicating their determination to push the matter through to an issue without further loss of time; that Germany knew what she would be facing in case of rejection was shown not only by the final note of acceptance, but by explicit statements made by Premier Bauer before the Assembly. The receipt of this capitulatory note, however, relieved the heavily charged atmosphere, and the excitement and rejoicing in Paris were tremendous. As soon as it became known officially that the Germans had agreed to sign the treaty unconditionally, big guns began to boom from all the forts around Paris, bringing their message to the waiting people. Simultaneously at 6 o'clock the siren on the roof of the Hotel Astoria, British headquarters, near the centre of the city,

began to shriek, and its piercing notes were heard for half an hour by the excited throngs on the Champs Elysées. Public demonstrations lasted far into the night.

CHOOSING GERMAN SIGNERS

Following the receipt of the German note of surrender the allied council sent a note asking whether or not it was intended that Herr Haniel von Haimhausen should affix his signature to the compact. To this communication there came no reply, and the silence of the German Government brought again an element of tenseness into the situation. On June 24 it was announced from Weimar that the plenipotentiaries who would sign the Peace Treaty for Germany had not yet been chosen, and that great difficulty was encountered in finding men who were willing to affix their names to a document which crystallized the doom of Germany.

It was stated at this time that Dr. Haniel von Haimhausen had telegraphed his resignation from Versailles to avoid the necessity of attaching his name to the instrument. It appeared subsequently that the German Government had designated von Haimhausen to be the sole signatory to the treaty, and it was to this end that he had been appointed temporary plenipotentiary. The powers, however, had protested. They held that von Haimhausen, who had been chief of the Secretariat of the German peace mission, was not of sufficient rank or importance to justify his acting for Germany when the allied signatories would include Premiers and a President.

The German Government's continued silence perplexed the allied council so greatly that on June 25 M. Dutasta was sent to Versailles to see if von Haimhausen had received any information from his Government. The only advices that the latter had received stated that the German Cabinet had left Weimar for Berlin. It was stated that if word was not soon received another ultimatum would be transmitted. Until 11:25 in the morning of June 26 no reply had been sent by Germany, but semi-official statements received through von Haimhausen from Berlin made it clear that

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The two German plenipotentiaries reached Versailles after nightfall on June 27. Secretary Dutasta went to Versailles at 8:30 that evening to hand them a letter from Premier Clemenceau certifying that the treaty to be submitted for their signature conformed in all points to the text of the document submitted on June 16. Plans for the ceremony proceeded. All those holding tickets of admission to the Hall of Mirrors had been notified that they must be provided with identification papers; each ticket was to bear the photograph of the person to be admitted. Ticket holders were requested to be at the palace by 2 o'clock.

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mony an endless stream of automobiles began moving out of Paris up the cannon-lined hill of the Champs-Élysées.

CANADIAN PAGEANT IN HONOR OF THE PRINCE OF WALES



When the Prince of Wales First Set Foot on Canadian Soil at St. John, Aug. 12, 1919, He Was Greeted by a "Pageant of the Provinces". Made Up of Girls Chosen for Their Beauty From the Chief Political Divisions of Canada, While the Children Sang "God Bless the Prince of Wales."

(Times' Wide World Photos.)

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But all the diplomats and members of the parties who attended the ceremony of signing wore conventional civilian clothes. All gold lace and pageantry was eschewed, the fanciful garb of the Middle Ages was completely absent as representative of traditions and practices sternly condemned in the great bound treaty-volume of Japanese paper, covered with seals and printed in French and English, which was signed by twenty-seven nations that afternoon.

As a contrast with the Franco-German peace session of 1871, held in the same hall, there were present some grizzled French veterans of the Franco-Prussian war. They took the place of the Prussian guardsmen of the previous ceremony, and gazed with a species of grim satisfaction at the disciples of Bismarck, who sat this time in the seats of the lowly, while the white marble statue of Minerva, goddess of war, looked stonily on.

ENTRANCE OF CHIEF ACTORS

The ceremony of signing was marked



THE HISTORIC CEREMONY AT VERSAILLES

o'clock. Three detachments each consisting of fifteen private soldiers—from the American, British, and French forces—entered just before 3 o'clock and took their places in the embrasures of the windows overlooking the château park, a few feet from Marshal Foch, who was seated with the French delegation at the peace table. Marshal Foch was present only as a spectator, and did not participate in the signing. These forty-five soldiers of the three main belligerent nations were present as the real "artisans of peace" and stood within the inclosure reserved for plenipotentiaries and high officials of the conference as a visible sign of their rôle in bringing into being a new Europe. These men had been selected from those who bore honorable wounds. Premier Clemenceau stepped up to the poilus of the French detachment and shook the hand of each, expressing his pleasure at seeing them, and his regrets for the suffering they had endured for France.

Delegates of the minor powers made their way with difficulty through the crowd to their places at the table. Officers and civilians lined the walls and filled the isles. President Wilson entered the Hall of Mirrors at 2:50 o'clock. All the allied delegates were then seated, except the Chinese representatives, who were conspicuous by their absence. The difficulty of seeing well militated against demonstrations on the arrival of prominent statesmen. The crowd refused to be seated and thronged toward the centre of the hall, which is so long that a good view was impossible from any distance, even with the aid of opera glasses. German correspondents were ushered into the hall just before 3 o'clock and took standing room in a window at the rear of the correspondents' section.

At 3 o'clock a hush fell over the hall. There were a few moments of disorder while the officials and the crowd took their places. At 3:07 the German delegates, Dr. Hermann Müller, German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Johannes Bell, Colonial Secretary, were shown into the hall; with heads held high they took their seats. The other delegates remained seated, ac-

cording to a prearranged plan reminiscent of the discourtesy displayed by von Brockdorff-Rantzau, who at the ceremony of delivery of the peace treaty on May 7 had refused to rise to read his address to the allied delegates. The seats of the German delegates touched elbows with the Japanese on the right and the Brazilians on the left. They were thus on the side nearest the entrance, and the program required them to depart by a separate exit before the other delegates at the close of the ceremony. Delegates from Ecuador, Peru, and Liberia faced them across the narrow table.

THE GERMANS SIGN

M. Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, opened the ceremony. Rising, he made the following brief address, amid dead silence:

The session is open. The allied and associated powers on one side and the German Reich on the other side have come to an agreement on the conditions of peace. The text has been completed, drafted, and the President of the Conference has stated in writing that the text that is about to be signed now is identical with the 200 copies that have been delivered to the German delegation. The signatures will be given now, and they amount to a solemn undertaking faithfully and loyally to execute the conditions embodied by this treaty of peace. I now invite the delegates of the German Reich to sign the treaty.

There was a tense pause for a moment. Then in response to M. Clemenceau's bidding the German delegates rose without a word, and, escorted by William Martin, master of ceremonies, moved to the signatory table, where they placed upon the treaty the sign-manuals which German Government leaders had declared over and over again, with emphasis and anger, would never be appended to this treaty. They also signed a protocol covering changes in the documents, and the Polish undertaking. All three documents were similarly signed by the allied delegates who followed.

WILSON SIGNS NEXT

When the German delegates regained their seats after signing, President Wilson immediately rose and, followed by the other American plenipotentiaries,

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years had shaken Europe and the world was formally ended at last. It was a war which had cost the belligerent nations \$186,000,000,000; which had caused the deaths of 7,582,000 human beings, and which had left the world a post-war burden of debt amounting to \$135,000,000,000. It was a war which had changed the whole face of Europe, which had brought many new nations into existence, which had revolutionized the organization of all national and international life. It was a war which had brought the world the consciousness of its common obligation to unite against all war. The booming of the great guns of Versailles seemed to proclaim a new epoch.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS

Simultaneously with the signing of peace President Wilson cabled the following address to the American people, which was given out at once in Washington by Secretary Tumulty:



THE HISTORIC CEREMONY AT VERSAILLES

exploitation of a stronger nation, but shall be put under the friendly direction and afforded the helpful assistance of Governments which undertake to be responsible to the opinion of mankind in the execution of their task by accepting the direction of the League of Nations.

It recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality, the rights of minorities and the sanctity of religious belief and practice. It lays the basis for conventions which shall free the commercial intercourse of the world from unjust and vexatious restrictions and for every sort of international co-operation that will serve to cleanse the life of the world and facilitate its common action in beneficent service of every kind. It furnishes guarantees such as were never given or even contemplated for the fair treatment of all who labor at the daily tasks of the world.

It is for this reason that I have spoken of it as a great charter for a new order of affairs. There is ground here for deep satisfaction, universal reassurance, and confident hope.

Late in the afternoon the German delegation received a note from the allied and associated powers specifying the conditions attaching to the ratification of

the treaty they had signed. The note stated, among other things, that the blockade would be lifted from Germany as soon as the German National Assembly had ratified the treaty; a similar condition also applied to the release of German prisoners.

Dr. Müller, Dr. Bell, and about fifty other members of the German delegation left Versailles the same evening virtually unnoticed. To avoid the crowds celebrating in the streets they were sent in fifteen automobiles by a roundabout route to Noisy-le-Roi, where they boarded their train at 9 o'clock. They were accompanied as far as Cologne by French and Italian officers. The Germans took leave of the French officials at Versailles with punctilious politeness. Herr Haniel von Haimhausen and more than fifty other Germans remained temporarily to close up the affairs of the delegation. The German contingent that remained at Versailles through the ensuing weeks was headed by Kurt von Lersner.

Celebrating the Signing Worldwide Jubilations

THE signing of the treaty was enthusiastically celebrated in Paris on the evening of June 28. All Paris was ablaze; the streets were filled with torchlight processions, columns of troops marched over the city and everywhere were greeted with wild cheers; the soldiers were pelted with flowers and confetti wherever they appeared. Large crowds massed in front of the American Headquarters and salvos of cheers were given for America.

The Strasbourg statue had an American flag at its apex, typifying the efforts of American soldiers on the fighting front in Alsace. The hotels roundabout were brilliantly lighted by electricity and gas for the first time in five years.

Impromptu orchestras appeared on every corner. Young and old danced, and every one kissed every one else. The

population dined early so as to have more time for the merrymaking.

At Marseilles, Toulon, and Cherbourg, as well as other seaports, warships were dressed in flags, salutes were fired, church bells were rung, and there were illuminations and torchlight processions. At Bordeaux the departure of the American students from the university was made the occasion of a brilliant farewell reception by the municipality.

A national thanksgiving service for the deliverance of Belgium occurred at Brussels, attended by the King and Queen. Cardinal Mercier officiated and paid a tribute to the sovereigns and others who remained in the country during the period of occupation. Flags were displayed, but there was no official celebration.

At Rio Janeiro buildings throughout the city displayed the flags of the allied and associated powers, naval salu

SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY

Final Negotiations and Historic Ceremony at Versailles That Ended the War With Germany

[THE FULL TEXT OF THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY WILL BE FOUND ON PAGES 285-308.]

THE great European war that followed the assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, was ended exactly five years later, on June 28, 1919, by the signing of the treaty that brought peace to the embattled nations. With the conclusion of the Peace of Versailles by Germany and the allied and associated powers, the long labors of the Paris Conference, which had opened on Feb. 14, were finally crowned; Germany agreed to make full reparation for her crimes, and a new charter of international law and order, the League of Nations covenant, was incorporated in the treaty as signed.

The delivery of the first draft of the German treaty was followed by a period of uncertainty and even of anxiety. The protests of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau and the German counterproposals of May 29 were answered by the Allies on June 16 with a long communication which in stern language traced the guilt for the origin of the war and the inhumanity with which it had been waged. Accompanying this answer was a new version of the treaty, with certain modifications written in red ink on a copy of the original version. None of these alterations was essential; the German counterproposals were rejected almost en bloc, the arguments being refused or passed over as negligible; a plebiscite, however, was provided for in Upper Silesia; a method of reparation for the devastated districts was proposed; a hope of ability to admit Germany to the League of Nations within a reasonable period was held out, and a few alterations of a minor character were incorporated; at the same time Germany was warned that this revised form of the treaty was the Allies' last

word, and that an expression of willingness to sign was required by Monday, June 23, when the armistice would expire and the allied and associated powers would "take such steps as they thought needful to force their terms."

Count von Brockdorff and most of the German peace delegation departed for Germany bearing the Allies' ultimate terms. Brockdorff, before leaving, sent the allied council a long document pointing out discrepancies between the original and revised treaty text in parts not stated to have undergone change. The answer was forwarded to the Count later in Germany by Herr Haniel von Haimhausen, the temporary peace plenipotentiary who took his place. In this reply a number of the so-called discrepancies were explained as supplemental changes, and others were accepted as valid corrections.

TO SIGN OR NOT TO SIGN

Meanwhile the Allies proceeded to perfect their military plans for the invasion of Germany in the event of a refusal to sign, unmoved by the storm of protest that swept over the nation when the final terms became public; at the date of the expiration of the armistice the British, French, and American forces on the Rhine were equipped to the last detail for immediate advance. In accordance with the plan of Marshal Foch a complete circle was to be drawn around Germany; she was to be cut off from all communication with the world and her territories invaded, unless she yielded to the allied terms.

Would Germany sign? German newspapers, German statesmen, the Scheidemann Cabinet and President Ebert said "No." The masses of the war-weary people, led by the independent Socialists,

said "Yes." The first result was a Cabinet crisis. The Scheidemann Government resigned under the pressure of the allied ultimatum, and the formation of a new Cabinet was attended by the greatest difficulties. At the palace and the royal theatre countless meetings were held. The situation changed from hour to hour, the various parties conflicting in their views as to signing, rejecting, or signing conditionally. One of the main stumbling blocks was the question of war guilt, involving the delivery of the Kaiser and his accomplices to an allied tribunal for trial.

After a stormy period a Cabinet centering about Count von Bernstorff and Dr. Dernburg was in process of formation, but fell to pieces on the refusal of these leaders to accept office. Gustav Adolf Bauer, however, was successful in another attempt; the Cabinet finally determined on, a purely transitional combination, was composed of men taken over from the Scheidemann Government, but lacking the animating impulse of that Government—the determination not to sign the treaty. It included Herr Bauer as Premier and Dr. Hermann Müller as Foreign Minister.

PROVISIONAL ACCEPTANCE

All this, however, had taken time, and the expiration of the time limit laid down by the allied council was drawing dangerously close. On Saturday, June 21, Premier Bauer appeared before the National Assembly, and his Cabinet received a vote of confidence by a large majority. On the same day a long communication was transmitted to the allied council through Herr Haniel von Haimhausen, temporary head of the German peace delegation, agreeing conditionally to the acceptance of the peace terms, and stating that Germany would not consider herself bound by the provisions for the trial of the ex-Kaiser and his associates, or blameworthy in the event that the terms of the peace proved impossible of fulfillment. This first official note of provisional acceptance, received by M. Clemenceau on June 22 at 5 P. M., was as follows:

The Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs

has instructed me to communicate the following to your Excellency:

The Government of the German Republic has from the moment when the peace conditions of the allied and associated Governments were made known to it let no doubt exist as to the fact that the Government, in harmony with the whole German people, must regard these conditions as being in sharp contradiction to the principle which was accepted by the allied and associated powers on the one hand, and Germany on the other, as being binding in accordance with the laws of nations for the peace before the conclusion of the armistice.

Relying upon this principle of justice, which was agreed upon between the parties to the negotiations, and assisted by a clear exposition of conditions in Germany, the Government has left no stone unturned in order to arrive at a direct verbal exchange of opinions and thus obtain some mitigation of the unbearably harsh conditions, which might render it possible for the Government of the German Republic to sign the treaty of peace without reservations and to guarantee its execution.

"GERMAN DIGNITY IMPAIRED"

These endeavors of the Government of the German Republic, which were undertaken in the interest of the peace of the world and the reconciliation of peoples, have failed owing to rigorous insistence on the conditions of peace.

Far-reaching counterproposals of the German delegation have only in certain points received any acceptance. The concessions made only reduced the severity of the conditions in a small degree.

The allied and associated Governments have, in an ultimatum which expires on June 23, confronted the Government of the German Republic with the decision either to sign the treaty of peace presented by them or to refuse to sign. In the latter case, a completely defenseless people have been threatened with the forcible imposition of the conditions of peace already presented and with the increase of heavy burdens.

The German people do not wish for the resumption of the bloody war; they honestly wish for a lasting peace. In view of the attitude of the allied and associated Governments, the German people have no other force in their hands save to appeal to the eternally inalienable right to an independent life, which belongs to the German people, as to all peoples.

The Government of the German Republic can lend no support to this sacred right of the German people by the application of force. The Government can only hope for support through the conscience of mankind. No people, including those of the allied and associated

SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY

powers, could expect the German people to agree with thorough conviction to an instrument of peace whereby living members of the very body of the German people are to be cut off without consultation of the populations concerned, whereby the dignity of the German State is to be permanently impaired, and whereby unendurable economic and financial burdens are to be laid upon the German people.

The German Government has received passionate expressions of opinion from the population in the districts to be cut off in the East, to the effect that they will oppose themselves to the separation of these districts, which have for the greater part been German for many centuries, by all means they possess. The German Government, therefore, finds itself compelled to decline all responsibility for any difficulty which may result from the resistance of the inhabitants against their separation from Germany.

If the Government of the German Republic is, nevertheless, ready to sign the conditions of the Allies with the above mentioned reservation, yet this is not done of its free will. The Government of the German Republic solemnly declares that its attitude is to be understood in the sense that it yields to force, being resolved to spare the German people, whose sufferings are unspeakable, a new war, the shattering of its national unity by further occupation of German territories, terrible famine for women and children, and mercilessly prolonged retention of the prisoners of war.

The German people expects, in view of the grievous burdens which it is to take upon itself, that all German military and civilian prisoners, beginning July 1, and thereafter in uninterrupted succession and within a short period, shall be restored. Germany gave back her enemies' prisoners of war within two months.

ACCEPTANCE WITH RESERVATION

The Government of the German Republic engages to fulfill the conditions of peace imposed upon Germany. It desires, however, in this solemn moment to express itself with unreserved clearness in order to meet in advance any accusation of untruthfulness that may now or later be made against Germany.

The conditions imposed exceed the measure of that which Germany can in fact perform. The Government of the German Republic therefore feels bound to announce that it makes all reservations and declines all responsibility as regards the consequence which may be threatened against Germany when, which is bound to happen, the impossibility of carrying out the conditions come to light, even though Germany's capacity to fulfill them is stretched to the utmost.

Germany further lays the greatest emphasis on the declaration that she cannot accept Article 230 of the treaty of peace, which requires Germany to admit herself to be the sole and only author of the war, and she does not cover this article by her signature. It consequently follows without further argument that Germany must also decline to recognize that the burden should be placed upon her on the score of the responsibility of the war which has unjustly been laid at her door.

Likewise it is equally impossible for a German to reconcile it with his dignity and honor to accept and execute Articles 227 to 230, by which Germany is required to give up to the allied and associated powers for trial individuals among the German people who are accused by the allied and associated powers of a breach of international law and of committing acts contrary to the customs of war.

Further, the Government of the German Republic makes a distinct protest against the taking away of all the colonial possessions of Germany and the reasons given therefor, which permanently deny to Germany fitness for colonial activity, although the contrary is clearly established and irrefutable evidence to this effect is contained in the observations of the German peace delegation on the conditions of peace.

REVISION AFTER TWO YEARS

The Government of the German Republic assumes that it is in accordance with the desires of the allied and associated Governments that it has spoken openly both as regards what concerns its good-will and also as regards its reservation. Therefore, in view of the condition of restraint into which the German people are forced by the requirements of the Allies—a condition of constraint such as has never been inflicted on any people in a manner more crushing and more disastrous in its consequences—and relying on the express undertaking of the allied and associated Governments in their memorandum of June 16, 1919, the German Government believes itself to be entitled to address the following modest request to the allied and associated Governments, in the expectation that the allied and associated Governments will consider the following declaration as an integral portion of the treaty:

"Within two years, counting from the day when the treaty is signed, the allied and associated Governments will submit the present treaty to the high council of the powers, as constituted by the League of Nations, according to Article 4, for the purpose of subsequent examination. Before this high council the German plenipotentiaries are to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the representatives of

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the other contracting powers of the present treaty. This council shall decide in regard to those conditions of the present treaty which impair the rights to self-determination of the German people and also in regard to the stipulation whereby the free economic development of Germany on a footing of equal rights is impeded."

The Government of the German Republic accordingly gives the declaration of its consent, as required by the note of June 16, 1919, in the following form:

"The Government of the German Republic is ready to sign the treaty of peace, without, however, recognizing thereby that the German people was the author of the war and without undertaking any responsibility for delivering persons in accordance with Articles 227 to 230 of the treaty of peace." **BAUER,**

President of the Imperial Ministry.
Weimar, June 21, 1919.

ALLIES' PEREMPTORY REPLY

In a reply of the same date, transmitted to the German peace plenipotentiaries at Versailles, the Council of Five said:

The allied and associated powers have considered the note of the German delegation of even date, and, in view of the shortness of time remaining, feel it their duty to reply at once. Of the time within which the German Government must make its final decision as to the signature of the treaty less than twenty-four hours remains. The allied and associated Governments have given fullest consideration to all representations hitherto made by the German Government with regard to the treaty, and have replied with complete frankness. They have made such concessions as they thought it was just to make.

The present note of the German delegation presents no arguments or considerations not already examined. The allied and associated Governments, therefore, feel constrained to say that the time for discussion is past.

They can accept or acknowledge no qualification of reservation and must require of the German representatives an unequivocal decision as to their purposes to sign and accept as a whole, or not to sign and accept, the treaty as finally formulated.

After the signature the allied and associated powers must hold Germany responsible for the execution of every stipulation of the treaty.

TIME EXTENSION REFUSED

The next move of the German Government was to ask for an extension of

time. In accordance with a dispatch received from Weimar at midnight June 22-23, Herr Haniel von Haimhausen transmitted a note to M. Clemenceau by a French officer from Versailles, who reached Paris at 2:30 in the morning. M. Dutasta was awakened, as were Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson, and a meeting was arranged for the morning. The note from von Haimhausen read as follows:

To His Excellency, the President of the Peace Conference, M. Clemenceau:

MR. PRESIDENT: The Minister for Foreign Affairs instructs me to beg the allied and associated Governments to prolong for forty-eight hours the time limit for answering your Excellency's note, communicated yesterday evening, and likewise the time limit for answering the note of June 16, 1919.

It was only on Saturday, after great difficulties, that a new Cabinet was formed, which, unlike its predecessor, could come to an agreement to declare its willingness to sign the treaty as regards nearly all its provisions. The National Assembly has expressed its confidence in this Cabinet by a large majority of votes. The answer only arrived here just before midnight, as the direct wire from Versailles to Weimar was out of order. The Government must come into contact anew with the National Assembly, in order to make the grievous decision which is still required of it in the only manner in which it can be taken in accordance with democratic principles and with the internal situation in Germany.

Accept, Mr. President, the assurance of my distinguished consideration,

VON HAIMHAUSEN.

The following reply was sent after its approval by the council of the allied and associated powers:

MR. PRESIDENT: The allied and associated Governments beg to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of June 23. After full consideration of your request they regret that it is not possible to extend the time already granted to your Excellency to make known your decision relative to the signature of the treaty without any reservation.

CLEMENCEAU.

UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER

The German National Assembly thereupon, on Monday, June 23, the last day of the period allowed, accepted unconditionally the allied terms, barely in time to avert the execution of the allied plans

SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY

for blockade and invasion. The note was short, making only one typewritten page; on its receipt by Paul Dutasta it was at once translated and copies were transmitted to Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson. The text of the note is given herewith:

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has instructed me to communicate to your Excellency the following:

It appears to the Government of the German Republic, in consternation at the last communication of the allied and associated Governments, that these Governments have decided to wrest from Germany by force acceptance of the peace conditions, even those which, without presenting any material significance, aim at divesting the German people of their honor.

No act of violence can touch the honor of the German people. The German people, after frightful suffering in these last years, have no means of defending themselves by external action.

Yielding to superior force, and without renouncing in the meantime its own view of the unheard-of injustice of the peace conditions, the Government of the German Republic declares that it is ready to accept and sign the peace conditions imposed.

Please accept, Mr. President, assurances of my high consideration,

(Signed) VON HANIEL.

This final surrender on the part of the German Government brought relief to tense nerves all over the world. The great war was ended at last. The peremptory refusal of even a forty-eight-hour delay had shown the temper of the victorious powers, indicating their determination to push the matter through to an issue without further loss of time; that Germany knew what she would be facing in case of rejection was shown not only by the final note of acceptance, but by explicit statements made by Premier Bauer before the Assembly. The receipt of this capitulatory note, however, relieved the heavily charged atmosphere, and the excitement and rejoicing in Paris were tremendous. As soon as it became known officially that the Germans had agreed to sign the treaty unconditionally, big guns began to boom from all the forts around Paris, bringing their message to the waiting people. Simultaneously at 6 o'clock the siren on the roof of the Hotel Astoria, British headquarters, near the centre of the city,

began to shriek, and its piercing notes were heard for half an hour by the excited throngs on the Champs Elysées. Public demonstrations lasted far into the night.

CHOOSING GERMAN SIGNERS

Following the receipt of the German note of surrender the allied council sent a note asking whether or not it was intended that Herr Haniel von Haimhausen should affix his signature to the compact. To this communication there came no reply, and the silence of the German Government brought again an element of tenseness into the situation. On June 24 it was announced from Weimar that the plenipotentiaries who would sign the Peace Treaty for Germany had not yet been chosen, and that great difficulty was encountered in finding men who were willing to affix their names to a document which crystallized the doom of Germany.

It was stated at this time that Dr. Haniel von Haimhausen had telegraphed his resignation from Versailles to avoid the necessity of attaching his name to the instrument. It appeared subsequently that the German Government had designated von Haimhausen to be the sole signatory to the treaty, and it was to this end that he had been appointed temporary plenipotentiary. The powers, however, had protested. They held that von Haimhausen, who had been chief of the Secretariat of the German peace mission, was not of sufficient rank or importance to justify his acting for Germany when the allied signatories would include Premiers and a President.

The German Government's continued silence perplexed the allied council so greatly that on June 25 M. Dutasta was sent to Versailles to see if von Haimhausen had received any information from his Government. The only advice that the latter had received stated that the German Cabinet had left Weimar for Berlin. It was stated that if word was not soon received another ultimatum would be transmitted. Until 11:25 in the morning of June 26 no reply had been sent by Germany, but semi-official statements received through von Haimhausen from Berlin made it clear that

the effort to find delegates was proceeding, and was attended with great difficulties; news then came that Dr. Hermann Müller, the Foreign Minister in the new German Cabinet, and Dr. Johannes Bell, Minister of Colonies, had been selected to sign the treaty; they had left Berlin secretly on Friday and were to arrive at Versailles not later than Saturday morning, June 28. Satisfied with these semi-official tidings, the Allies at once began to complete their preparations for the formal ceremony of signing, which was to take place in the famous Galerie des Glaces (Hall of Mirrors) in the Palace of Versailles, on Saturday, June 28, at 3 P. M.

The two German plenipotentiaries reached Versailles after nightfall on June 27. Secretary Dutasta went to Versailles at 8:30 that evening to hand them a letter from Premier Clemenceau certifying that the treaty to be submitted for their signature conformed in all points to the text of the document submitted on June 16. Plans for the ceremony proceeded. All those holding tickets of admission to the Hall of Mirrors had been notified that they must be provided with identification papers; each ticket was to bear the photograph of the person to be admitted. Ticket holders were requested to be at the palace by 2 o'clock.

The Historic Ceremony at Versailles

How the Treaty Was Signed

NO nobler and more eloquent setting could have been found for this greatest of all modern events, the signing of the Peace of Versailles, after five years of terrific struggle on whose outcome the fate of the whole world had hung, than the palace of the greatest of French Kings on the hillcrest of the Paris suburb that gave its name to the treaty. To reach it the plenipotentiaries and distinguished guests from all parts of the world motored to Versailles that day, and drove down the magnificent tree-lined Avenue du Château, then across the huge square—the famous Place d'Armes of Versailles—and up through the gates and over the cobblestones of the Court of Honor to the entrance, where officers of the Republican Guard, whose creation dates back to the French Revolution, in picturesque uniform, were drawn up to receive them.

All day the crowd had been gathering. It was a cloudy day; not till noon did the sky clear. By noon eleven regiments of French cavalry and infantry had taken position along the approaches to the palace, while within the court on either side solid lines of infantry in horizon blue were drawn up at attention.

Hours before the time set for the cere-

mony an endless stream of automobiles began moving out of Paris up the cannon-lined hill of the Champs Elysées, past the massive Arc de Triomphe, bulking sombrely against the leaden sky, and out through the Bois de Boulogne. This whole thoroughfare was kept clear by pickets, dragoons, and mounted gendarmes. In the meantime thousands of Parisians were packing regular and special trains on all the lines leading to Versailles, and contending with residents of the town for places in the vast park where the famous fountains would rise in white fleur-de-lis to mark the end of the ceremony.

A MEMORABLE SCENE

Past the line of gendarmes thrown across the approaches to the square reserved for ticket holders, the crowd surged in a compact and irresistible wave, while hundreds of the more fortunate ones took up positions in the high windows of every wing of the palace. Up the broad boulevard of the Avenue de Paris the endless chain of motor cars rolled between rows of French soldiers; and a guard of honor at the end of the big court presented arms to the plenipotentiaries and delegates as they drove through to the entrance, which for the

THE HISTORIC CEREMONY AT VERSAILLES

allied delegates only was by the marble stairway to the "Queen's Apartments" and the Hall of Peace, giving access to the Hall of Mirrors. A separate route of entry was prescribed for the Germans, an arrangement which angered and disconcerted them when they discovered it, through the park and up the marble stairway through the ground floor.

The delegates and plenipotentiaries began to arrive shortly after 2 o'clock, their automobiles rolling between double lines of infantry with bayonets fixed—it was estimated that there were 20,000 soldiers altogether guarding the route—that held back the cheering throngs. The scene from the Court of Honor was impressive. The Place d'Armes was a lake of white faces, dappled everywhere by the bright colors of flags and fringed with the horizon blue of troops whose bayonets flamed silverly as the sun emerged for a moment from behind heavy clouds. At least a dozen airplanes wheeled and curvetted above.

Up that triumphal passage, leading for a full quarter of a mile from the wings of the palace to the entrance to the Hall of Mirrors, representatives of the victorious nations passed in flag-decked limousines—hundreds, one after another, without intermission, for fifty minutes. Just inside the golden gates, which were flung wide, they passed the big bronze statue of Louis XIV., the "Sun-King," on horseback, flanked by statues of the Princes and Governors, Admirals and Generals who had made Louis the Grand Monarque of France. And on the façade of the twin, temple-like structures on either side of the great statue they could read as they passed an inscription symbolic of the historic ceremony just about to occur: "To All the Glories of France."

NOTABILITIES ARRIVE

One of the earliest to arrive was Marshal Foch, amid a torrent of cheering, which burst out even louder a few moments later when the massive head of Premier Clemenceau was seen through the windows of a French military car. To these and other leaders, including President Wilson, General Pershing, and

Premier Lloyd George, the troops drawn up all around the courtyard presented arms. After Clemenceau the unique procession continued, diplomats, soldiers, Princes of India in gorgeous turbans and swarthy faces, dapper Japanese in immaculate Western dress, Admirals, aviators, Arabs; one caught a glimpse of the bright colors of French, British, and Colonial uniforms. British Tommies and American doughboys also dashed up on crowded camions, representing the blood and sweat of the hard-fought victory; they got an enthusiastic reception. It was 2:45 o'clock when Mr. Balfour, bowing and smiling, heralded the arrival of the British delegates. Mr. Lloyd George was just behind him, for once wearing the conventional high hat instead of his usual felt. At ten minutes of 3 came President Wilson in a black limousine, with his flag, a white eagle on a dark blue ground; he received a hearty welcome.

By 3 o'clock the last contingent had arrived, and the broad ribbon road stretched empty between the lines of troops from the gates of the palace courtyard. The Germans had already entered; to avoid any unpleasant incident they had been quietly conveyed from their lodgings at the Hotel des Reservoirs Annex through the park.

THE SCENE INSIDE

The final scene in the great drama was enacted in the magnificent Hall of Mirrors. Versailles contains no more splendid chamber than this royal hall, whose 300 mirrors gleam from every wall, whose vaulted and frescoed ceiling looms dark and high, in whose vastness the footfalls of the passer re-echo over marble floors and die away reverberatingly. It was no mere matter of convenience or accident that the Germans were brought to sign the Peace Treaty in this hall. For this same hall, which saw the German peace delegates of 1919, representing a beaten and prostrate Germany, affix their signatures to the allied terms of peace, had witnessed in the year 1871 a very different ceremony. It was in the Hall of Mirrors that the German Empire was born. Forty-nine years ago, on a January morning, while

the forts of beleaguered Paris were firing their last defiant shots, in that mirror-gleaming hall was inaugurated the reign of that German Empire the virtual end of which, so far as the concept held by its originators is concerned, was signalized in Versailles in the same spot on Saturday, June 28. And in 1871 President Thiers had signed there the crushing terms of defeat imposed by a victorious and ruthless Germany.

In anticipation of the present ceremony carpets had been laid and the ornamental table, with its eighteenth century gilt and bronze decorations, had been placed in position on the dais where the plenipotentiaries were seated. Fronting the chair of M. Clemenceau was placed a small table, on which the diplomatic instruments were laid. It was to this table that each representative was called, in alphabetical order by countries, to sign his name to the treaty and affix to it his Governmental seal. The 400 or more invited guests were given places in the left wing of the Hall of Mirrors, while the right wing was occupied by about the same number of press representatives. Sixty seats were allotted to the French press alone. Besides the military guards outside the palace, the grand stairway up which the delegates came to enter the hall was controlled by the Republican Guards in their most brilliant gala uniform.

THE PEACE TABLE

The peace table—a huge hollow rectangle with its open side facing the windows in the hall—was spread with tawny yellow coverings blending with the rich browns, blues, and yellows of the antique hangings and rugs; these, and the mellow tints of the historical paintings, depicting scenes from France's ancient wars, in the arched roof of the long hall, lent bright dashes of color to an otherwise austere scene. Against the sombre background also stood out the brilliant uniforms of a few French guards, in red plumed silver helmets and red, white, and blue uniforms, and a group of allied Generals, including General Pershing, who wore the scarlet sash of the Legion of Honor.

But all the diplomats and members of the parties who attended the ceremony of signing wore conventional civilian clothes. All gold lace and pageantry was eschewed, the fanciful garb of the Middle Ages was completely absent as representative of traditions and practices sternly condemned in the great bound treaty-volume of Japanese paper, covered with seals and printed in French and English, which was signed by twenty-seven nations that afternoon.

As a contrast with the Franco-German peace session of 1871, held in the same hall, there were present some grizzled French veterans of the Franco-Prussian war. They took the place of the Prussian guardsmen of the previous ceremony, and gazed with a species of grim satisfaction at the disciples of Bismarck, who sat this time in the seats of the lowly, while the white marble statue of Minerva, goddess of war, looked stonily on.

ENTRANCE OF CHIEF ACTORS

The ceremony of signing was marked only by three minor incidents: a protest by the German delegation at the eleventh hour over the provision of separate entrance, the filing of a document of protest by General Jan Smuts of the South African delegation, and the deliberate absence of the Chinese delegates from the ceremony, due to dissatisfaction over the concessions granted to Japan in Shantung.

The treaty was deposited on the table at 2:10 o'clock by William Martin of the French Foreign Office; it was inclosed in a stamped leather case, and bulked large. Because of the size of the volume and the fragile seals it bore, the plan to present it for signing to Premier Clemenceau, President Wilson, and Premier Lloyd George had been given up. A box of old-fashioned goosequills, sharpened by the expert pen pointer of the French Foreign Office, was placed on each of the three tables for the use of plenipotentiaries who desired to observe the conventional formalities.

Secretary Lansing, meanwhile, had been the first of the American delegation to arrive in the palace—at 1:45 P. M. Premier Clemenceau entered at 2:20

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o'clock. Three detachments each consisting of fifteen private soldiers—from the American, British, and French forces—entered just before 3 o'clock and took their places in the embrasures of the windows overlooking the château park, a few feet from Marshal Foch, who was seated with the French delegation at the peace table. Marshal Foch was present only as a spectator, and did not participate in the signing. These forty-five soldiers of the three main belligerent nations were present as the real "artisans of peace" and stood within the inclosure reserved for plenipotentiaries and high officials of the conference as a visible sign of their rôle in bringing into being a new Europe. These men had been selected from those who bore honorable wounds. Premier Clemenceau stepped up to the pouls of the French detachment and shook the hand of each, expressing his pleasure at seeing them, and his regrets for the suffering they had endured for France.

Delegates of the minor powers made their way with difficulty through the crowd to their places at the table. Officers and civilians lined the walls and filled the isles. President Wilson entered the Hall of Mirrors at 2:50 o'clock. All the allied delegates were then seated, except the Chinese representatives, who were conspicuous by their absence. The difficulty of seeing well militated against demonstrations on the arrival of prominent statesmen. The crowd refused to be seated and thronged toward the centre of the hall, which is so long that a good view was impossible from any distance, even with the aid of opera glasses. German correspondents were ushered into the hall just before 3 o'clock and took standing room in a window at the rear of the correspondents' section.

At 3 o'clock a hush fell over the hall. There were a few moments of disorder while the officials and the crowd took their places. At 3:07 the German delegates, Dr. Hermann Müller, German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Johannes Bell, Colonial Secretary, were shown into the hall; with heads held high they took their seats. The other delegates remained seated, ac-

cording to a prearranged plan reminiscent of the discourtesy displayed by von Brockdorff-Rantzau, who at the ceremony of delivery of the peace treaty on May 7 had refused to rise to read his address to the allied delegates. The seats of the German delegates touched elbows with the Japanese on the right and the Brazilians on the left. They were thus on the side nearest the entrance, and the program required them to depart by a separate exit before the other delegates at the close of the ceremony. Delegates from Ecuador, Peru, and Liberia faced them across the narrow table.

THE GERMANS SIGN

M. Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, opened the ceremony. Rising, he made the following brief address, amid dead silence:

The session is open. The allied and associated powers on one side and the German Reich on the other side have come to an agreement on the conditions of peace. The text has been completed, drafted, and the President of the Conference has stated in writing that the text that is about to be signed now is identical with the 200 copies that have been delivered to the German delegation. The signatures will be given now, and they amount to a solemn undertaking faithfully and loyally to execute the conditions embodied by this treaty of peace. I now invite the delegates of the German Reich to sign the treaty.

There was a tense pause for a moment. Then in response to M. Clemenceau's bidding the German delegates rose without a word, and, escorted by William Martin, master of ceremonies, moved to the signatory table, where they placed upon the treaty the sign-manuals which German Government leaders had declared over and over again, with emphasis and anger, would never be appended to this treaty. They also signed a protocol covering changes in the documents, and the Polish undertaking. All three documents were similarly signed by the allied delegates who followed.

WILSON SIGNS NEXT

When the German delegates regained their seats after signing, President Wilson immediately rose and, followed by the other American plenipotentiaries,

moved around the sides of the horseshoe to the signature tables. It was thus President Wilson, and not M. Clemenceau, who was first of the allied delegates to sign. This, however, was purely what may be called an alphabetical honor, in accordance with the order in which the nations were named in the prologue to the treaty. Premier Lloyd George, with the British delegation, came next. The British dominions followed. M. Clemenceau, with the French delegates, was next in line; then came Baron Saionji and the other Japanese delegates, and they in turn were followed by the representatives of the smaller powers.

During the attaching of the signatures of the great powers and the Germans a battery of moving picture cameras clicked away so audibly that they could be heard above the general noise and disorder of the throng. The close of the ceremony came so quickly and quietly that it was scarcely noticed until it was all over. M. Clemenceau arose almost unremarked, and in a voice half lost amid the confusion and the hum of conversation which had sprung up while the minor powers were signing declared the conference closed, and asked the allied and associated delegates to remain in their seats for a few moments—this to permit the German plenipotentiaries to leave the building before the general exodus.

THE GERMANS DEPART

None arose as the Germans filed out, accompanied by their suite of secretaries and interpreters, just as all the plenipotentiaries had kept their seats when Dr. Müller and Dr. Bell entered. The Germans went forth evidently suffering strong emotion. Outside an unsympathetic crowd jammed close to the cars which took them away. There was no aggression, but the sentiment of the throng was unmistakable.

Meanwhile the great guns that announced the closing of the ceremony were booming, and their concussion shook the old palace of Versailles to its foundations. Amid confusion the assembly dispersed, and the most momentous ceremony of the epoch was at an end.

The great war which for five long

years had shaken Europe and the world was formally ended at last. It was a war which had cost the belligerent nations \$186,000,000,000; which had caused the deaths of 7,582,000 human beings, and which had left the world a post-war burden of debt amounting to \$135,000,000,000. It was a war which had changed the whole face of Europe, which had brought many new nations into existence, which had revolutionized the organization of all national and international life. It was a war which had brought the world the consciousness of its common obligation to unite against all war. The booming of the great guns of Versailles seemed to proclaim a new epoch.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS

Simultaneously with the signing of peace President Wilson cabled the following address to the American people, which was given out at once in Washington by Secretary Tumulty:

My Fellow-Countrymen: The treaty of peace has been signed. If it is ratified and acted upon in full and sincere execution of its terms it will furnish the charter for a new order of affairs in the world. It is a severe treaty in the duties and penalties it imposes upon Germany; but it is severe only because great wrongs done by Germany are to be righted and repaired; it imposes nothing that Germany cannot do; and she can regain her rightful standing in the world by the prompt and honorable fulfillment of its terms.

And it is much more than a treaty of peace with Germany. It liberates great peoples who have never before been able to find the way to liberty. It ends, once for all, an old and intolerable order under which small groups of selfish men could use the peoples of great empires to serve their ambition for power and dominion. It associates the free Governments of the world in a permanent League in which they are pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice.

It makes international law a reality supported by imperative sanctions. It does away with the right of conquest and rejects the policy of annexation and substitutes a new order under which backward nations—populations which have not yet come to political consciousness and peoples who are ready for independence but not yet quite prepared to dispense with protection and guidance—shall no more be subjected to the domination and

THE HISTORIC CEREMONY AT VERSAILLES

exploitation of a stronger nation, but shall be put under the friendly direction and afforded the helpful assistance of Governments which undertake to be responsible to the opinion of mankind in the execution of their task by accepting the direction of the League of Nations.

It recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality, the rights of minorities and the sanctity of religious belief and practice. It lays the basis for conventions which shall free the commercial intercourse of the world from unjust and vexatious restrictions and for every sort of international co-operation that will serve to cleanse the life of the world and facilitate its common action in beneficent service of every kind. It furnishes guarantees such as were never given or even contemplated for the fair treatment of all who labor at the daily tasks of the world.

It is for this reason that I have spoken of it as a great charter for a new order of affairs. There is ground here for deep satisfaction, universal reassurance, and confident hope.

Late in the afternoon the German delegation received a note from the allied and associated powers specifying the conditions attaching to the ratification of

the treaty they had signed. The note stated, among other things, that the blockade would be lifted from Germany as soon as the German National Assembly had ratified the treaty; a similar condition also applied to the release of German prisoners.

Dr. Müller, Dr. Bell, and about fifty other members of the German delegation left Versailles the same evening virtually unnoticed. To avoid the crowds celebrating in the streets they were sent in fifteen automobiles by a roundabout route to Noisy-le-Roi, where they boarded their train at 9 o'clock. They were accompanied as far as Cologne by French and Italian officers. The Germans took leave of the French officials at Versailles with punctilious politeness. Herr Haniel von Haimhausen and more than fifty other Germans remained temporarily to close up the affairs of the delegation. The German contingent that remained at Versailles through the ensuing weeks was headed by Kurt von Lersner.

Celebrating the Signing

Worldwide Jubilations

THE signing of the treaty was enthusiastically celebrated in Paris on the evening of June 28. All Paris was ablaze; the streets were filled with torchlight processions, columns of troops marched over the city and everywhere were greeted with wild cheers; the soldiers were pelted with flowers and confetti wherever they appeared. Large crowds massed in front of the American Headquarters and salvos of cheers were given for America.

The Strasbourg statue had an American flag at its apex, typifying the efforts of American soldiers on the fighting front in Alsace. The hotels roundabout were brilliantly lighted by electricity and gas for the first time in five years.

Impromptu orchestras appeared on every corner. Young and old danced, and every one kissed every one else. The

population dined early so as to have more time for the merrymaking.

At Marseilles, Toulon, and Cherbourg, as well as other seaports, warships were dressed in flags, salutes were fired, church bells were rung, and there were illuminations and torchlight processions. At Bordeaux the departure of the American students from the university was made the occasion of a brilliant farewell reception by the municipality.

A national thanksgiving service for the deliverance of Belgium occurred at Brussels, attended by the King and Queen. Cardinal Mercier officiated and paid a tribute to the sovereigns and others who remained in the country during the period of occupation. Flags were displayed, but there was no official celebration.

At Rio Janeiro buildings throughout the city displayed the flags of the allied and associated powers, naval salutes

were fired, and there were parades through the city streets.

At London the bells of St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey and of virtually all the churches in the city were rung. Guns were fired, impromptu processions formed, troops headed by bands paraded; a crowd of 10,000 gathered about Buckingham Palace. The King made a brief speech, hymns were sung, national airs played, including "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise."

On July 6 thanksgiving services were held at St. Paul's, which were attended by the King, the entire Cabinet, distinguished soldiers and sailors and the Diplomatic Corps. The Archbishop of Canterbury preached and a solemn Te Deum was sung. The day before there was a great victory parade in London.

In the United States there was no formal celebration. In many cities bells were rung and cannons fired. At New York there was blowing of whistles and ringing of church bells; warships in the harbor fired salutes. At other American ports war vessels likewise celebrated with artillery salvos.

At Madrid on June 24 King Alfonso, in his speech from the throne at the reopening of the Cortes, announced the news of the advent of peace "with ineffable joy."

The King began his address by affirming the unalterable concord between Spain and the Vatican and added:

"Spain's friendship for all nations is

unchanged, except for the fact that the Minister at Petrograd was withdrawn in consequence of events there."

After stating that Spain had recognized the independence of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Finland, the King said that Spain had manifested her adhesion in principle to the League of Nations, and had "the honor to be included in the provisory Executive Committee of that organization."

At Rome only Government officers hoisted flags to celebrate the signing. There were no celebrations. The tone of the influential Italian press was critical of the treaty and the council.

Premier Venizelos issued the following announcement to the Greek Army at Saloniki:

The world commences to breathe. The strongest of our enemies recognizes his complete defeat and accepts the heavy but just conditions of the Allies. The signing of this peace will be followed rapidly by the submission of our more direct enemies, Bulgaria and Turkey, and this latter action will restore liberty to many thousands of our brothers in the Greek Irredenta, as well as to the peoples living there, and will enable Greece again to become a rich State and to enjoy the benefits of peace assured by the League of Nations. The Greek Army may be proud of its participation in this gigantic work.

The rejoicings were worldwide and took on many forms. The National Assembly of San Salvador enacted a law making June 28 a national feast day in celebration of the Peace of Versailles.



THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY

Full Text of the Historic Document

Signed at Versailles on June 28, 1919

The complete and final text of the Treaty of Versailles, which was signed by the peace plenipotentiaries of Germany and of twenty-six Allied and Associated Powers on June 28, 1919, is here presented. The original version of the treaty terms handed to Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau on May 7 underwent many minor changes in the weeks of negotiation that intervened, and the Polish section was completely rewritten. The text here given is reproduced from one of the revised and reprinted copies issued in French and English by the Peace Conference and distributed among the delegates at the time of the signing. The one sealed and morocco-bound copy which was actually signed by the delegates remains deposited, with the original maps belonging to it, in the archives of the French Republic at Paris. The delegates named in the preamble are those who signed the treaty, with a few exceptions; China's plenipotentiaries refused to sign on account of the Shantung concessions to Japan, and Italy's signers, owing to the overthrow of the Orlando Ministry, were a new group headed by Signor Tittoni, the new Foreign Minister. The German signers were Dr. Hermann Müller and Dr. Johannes Bell, instead of the Brockdorff delegation, which had withdrawn.

CONDITIONS OF PEACE

THE United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, these powers being described in the present treaty as the principal Allied and Associated Powers; Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State; Siam, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay, these powers constituting with the principal powers mentioned above the Allied and Associated Powers of the one part; and Germany, of the other part: Bearing in mind that on the request of the Imperial German Government an armistice was granted on Nov. 11, 1918, to Germany by the principal Allied and Associated Powers in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded with her, and the Allied and Associated Powers being equally desirous that the war in which they were successively involved directly or indirectly, and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia; the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on Aug. 1, 1914, and against France on Aug. 3,

1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just, and durable peace;

For this purpose the high contracting parties represented as follows:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, by:

The Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, acting in his own name and by his own proper authority;
The Honorable Robert Lansing, Secretary of State;

The Honorable Henry White, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris;

The Honorable Edward M. House;

General Tasker H. Bliss, Military Representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, EMPEROR OF INDIA, by:

The Right Honorable David Lloyd George, M. P., First Lord of his Treasury and Prime Minister;

The Right Honorable Andrew Bonar Law, M. P., his Lord Privy Seal;

The Right Honorable Viscount Milner, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., his Secretary of State for the Colonies;

The Right Honorable Arthur James Bal-

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- four, O. M., M. P., his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;
The Right Honorable George Nicoll Barnes, M. P., Minister without portfolio; and
FOR THE DOMINION OF CANADA, by:
The Right Honorable Sir George Eulas Foster, G. C. M. G., Minister of Trade and Commerce;
The Right Honorable Charles Joseph Doherty, Minister of Justice;
FOR THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA, by:
The Right Honorable William Morris Hughes, Attorney General and Prime Minister;
The Right Honorable Sir Joseph Cook, G. C. M. G., Minister for the Navy;
FOR THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, by:
General the Right Honorable Louis Botha, Prime Minister;
Lieut. General the Right Honorable Jan Christiaan Smuts, K. C., Minister of Defense;
FOR THE DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND, by:
The Right Honorable William Ferguson Massey, Minister of Labor and Prime Minister;
FOR INDIA, by:
The Right Honorable Edwin Samuel Montagu, M. P., his Secretary of State for India;
Major General his Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Bikaner, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., G. C. V. O., K. C. B., A. D. C.;
THE PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, by:
Mr. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War;
Mr. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
Mr. L. L. Klotz, Minister of Finance;
Mr. André Tardieu, Commissary General for Franco-American Military Affairs;
Mr. Jules Cambon, Ambassador of France;
HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF ITALY, by:
Mr. V. E. Orlando, President of the Council of Ministers;
Baron S. Sonnino, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
Mr. S. Crespi, Deputy, Minister of Supplies;
Marquis G. Imperiali, Senator of the Kingdom, Ambassador of his Majesty the King of Italy at London;
Mr. S. Barzilai, Deputy, formerly Minister;
HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN, by:
Marquis Salozzi, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;
Baron Makino, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs, member of the Diplomatic Council;
Viscount Chinda, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at London;
Mr. K. Matsui, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;
Mr. H. Ijuin, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Rome;
HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE BELGIANS, by:
Mr. Hymans, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of State;
Mr. Van Den Heuvel, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of the Belgians, Minister of State;
Mr. Vandervelde, Minister of Justice, Minister of State;
THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA, by:
Mr. Ismael Montes, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Bolivia at Paris;
THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BRAZIL, by:
Mr. Epitacio Pessoa, formerly Minister of State, formerly member of the Supreme Court of Justice, Federal Senator;
Mr. Pandiá Calogeras, Deputy, formerly Minister of Finance;
Mr. Raul Fernandes;
THE PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC, by:
Mr. Lou Tseng-Tsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
Mr. Chengting Thomas Wang, formerly Minister of Agriculture and Commerce;
THE PRESIDENT OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC, by:
Mr. Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante, Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Havana, President of the Cuban Society of International Law;
THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ECUADOR, by:
Mr. Enrique Dorn y de Alsua, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Ecuador at Paris;
HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HELLENES, by:
Mr. Eleftherios Venizelos, President of the Council of Ministers;
Mr. Nicolas Politis, Minister of Foreign Affairs;
THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUATEMALA, by:
Mr. Joaquin Mendez, formerly Minister of State for Public Works and Public Instruction, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Guatemala at Washington, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary on Special Mission at Paris;
THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HAITI, by:
Mr. Tertulien Gullbaud, Envoy Extraordi-

THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY

nary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Haiti at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE HEDJAZ, by:

Mr. Rustem Haldar,
Mr. Abdul Hadi Aouni;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS, by:

Dr. Policarpe Bonilla, on special mission to Washington, formerly President of the Republic of Honduras, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, by:

The Honorable C. D. B. King, Secretary of State;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NICARAGUA, by:

Mr. Salvador Chamorro, President of the Chamber of Deputies;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA, by:

Mr. Antonio Burgos, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Panama at Madrid;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PERU, by:

Mr. Carlos G. Candamo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru at Paris;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC, by:

Mr. Roman Dmowski, President of the Polish National Committee;

Mr. Ignace Paderewski, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC, by:

Dr. Affonso Costa, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

Mr. Augusto Soares, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF RUMANIA, by:

Mr. Jean J. C. Bratiano, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

General Constantin Coanda, Corps Commander, A. D. C. to the King, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE SERBS, THE CROATS, AND THE SLOVENES, by:

Mr. N. P. Pachitch, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

Mr. Ante Trumbic, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

Mr. Milenko R. Vesnitch, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes at Paris;

HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF SIAM, by:

Prince Charoon, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of Siam at Paris;

Prince Traidos Prabandhu, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC, by:

Mr. Charles Kramar, President of the Council of Ministers;

Mr. Edouard Benes, Minister of Foreign Affairs;

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF URUGUAY, by:

Mr. Juan Antonio Buero, Minister of Industry, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs;

GERMANY, by:

Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Empire;

Dr. Landsberg, Minister of Justice of the Empire;

Mr. Giesberts, Minister of Posts of the Empire;

Oberbürgermeister Leinert, President of the Prussian National Assembly;

Dr. Schücking;

Dr. Karl Melchior;

Acting in the name of the German Empire and of each and every component State,

WHO having communicated their full powers found in good and due form **HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:**

From the coming into force of the present treaty the state of war will terminate. From that moment and subject to the provisions of this treaty official relations with Germany and with any of the German States will be resumed by the Allied and Associated Powers.

PART I.—The Covenant of the League of Nations

THE high contracting parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 1.—The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, dominion, or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admis-

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sion is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2.—The action of the League under this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an assembly and of a council, with a permanent secretariat.

ARTICLE 3.—The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

ARTICLE 4.—The council shall consist of representatives of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the assembly, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and Greece shall be members of the council.

With the approval of the majority of the assembly, the council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the council; the council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the assembly for representation on the council.

The council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the League not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

At meetings of the council, each member of the League represented on the council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

ARTICLE 5.—Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant or by the terms of the present treaty, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the assembly or of the council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the assembly or by the council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the assembly and the first meeting of the council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6.—The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the council with the approval of the majority of the assembly.

The secretaries and staff of the secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the assembly and of the council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 7.—The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 8.—The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

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After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

ARTICLE 9.—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE 10.—The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11.—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12.—The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13.—The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise

between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the Court of Arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14.—The council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly.

ARTICLE 15.—If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the League represented on the council may make public a statement of

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the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the council.

In any case referred to the assembly all the provisions of this article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the council shall apply to the action and powers of the assembly, provided that a report made by the assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE 16.—Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another

in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE 17.—In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the council.

Upon such invitation being given the council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18.—Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19.—The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20.—The members of the League severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any en-

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gements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21.—Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22.—To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest

Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization; or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate the mandatory shall render to the council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE 23.—Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League:

- (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;
- (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24.—There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of inter-

national interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The council may include as part of the expenses of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25.—The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26.—Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

ANNEX

I. Original members of the League of Nations signatories of the treaty of peace.

United States of America.	Haiti.
Belgium.	Hedjaz.
Bolivia.	Honduras.
Brazil.	Italy.
British Empire.	Japan.
Canada.	Liberia.
Australia.	Nicaragua.
South Africa.	Panama.
New Zealand.	Peru.
India.	Poland.
China.	Portugal.
Cuba.	Rumania.
Ecuador.	Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
France.	Siam.
Greece.	Czecho-Slovakia.
Guatemala.	Uruguay.

States invited to accede to the covenant.

Argentine Republic.	Persia.
Chile.	Salvador.
Colombia.	Spain.
Denmark.	Sweden.
Netherlands.	Switzerland.
Norway.	Venezuela.
Paraguay.	

II. First Secretary General of the League of Nations.

The Honorable Sir James Eric Drummond, K. C. M. G., C. B.

PART II.—Boundaries of Germany

ARTICLE 27.—The boundaries of Germany will be determined as follows:

1. With Belgium: From the point common to the three frontiers of Belgium, Holland, and Germany, and in a southerly direction; the northeastern boundary of the former territory of neutral Moresnet, then the eastern boundary of the Kreis of Eupen, then the frontier between Belgium and the Kreis of Montjole, then the northeastern and eastern boundary of the Kreis of Malmédy to its junction with the frontier of Luxemburg.

2. With Luxemburg: The frontier of the 3d August, 1914, to its junction with the frontier of France of the 18th July, 1870.

3. With France: The frontier of the 18th July, 1870, from Luxemburg to Switzerland, with the reservations made in Article 48 of Section 4 (Sarre Basin) of Part III.

4. With Switzerland: The present frontier.

5. With Austria: The frontier of the 3d August, 1914, from Switzerland to Czecho-slovakia is hereinafter defined.

6. With Czechoslovakia: The frontier of the 3d August, 1914, between Germany and Austria from its junction with the old administrative boundary separating Bohemia and the Province of Upper Austria to the point north of the salient of the old Province of Austrian Silesia situated at about eight kilometers east of Neustadt.

7. With Poland: From the point defined above to a point to be fixed on the ground about 2 kilometers east of Lorzendorf: the frontier as it will be fixed in accordance with Article 88 of the present treaty; thence in a northerly direction to the point where the administrative boundary of Posnania crosses the river Bartsch: a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places in Poland: Skorischau, Reichthal, Trembat-schau, Kunzendorf, Schleise, Gross Kosel, Schreibersdorf, Rippin, Fürstlich-Nieffen, Pawelau, Tscheschen, Konradau, Johannisdorf, Modzenowe, Bogdaj, and in Germany: Lorzendorf, Kaulwitz, Glausche, Dalbersdorf, Reesewitz, Stradam, Gross Nartenberg Krauschen, Neu Mittelwalde, Domaslawitz, Wedelsdorf, Tscheschen Hammer; thence the boundary of Posnania northwestward to the point where it cuts the Rawitsch-Herrnstadt railway; thence to the point where the administrative boundary of Posnania cuts the Reisen-Tschirnau road: a line to be fixed on the ground passing west of Triebusch and Gabel and east of Saborwitz; thence the administrative boundary of Posnania to its junction with the eastern boundary of the Kreis of Fraustadt;

Thence in a northwesterly direction to a point to be chosen on the road between the villages of Unruhstadt and Kophitz: a line

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to be fixed on the ground passing west of Geyersdorf, Brenno, Fehlen, Altkloster, Klebel, and east of Ulbersdorf, Buchwald, Ilgen, Weine, Lupitze, Schwenten; thence in a northerly direction to the northernmost point of Lake Chlop; a line to be fixed on the ground following the median line of the lakes; the town and the station of Bentschen, however, (including the junction of the lines Schwiebus-Bentschen and Züllichau-Bentschen,) remaining in Polish territory;

Thence in a northeasterly direction to the point of junction of the boundaries of the Kreise of Schwerin, Birnbaum, and Meseritz: a line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Betsche; thence in a northerly direction the boundary separating the Kreise of Schwerin and Birnbaum, then in an easterly direction the northern boundary of Posnania and to the point where it cuts the river Netze; thence upstream to its confluence with the Küddow: the course of the Netze; thence upstream to a point to be chosen about 6 kilometers southeast of Schneidemühl: the course of the Küddow;

Thence northeastward to the most southern point of the re-entrant of the northern boundary of Posnania about 5 kilometers west of Stahren: a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the Schneidemühl-Konitz railway in this area entirely in German territory; thence the boundary of Posnania northeastward to the point of the salient it makes about 15 kilometers east of Flatow; thence northeastward to the point where the river Kamionka meets the southern boundary of the Kreise of Konitz about 3 kilometers northeast of Grunau: a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following places to Poland: Jasdrawo, Gr. Lutau, Kl. Lutau and Wittkau, and to Germany: Gr. Butzig, Czikowo, Battow, Böch, and Grunau;

Thence in a northerly direction the boundary between the Kreise of Konitz and Schlochau to the point where this boundary cuts the river Brahe; thence to a point on the boundary of Pomerania 15 kilometers east of Rummelsburg: a line to be fixed on the ground leaving the following localities in Poland: Konarzln, Kelpin, Adl. Briesen, and in Germany: Sampohl, Neuguth, Steinfort, and Gr. Peterkau; then the boundary of Pomerania in an easterly direction to its junction with the boundary between the kowo, Battrow, Böch, and Grunau;

Thence northward the boundary between Pomerania and West Prussia to the point on the river Rheda about 3 kilometers northwest of Gohra, where that river is joined by a tributary from the northwest; thence to a point to be selected in the bend of the Plasnitz River about 1½ kilometers northwest of Warschkau: a line to be fixed on the ground; thence this river downstream, then the median line of Lake Zarnowitz, then the old boundary of West Prussia to the Baltic Sea.

8. With Denmark: The frontier as it will

be fixed in accordance with Articles 109 and 110 of Part III., Section XII., (Schleswig.)

ARTICLE 28.—The boundaries of East Prussia, with the reservations made in Section IX. (East Prussia) of Part III. will be determined as follows:

From a point on the coast of the Baltic Sea about 1½ kilometers north of Pröbbernau Church in a direction of about 150 degrees east from true north: A line to be fixed on the ground for about 2 kilometers, thence in a straight line to the light at the bend of the Elbinger Channel in approximately latitude 54.19½ north, longitude 19.26 east of Greenwich;

Thence to the easternmost mouth of the Nogat River at a bearing of approximately 209 degrees east from true north;

Thence up the course of the Nogat River to the point where the latter leaves the Vistula, (Welchsel);

Thence up the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula, then the southern boundary of the Kreise of Marienwerder, then that of the Kreise of Rosenberg, eastward to the point where it meets the old boundary of East Prussia;

Thence the old boundary between East and West Prussia, then the boundary between the Kreise of Osterode and Neidenburg, then the course of the River Skottau down stream, then the course of the Neide up stream to a point situated about 5 kilometers west of Bialutten, being the nearest point to the old frontier of Russia, thence in an easterly direction to a point immediately south of the intersection of the road Neidenburg-Mlava with the old frontier of Russia:

A line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Bialutten;

Thence the old frontier of Russia to a point east of Schmallingken, then the principal channel of navigation of the Niemen (Memel) down stream, then the Skierwleth arm of the delta to the Kurisches Haff:

Thence a straight line to the point where the eastern shore of the Kurische Nehrung meets the administrative boundary about 4 kilometers southwest of Nidden:

Thence this administrative boundary to the western shore of the Kurische Nehrung.

ARTICLE 29.—The boundaries as described above are drawn in red on a one-in-a-million map which is annexed to the present treaty. (Map No. 1.)

In the case of any discrepancies between the text of the treaty and this map or any other map which may be annexed, the text will be final.

ARTICLE 30.—In the case of boundaries which are defined by a waterway, the terms "course" and "channel" used in the present treaty signify: In the case of non-navigable rivers, the median line of the waterway or of its principal arm, and in the case of navigable rivers the median line of the principal channel of navigation. It will

rest with the boundary commissions provided by the present treaty to specify in each case whether the frontier line shall follow any changes of the course or channel which

may take place or whether it shall be definitely fixed by the position of the course or channel at the time when the present treaty comes into force.

PART III.—Political Clauses for Europe

SECTION I.—*Belgium*

ARTICLE 31.—Germany, recognizing that the treaties of April 19, 1839, which established the status of Belgium before the war, no longer conform to the requirements of the situation, consents to the abrogation of the said treaties and undertakes immediately to recognize and to observe whatever conventions may be entered into by the principal allied and associated powers, or by any of them in concert with the Governments of Belgium and of the Netherlands, to replace the said treaties of 1839. If her formal adhesion should be required to such conventions or to any of their stipulations, Germany undertakes immediately to give it.

ARTICLE 32.—Germany recognizes the full sovereignty of Belgium over the whole of the contested territory of Moresnet, (called Moresnet Neutre.)

ARTICLE 33.—Germany renounces in favor of Belgium all rights and title over the territory of Prussian Moresnet situated on the west of the road from Liège to Aix-la-Chapelle: the road will belong to Belgium where it bounds this territory.

ARTICLE 34.—Germany renounces in favor of Belgium all rights and title over the territory comprising the whole of the Kreise of Eupen and of Malmédy.

During the six months after the coming into force of this treaty, registers will be opened by the Belgian authorities at Eupen and Malmédy in which the inhabitants of the above territory will be entitled to record in writing a desire to see the whole or part of it remain under Germany sovereignty.

The results of this public expression of opinion will be communicated by the Belgian Government to the League of Nations, and Belgium undertakes to accept the decision of the League.

ARTICLE 35.—A commission of seven persons, five of whom will be appointed by the principal allied and associated powers, one by Germany and one by Belgium, will be set up fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to settle on the spot the new frontier line between Belgium and Germany, taking into account the economic factors and the means of communication.

Decisions will be taken by a majority and will be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 36.—When the transfer of the sovereignty over the territories referred to above has become definitive, German nationals habitually resident in the territories will

definitively acquire Belgian nationality *ipso facto*, and will lose their German nationality.

Nevertheless German nationals who become resident in the territories after the 1st August, 1914, shall not obtain Belgian nationality without a permit from the Belgian Government.

ARTICLE 37.—Within the two years following the definitive transfer of the sovereignty over the territories assigned to Belgium under the present treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in those territories will be entitled to opt for German nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany.

They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territories acquired by Belgium. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 38.—The German Government will hand over without delay to the Belgian Government the archives, registers, plans, title deeds and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial or other administrations in the territory transferred to Belgian sovereignty.

The German Government will likewise restore to the Belgian Government the archives and documents of every kind carried off during the war by the German authorities from the Belgian public administrations, in particular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Brussels.

ARTICLE 39.—The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia which Belgium will have to bear on account of the territories ceded to her shall be fixed in conformity with Articles 254 and 256 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

SECTION II.—*Luxemburg*

ARTICLE 40.—With regard to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, Germany renounces the benefit of all the provisions inserted in her favor in the treaties of Feb. 8, 1842; April 2, 1847; Oct. 20-25, 1865; Aug. 18, 1866; Feb. 21 and May 11, 1867; May 10, 1871; June 11, 1872, and Nov. 11, 1902, and in all conventions consequent upon such treaties.

Germany recognizes that the Grand Duchy

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of Luxemburg ceased to form part of the German Zollverein as from Jan 1, 1919; renounces all right to the exploitation of the railways, adheres to the termination of the régime of neutrality of the Grand Duchy, and accepts in advance all international arrangements which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers relating to the Grand Duchy.

ARTICLE 41.—Germany undertakes to grant to the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, when a demand to that effect is made to her by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, the rights and advantages stipulated in favor of such powers or their nationals in the present treaty, with regard to economic questions, to questions relative to transport and to aerial navigation.

SECTION III.—*Left Bank of the Rhine*

ARTICLE 42.—Germany is forbidden to maintain or construct any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine.

ARTICLE 43.—In the area defined above the maintenance and the assembly of armed forces either permanently or temporarily, and military manoeuvres of any kind, as well as the upkeep of all permanent works for mobilization, are in the same way forbidden.

ARTICLE 44.—In case Germany violates in any manner the provisions of Articles 42 and 43, she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers signatory of the present treaty and as calculated to disturb the peace of the world.

SECTION IV.—*Sarre Basin*

ARTICLE 45.—As compensation for the destruction of the coal mines in the North of France and as part payment toward the total reparation due from Germany for the damage resulting from the war, Germany cedes to France in full and absolute possession, with exclusive rights of exploitation, unincumbered and free from all debts and charges of any kind, the coal mines situated in the Sarre Basin as defined in Article 48.

ARTICLE 46.—In order to assure the rights and welfare of the population and to guarantee to France complete freedom in working the mines, Germany agrees to the provisions of Chapters 1 and 2 of the annex hereto.

ARTICLE 47.—In order to make in due time permanent provision for the government of the Sarre Basin in accordance with the wishes of the population, France and Germany agree to the provisions of Chapter 3 of the annex hereto.

ARTICLE 48.—The boundaries of the territory of the Sarre Basin, as dealt with in the present stipulations, will be fixed as follows:

On the south and southwest: By the frontier of France as fixed by the present treaty.

On the northwest and north: By a line following the northern administrative boundary of the Kreis of Merzig from the point where it leaves the French frontier to the point where it meets the administrative boundary, separating the commune of Saarlouis from the commune of Britten; following this communal boundary southward and reaching the administrative boundary of the Canton of Merzig so as to include in the territory of the Sarre Basin the Canton of Mettlach, with the exception of the commune of Britten; following successively the northern administrative limits of the Cantons of Merzig and Haustadt, which are incorporated in the aforesaid Sarre Basin, then successively the administrative boundaries separating the Kreise of Saarlouis, Ottweiler, and Saint Wendel from the Kreise of Merzig, Treves, (Trier,) and the principality of Birkenfeld as far as a point situated about 500 meters north of the village of Furschweller, (viz.: The highest point of the Metzberg.)

On the northeast and east: From the last point defined above to a point about 3½ kilometers east-northeast of Saint Wendel:

A line to be fixed on the ground passing east of Furschweller, west of Roschberg, east of points 418, 329, (south of Roschberg,) west of Lettersweiler, northeast of point 464, and following the line of the crest southward to its junction with the administrative boundary of the Kreis of Kusel;

Thence in a southerly direction the boundary of the Kreis of Kusel, then the boundary of the Kreis of Homburg toward the south-southeast to a point situated about 1,000 meters west of Dunzweiler;

Thence to a point about one kilometer south of Hornbach: a line to be fixed on the ground passing through point 424, (about 1,000 meters southeast of Dunzweiler,) point 363, (Fuchsberg,) point 322, (southwest of Waldmohr,) then east of Jägersburg and Erbach, then encircling Homburg, passes through the points 361, (about 2½ kilometers northeast by east of that town,) 342, (about 2 kilometers southeast of that town,) 347, (Schreinersberg,) 356, 350, (about 1½ kilometers southeast of Schwarzenbach,) then passing east of Elnöd, southeast of points 322 and 333, about 2 kilometers east of Webenheim, about 2 kilometers east of Mimbach, passing east of the plateau which is traversed by the road from Mimbach to Böckweiler, (so as to include this road in the territory of the Sarre Basin,) passing immediately north of the junction of the roads from Böckweiler and Althelm, situated about 2 kilometers north of Althelm, then passing south of Ringwelderhof and north of point 322, rejoining the frontier of France at the angle which it makes about 1 kilometer south of Hornbach, (see map No. 2, scale 1-100,000, annexed to the present treaty.)

A commission composed of five members, one appointed by France, one by Germany, and three by the Council of the League of

Nations, which will select nationals of other powers, will be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present treaty, to trace on the spot the frontier line described above. In those parts of the preceding line which do not coincide with administration boundaries, the commission will endeavor to keep to the line indicated, while taking into consideration, so far as is possible, local economic interests and existing communal boundaries.

The decisions of this commission will be taken by a majority and will be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 49.—Germany renounces in favor of the League of Nations, in the capacity of trustee, the government of the territory defined above.

At the end of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty the inhabitants of the said territory shall be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they desire to be placed.

ARTICLE 50.—The stipulations under which the cession of the mines in the Sarre Basin shall be carried out, together with the measures intended to guarantee the rights and the well-being of the inhabitants and the government of the territory, as well as the conditions in accordance with which the plebiscite hereinbefore provided for is to be made, are laid down in the annex hereto. This annex shall be considered as an integral part of the present treaty, and Germany declares her adherence to it.

ANNEX

In accordance with the provisions of Articles 45 to 50 of the present treaty, the stipulations under which the cession by Germany to France of the mines of the Sarre Basin will be effected, as well as the measures intended to insure respect for the rights and well-being of the population and the government of the territory, and the conditions in which the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they may wish to be placed, have been laid down as follows:

CHAPTER I.—CESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF MINING PROPERTY

1. From the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, all the deposits of coal situated within the Sarre Basin, as defined in Article 48 of the said treaty, become the complete and absolute property of the French State.

The French State will have the right of working or not working the said mines or of transferring to a third party the right of working them, without having to obtain any previous authorization or to fulfill any formalities.

The French State may always require that the German mining laws and regulations re-

ferred to below shall be applied in order to insure the determination of its rights.

2. The right of ownership of the French State will apply not only to the deposits which are free, and for which concessions have not yet been granted, but also to the deposits for which concessions have already been granted, whoever may be the present proprietors, irrespective of whether they belong to the Prussian State, to the Bavarian State, to other States or bodies, to companies or to individuals, whether they have been worked or not, or whether a right of exploitation distinct from the right of the owners of the surface of the soil has or has not been recognized.

3. As far as concerns the mines which are being worked, the transfer of the ownership to the French State will apply to all the accessories and subsidiaries of the said mines, in particular to their plant and equipment both on and below the surface, to their extracting machinery, their plants for transforming coal into electric power, coke and by-products, their workshops, means of communication, electric lines, plant for catching and distributing water, land, buildings, such as offices, managers', employees', and workmen's dwellings, schools, hospitals, and dispensaries, their stocks and supplies of every description, their archives and plans, and in general everything which those who own or exploit the mines possess or enjoy for the purpose of exploiting the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

The transfer will apply also to the debts owing for products delivered before the entry into possession by the French State, and after the signature of the present treaty, and to deposits of money made by customers, whose rights will be guaranteed by the French State.

4. The French State will acquire the property free and clear of all debts and charges. Nevertheless the rights acquired, or in course of being acquired, by the employees of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, in connection with pensions for old age or disability, will not be affected. In return, Germany must pay over to the French State a sum representing the actuarial amounts to which the said employees are entitled.

5. The value of the property thus ceded to the French State will be determined by the Reparation Commission referred to in Article 233 of Part VIII. (Reparations) of the present treaty.

This value shall be credited to Germany in part payment of the amount due for reparation.

It will be for Germany to indemnify the proprietors or parties concerned, whoever they may be.

6. No tariff shall be established on the German railways and canals which may directly or indirectly discriminate to the prejudice of the transport of the personnel or

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products of the mines and their accessories or subsidiaries, or of the material necessary to their exploitation. Such transport shall enjoy all the rights and privileges which any international railway conventions may guarantee to similar products of French origin.

7. The equipment and personnel necessary to insure the dispatch and transport of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, as well as the carriage of workmen and employees, will be provided by the local railway administration of the basin.

8. No obstacle shall be placed in the way of such improvements of railways or waterways as the French State may judge necessary to assure the dispatch and transport of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, such as double trackage, enlargement of stations, and construction of yards and appurtenances.

The distribution of expenses will, in the event of disagreement, be submitted to arbitration.

The French State may also establish any new means of communication, such as roads, electric lines, and telephone connections, which it may consider necessary for the exploitation of the mines.

It may exploit freely and without any restrictions the means of communication of which it may become the owner, particularly those connecting the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries with the means of communication situated in French territory.

9. The French State shall always be entitled to demand the application of the German mining laws and regulations in force on the 11th November, 1918, excepting provisions adopted exclusively in view of the state of war, with a view to the acquisition of such land as it may judge necessary for the exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

The payment for damage caused to immovable property by the working of the said mines and their accessories and subsidiaries shall be made in accordance with the German mining laws and regulations above referred to.

10. Every person whom the French State may substitute for itself as regards the whole or part of its rights to the exploitation of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries shall enjoy the benefit of the privileges provided in this annex.

11. The mines and other immovable property which become the property of the French State may never be made the subject of measures of forfeiture, forced sale, expropriation or requisition, nor of any other measure affecting the right of property.

The personnel and the plant connected with the exploitation of these mines or their accessories and subsidiaries, as well as the product extracted from the mines or manufactured in their accessories and subsidiaries, may not at any time be made the subject of any measures of requisition.

12. The exploitation of the mines and their

accessories and subsidiaries, which become the property of the French State, will continue, subject to the provisions of Paragraph 23 below, to be subject to the régime established by the German laws and regulations in force on the 11th November, 1918, excepting provisions adopted exclusively in view of the state of war.

The rights of the workmen shall be similarly maintained, subject to the provisions of the said Paragraph 23, as established on the 11th November, 1918, by the German laws and regulations above referred to. No impediment shall be placed in the way of the introduction or employment in the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries of workmen from without the basin.

The employees and workmen of French nationality shall have the right to belong to French labor unions.

13. The amount contributed by the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries, either to the local budget of the territory of the Sarre Basin or to the communal funds, shall be fixed with due regard to the ratio of the value of the mines to the total taxable wealth of the basin.

14. The French State shall always have the right of establishing and maintaining, as incidental to the mines, primary or technical schools for its employees and their children, and of causing instruction therein to be given in the French language, in accordance with such curriculum and by such teachers as it may select.

It shall also have the right to establish and maintain hospitals, dispensaries, workmen's houses and gardens, and other charitable and social institutions.

15. The French State shall enjoy complete liberty with respect to the distribution, dispatch, and sale prices of the products of the mines and their accessories and subsidiaries.

Nevertheless, whatever may be the total product of the mines, the French Government undertakes that the requirements of local consumption for industrial and domestic purposes shall always be satisfied in the proportion existing in 1913 between the amount consumed locally and the total output of the Sarre Basin.

CHAPTER II.—GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE SARRE BASIN

16. The government of the territory of the Sarre Basin shall be intrusted to a commission representing the League of Nations. This commission shall sit in the territory of the Sarre Basin.

17. The Governing Commission provided for by Paragraph 16 shall consist of five members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations, and will include one citizen of France, one native inhabitant of the Sarre Basin not a citizen of France, and three members belonging to three countries other than France or Germany.

The members of the Governing Commission

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shall be appointed for one year and may be reappointed. They can be removed by the Council of the League of Nations, which will provide for their replacement. The members of the Governing Commission will be entitled to a salary which will be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations, and charged on the local revenues.

18. The Chairman of the Governing Commission shall be appointed for one year from among the members of the commission by the Council of the League of Nations and may be reappointed. The Chairman will act as the executive of the commission.

19. Within the territory of the Sarre Basin the Governing Commission shall have all the powers of government hitherto belonging to the German Empire, Prussia or Bavaria, including the appointment and dismissal of officials, and the creation of such administrative and representative bodies as it may deem necessary. It shall have full powers to administer and operate the railways, canals, and the different public services.

Its decisions shall be taken by a majority.

20. Germany will place at the disposal of the Governing Commission all official documents and archives under the control of Germany, of any German State, or of any local authority, which relate to the territory of the Sarre Basin or to the rights of the inhabitants thereof.

21. It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to insure, by such means and under such conditions as it may deem suitable, the protection abroad of the interests of the inhabitants of the territory of the Sarre Basin.

22. The Governing Commission shall have the full right of user of all property, other than mines, belonging, both in public and in private domain, to the Imperial German Government, or the Government of any German State, in the territory of the Sarre Basin.

As regards the railways, an equitable apportionment of rolling stock shall be made by a mixed commission on which the government of the territory of the Sarre Basin and the German railways will be represented.

Persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails, coming from or going to the Sarre Basin, shall enjoy all the rights and privileges relating to transit and transport which are specified in the provisions of Part XII. (ports, waterways, railways) of the present treaty.

23. The laws and regulations in force on Nov. 11, 1918, in the territory of the Sarre Basin, (except those enacted in consequence of the state of war,) shall continue to apply. If, for general reasons or to bring these laws and regulations into accord with the provisions of the present treaty, it is necessary to introduce modifications, these shall be decided on, and put into effect by the Governing Commission, after consultation with the elected representatives of the inhabitants in such a manner as the commission may deter-

mine. No modification may be made in the legal régime for the exploitation of the mines, provided for in Paragraph 12, without the French State being previously consulted, unless such modification results from a general regulation respecting labor adopted by the League of Nations.

In fixing the conditions and hours of labor for men, women, and children, the Governing Commission is to take into consideration the wishes expressed by the local labor organizations, as well as the principles adopted by the League of Nations.

24. Subject to the provisions of Paragraph 4, no rights of the inhabitants of the Sarre Basin acquired or in process of acquisition at the date of the coming into force of this treaty, in respect of any insurance system of Germany, or in respect of any pension of any kind, are affected by any of the provisions of the present treaty.

Germany and the Government of the territory of the Sarre Basin will preserve and continue all of the aforesaid rights.

25. The civil and criminal courts existing in the territory of the Sarre Basin shall continue.

A civil and criminal court will be established by the Governing Commission to hear appeals from the decisions of the said courts, and to decide matters for which these courts are not competent.

The Governing Commission will be responsible for settling the organization and jurisdiction of the said court.

Justice will be rendered in the name of the Governing Commission.

26. The Governing Commission will alone have the power of levying taxes and dues in the territory of the Sarre Basin.

These taxes and dues will be exclusively applied to the needs of the territory.

The fiscal system existing on Nov. 11, 1918, will be maintained as far as possible, and no new tax except customs duties may be imposed without previously consulting the elected representatives of the inhabitants.

27. The present stipulations will not affect the existing nationality of the inhabitants of the territory of the Sarre Basin. No hindrance shall be placed in the way of those who wish to acquire a different nationality, but in such case the acquisition of the new nationality will involve the loss of any other.

28. Under the control of the Governing Commission the inhabitants will retain their local assemblies, their religious liberties, their schools, and their language. The right of voting will not be exercised for any assemblies other than the local assemblies, and will belong to every inhabitant over the age of 20 years without distinction of sex.

29. Any of the inhabitants of the Sarre Basin who may desire to leave the territory will have full liberty to retain in it their immovable property or to sell it at fair prices and to remove their movable property free of any charges.

30. There will be no military service.

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whether compulsory or voluntary, in the territory of the Sarre Basin, and the construction of fortifications therein is forbidden. Only a local gendarmerie for the maintenance of order may be established. It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to provide in all cases for the protection of persons and property in the Sarre Basin.

31. The territory of the Sarre Basin as defined by Article 48 of the present treaty shall be subjected to the French customs régime. The receipts from the customs duties on goods intended for local consumption shall be included in the budget of the said territory after deduction of all costs of collection. No export tax shall be imposed upon metallurgical products or coal exported from the said territory to Germany, nor upon German exports for the use of the industries of the territory of the Sarre Basin. Natural or manufactured products originating in the basin in transit over German territory and similarly German products in transit over the territory of the basin shall be free of all customs duties.

Products which both originate in and pass from the basin into Germany shall be free of import duties for a period of five years from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, and during the same period articles imported from Germany into the territory of the basin for local consumption shall likewise be free of import duties.

During these five years the French Government reserves to itself the right of limiting to the annual average of the quantities imported into Alsace-Lorraine and France in the years 1911 to 1913 the quantities which may be sent into France of all articles coming from the basin, which include raw materials and semi-manufactured goods imported duty free from Germany. Such average shall be determined after reference to all available official information and statistics.

32. No prohibition or restriction shall be imposed upon the circulation of French money in the territory of the Sarre Basin. The French State shall have the right to use French money in all purchases, payments, and contracts connected with the exploitation of the mines or their accessories and subsidiaries.

33. The Governing Commission shall have power to decide all questions arising from the interpretation of the preceding provisions. France and Germany agree that any dispute involving a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the said provisions shall in the same way be submitted to the Governing Commission, and the decision of a majority of the commission shall be binding on both countries.

CHAPTER III.—PLEBISCITE

34. At the termination of a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty, the population of the territory of the Sarre Basin will be called upon to

indicate their desires in the following manner:

A vote will take place, by communes or districts, on the three following alternatives: (a) Maintenance of the régime established by the present treaty and by this annex; (b) union with France; (c) union with Germany.

All persons without distinction of sex, more than 20 years old at the date of the voting, resident in the territory at the date of the signature of the present treaty, will have the right to vote.

The other conditions, methods, and the date of the voting shall be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations in such a way as to secure the liberty, secrecy, and trustworthiness of the voting.

35. The League of Nations shall decide on the sovereignty under which the territory is to be placed, taking into account the wishes of the inhabitants as expressed by the voting.

(a) If, for the whole or part of the territory, the League of Nations decides in favor of the maintenance of the régime established by the present treaty and this annex, Germany hereby agrees to make such renunciation of her sovereignty in favor of the League of Nations as the latter shall deem necessary. It will be the duty of the League of Nations to take appropriate steps to adapt the régime definitely adopted to the permanent welfare of the territory and the general interests.

(b) If for the whole or part of the territory the League of Nations decides in favor of union with France, Germany hereby agrees to cede to France in accordance with the decision of the League of Nations all rights and title over the territory specified by the League.

(c) If for the whole or part of the territory the League of Nations decides in favor of union with Germany, it will be the duty of the League of Nations to cause the German Government to be re-established in the government of the territory specified by the League.

36. If the League of Nations decides in favor of the union of the whole or part of the territory of the Sarre Basin with Germany, France's rights of ownership in the mines situated in such part of the territory will be repurchased by Germany in their entirety at a price payable in gold. The price to be paid will be fixed by three experts, one nominated by Germany, one by France, and one, who shall be neither a Frenchman nor a German, by the Council of the League of Nations. The decision of the experts will be given by a majority.

The obligation of Germany to make such payment shall be taken into account by the Reparation Commission, and for the purpose of this payment Germany may create a prior charge upon her assets or revenues upon such detailed terms as shall be agreed to by the Reparation Commission.

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If, nevertheless, Germany after a period of one year from the date on which the payment becomes due shall not have effected the said payment, the Reparation Commission shall do so in accordance with such instructions as may be given by the League of Nations, and, if necessary, by liquidating that part of the mines which is in question.

37. If, in consequence of the repurchase provided for in Paragraph 36, the ownership of the mines or any part of them is transferred to Germany, the French State and French nationals shall have the right to purchase such amount of coal of the Sarre Basin as their industrial and domestic needs are found at that time to require. An equitable arrangement regarding amounts of coal, duration of contract, and prices will be fixed in due time by the Council of the League of Nations.

38. It is understood that France and Germany may, by special agreements concluded before the time fixed for the payment of the price for the repurchase of the mines, modify the provisions of Paragraphs 36 and 37.

39. The Council of the League of Nations shall make such provisions as may be necessary for the establishment of the régime which is to take effect after the decisions of the League of Nations mentioned in Paragraph 35 have become operative, including an equitable apportionment of any obligations of the Government of the territory of the Sarre Basin arising from loans raised by the commission or from other causes.

From the coming into force of the new régime, the powers of the Governing Commission will terminate, except in the case provided for in Paragraph 35. (a)

40. In all matters dealt with in the present annex, the decisions of the Council of the League of Nations will be taken by a majority.

SECTION V.—*Alsace-Lorraine*

The high contracting powers, recognizing the moral obligation to redress the wrong done by Germany in 1871, both to the rights of France and to the wishes of the population of Alsace and Lorraine, which were separated from their country in spite of solemn protests of their representatives at the Assembly of Bordeaux, agree upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 51.—The territories which were ceded to Germany in accordance with the preliminaries of peace signed at Versailles on the 26th February, 1871, and the treaty of Frankfurt on the 10th May, 1871, are restored to French sovereignty as from the date of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918.

The provisions of the treaties establishing the delimitation of the frontiers before 1871 shall be restored.

ARTICLE 52.—The German Government shall hand over without delay to the French Government all archives, registers, plans,

titles, and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial, or other administrations of the territories restored to French sovereignty. If any of these documents, archives, registers, titles, or plans have been misplaced, they will be restored by the German Government on the demand of the French Government.

ARTICLE 53.—Separate agreements shall be made between France and Germany dealing with the interests of the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51, particularly as regards their civil rights, their business and the exercise of their professions, it being understood that Germany undertakes as from the present date to recognize and accept the regulations laid down in the annex hereto regarding the nationality of the inhabitants or natives of the said territories, not to claim at any time or in any place whatsoever as German nationals those who shall have been declared on any ground to be French, to receive all others in her territory, and to conform, as regards the property of German nationals in the territories indicated in Article 51, with the provisions of Article 297, and the Annex to Section 4 of Part X (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

Those German nationals who without acquiring French nationality shall receive permission from the French Government to reside in the said territories shall not be subjected to the provisions of the said article.

ARTICLE 54.—Those persons who have regained French nationality in virtue of Paragraph 1 of the annex hereto, will be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers for the purposes of the present section.

The persons referred to in Paragraph 2 of the said annex will, from the day on which they have claimed French nationality, be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers with retroactive effect as from the 11th November, 1918. From those whose application is rejected, the privilege will terminate at the date of the refusal.

Such juridical persons will also have the status of Alsace-Lorrainers as have been recognized as possessing this quality, whether by the French administrative authorities or by a judicial decision.

ARTICLE 55.—The territories referred to in Article 51 shall return to France, free and quit of all public debts under the conditions laid down in Article 255 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 56.—In conformity with the provisions of Article 256 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty, France shall enter into possession of all property and estate within the territories referred to in Article 51, which belong to the German Empire or German States, without any payment or credit on this account to any of the States ceding the territories.

This provision applies to all movable or immovable property of public or private domain, together with all rights whatsoever

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belonging to the German Empire or the German States or to their administrative areas.

Crown property and the property of the former Emperor or other German sovereigns shall be assimilated to property of the public domain.

ARTICLE 57.—Germany shall not take any action, either by means of stamping or by any other legal or administrative measures not applying equally to the rest of her territory, which may be to the detriment of the legal value or redeemability of German monetary instruments or moneys which at the date of the signature of the present treaty are legally current, and at that date are in the possession of the French Government.

ARTICLE 58.—A special convention will determine the conditions for repayment in marks of the exceptional war expenditure advanced during the course of the war by Alsace-Lorraine or by public bodies in Alsace-Lorraine on account of the empire in accordance with German law, such as payment to the families of persons mobilized, requisitions, billeting of troops, and assistance to persons who have been expelled. In fixing the amount of these sums Germany shall be credited with that portion which Alsace-Lorraine would have contributed to the empire to meet the expenses resulting from these payments, this contribution being calculated according to the proportion of the imperial revenues derived from Alsace-Lorraine in 1913.

ARTICLE 59.—The French Government will collect for its own account the imperial taxes, duties, and dues of every kind leviable in the territories referred to in Article 51 and not collected at the time of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918.

ARTICLE 60.—The German Government shall without delay restore to Alsace-Lorrainers, (individuals, juridical persons, and public institutions,) all property, rights, and interests belonging to them on the 11th November, 1918, in so far as these are situated in German territory.

ARTICLE 61.—The German Government undertakes to continue and complete without delay the execution of the financial clauses regarding Alsace-Lorraine contained in the armistice conventions.

ARTICLE 62.—The German Government undertakes to bear the expense of all civil and military pensions which had been earned in Alsace-Lorraine on the date of the 11th November, 1918, and the maintenance of which was a charge on the budget of the German Empire.

The German Government shall furnish each year the funds necessary for the payment in francs, at the average rate of exchange for that year, of the sums in marks to which persons resident in Alsace-Lorraine would have been entitled if Alsace-Lorraine had remained under German jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 63.—For the purposes of the obligation assumed by Germany in Part VIII.

(reparations) of the present treaty to give compensation for damages caused to the civil populations of the Allied and Associated countries in the form of fines, the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51 shall be assimilated to the above mentioned populations.

ARTICLE 64.—The regulations concerning the control of the Rhine and of the Moselle are laid down in Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 65.—Within a period of three weeks after the coming into force of the present treaty the Port of Strasbourg and the port of Kehl shall be constituted, for a period of seven years, a single unit from the point of view of exploitation.

The administration of this single unit will be carried on by a manager named by the Central Rhine Commission, which shall also have power to remove him. He shall be of French nationality. He will reside in Strasbourg and will be subject to the supervision of the Central Rhine Commission.

There will be established in the two ports free zones in conformity with Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty.

A special convention between France and Germany, which shall be submitted to the approval of the Central Rhine Commission, will fix the details of this organization, particularly as regards finance.

It is understood that for the purpose of the present article the port of Kehl includes the whole of the area necessary for the movements of the port and the trains which serve it, including the harbor, quays and railroads, platforms, cranes, sheds and warehouses, silos, elevators and hydro-electric plants, which make up the equipment of the port.

The German Government undertakes to carry out all measures which shall be required of it in order to assure that all the making up and switching of trains arriving at or departing from Kehl, whether for the right bank or the left bank of the Rhine, shall be carried on in the best conditions possible.

All property rights shall be safeguarded. In particular, the administration of the ports shall not prejudice any property rights of the French or Baden railroads.

Equality of treatment as respects traffic shall be assured in both ports to the nationals, vessels, and goods of every country.

In case at the end of the sixth year France shall consider that the progress made in the improvement of the Port of Strasbourg still requires a prolongation of this temporary régime, she may ask for such prolongation from the Central Rhine Commission, which may grant an extension for a period not exceeding three years.

Throughout the whole period of any such extension the free zones above provided for shall be maintained.

Pending appointment of the first manager by the Central Rhine Commission, a pro-

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visional manager, who shall be of French nationality, may be appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, subject to the foregoing provisions.

For all purposes of the present article the Central Rhine Commission will decide by a majority of votes.

ARTICLE 66.—The railway and other bridges across the Rhine now existing within the limits of Alsace-Lorraine shall, as to all their parts and their whole length, be the property of the French State, which shall insure their upkeep.

ARTICLE 67.—The French Government is substituted in all the rights of the German Empire over all the railways which were administered by the Imperial Railway Administration, and which are actually working or under construction.

The same shall apply to the rights of the empire with regard to railway and tramway concessions within the territories referred to in Article 51.

This substitution shall not entail any payment on the part of the French State.

The frontier railway stations shall be established by a subsequent agreement, it being stipulated in advance that on the Rhine frontier they shall be situated on the right bank.

ARTICLE 68.—In accordance with the provisions of Article 268 of Chapter I. of Section I. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, for a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty, natural or manufactured products originating in and coming from the territories referred to in Article 51 shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty. The French Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

Further, during the period of five years above mentioned, the German Government shall allow the free export from Germany and the free reimportation into Germany, exempt from all customs duties and other charges, (including internal charges,) of yarns, tissues, and other textile materials or textile products of any kind, and in any condition, sent from Germany into the territories referred to in Article 51, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, printing, mercerization, gassing, twisting, or dressing.

ARTICLE 69.—During a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty, central electric supply works situated in German territory, and formerly furnishing electric power to the territories referred to in Article 51, or to any establishment the working of which passes permanently or temporarily from Germany to France, shall be

required to continue such supply up to the amount of consumption corresponding to the undertakings and contracts current on the 11th November, 1918.

Such supply shall be furnished according to the contracts in force and at a rate which shall not be higher than that paid to the said works by German nationals.

ARTICLE 70.—It is understood that the French Government preserves its right to prohibit in the future in the territories referred to in Article 51 all new German participation:

1. In the management or exploitation of the public domain and of public services, such as railways, navigable waterways, water works, gas works, electric power, &c.

2. In the ownership of mines and quarries of every kind and in enterprises connected therewith;

3. In metallurgical establishments, even though their working may not be connected with that of any mine.

ARTICLE 71.—As regards the territories referred to in Article 51, Germany renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals as from the 11th November, 1918, all rights under the law of the 25th May, 1910, regarding the trade in potash salts and generally under any stipulations for the intervention of German organizations in the working of the potash mines. Similarly she renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals all rights under any agreements, stipulations or laws, which may exist to her benefit with regard to other products of the aforesaid territories.

ARTICLE 72.—The settlement of the questions relating to debts contracted before the 11th November, 1918, between the German Empire and the German States or their nationals residing in Germany on the one part, and Alsace-Lorrainers residing in Alsace-Lorraine on the other part, shall be effected in accordance with the provisions of Section III. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, the expression "before the war" therein being replaced by the expression "before the 11th November, 1918." The rate of exchange applicable in the case of such settlement shall be the average rate quoted on the Geneva Exchange during the month preceding the 11th November, 1918. There may be established in the territories referred to in Article 51, for the settlement of the aforesaid debts under the conditions laid down in Section III. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, a special clearing office, it being understood that this office shall be regarded as a "central office" under the provisions of Paragraph 1 of the annex to the said section.

ARTICLE 73.—The private property rights and interests of Alsace-Lorrainers in Germany will be regulated by the stipulations of Section IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 74.—The French Government reserves the right to retain and liquidate all

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the property, rights and interests which German nationals or societies controlled by Germany possessed in the territories referred to in Article 51 on Nov. 11, 1918, subject to the conditions laid down in the last paragraph of Article 53 above.

Germany will directly compensate its nationals who may have been dispossessed by the aforesaid liquidations.

The product of these liquidations shall be applied in accordance with the stipulations of Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 75.—Notwithstanding the stipulations of Section V. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, all contracts made before the date of the promulgation in Alsace-Lorraine of the French decree of 30th November, 1918, between Alsace-Lorrainers (whether individuals or juridical persons) or others resident in Alsace-Lorraine on the one part, and the German Empire or German States and their nationals resident in Germany on the other part, the execution of which has been suspended by the armistice or by subsequent French legislation, shall be maintained.

Nevertheless, any contract of which the French Government shall notify the cancellation to Germany in the general interest within a period of six months from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty shall be annulled except in respect of any debt or other pecuniary obligation arising out of any act done or money paid thereunder before the 11th November, 1918. If this dissolution would cause one of the parties substantial prejudice, equitable compensation, calculated solely on the capital employed without taking account of loss of profits, shall be accorded to the prejudiced party.

With regard to prescriptions, limitations, and forfeitures in Alsace-Lorraine, the provisions of Articles 300 and 301 of Section V., Part X. (economic clauses) shall be applied, with the substitution for the expression "outbreak of war" of the expression "11th November, 1918," and for the expression "duration of the war" of the expression "period from the 11th November, 1918, to date of the coming into force of the present treaty."

ARTICLE 76.—Questions concerning rights in industrial, literary, or artistic property of Alsace-Lorrainers shall be regulated in accordance with the general stipulations of Section VII. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, it being understood that Alsace-Lorrainers holding rights of this nature under German legislation will preserve full and entire enjoyment of those rights on German territory.

ARTICLE 77.—The German Government undertakes to pay over to the French Government such proportion of all reserves accumulated by the empire or by public or private bodies dependent upon it, for the purposes of disability and old age insurance,

as would fall to the disability and old age insurance fund at Strasbourg.

The same shall apply in respect of the capital and reserves accumulated in Germany falling legitimately to other serial insurance funds, to miners' superannuation funds, to the fund of the railways of Alsace-Lorraine, to other superannuation organizations established for the benefit of the personnel of public administrations and institutions operating in Alsace-Lorraine, and also in respect of the capital and reserves due by the insurance fund of private employees at Berlin by reason of engagements entered into for the benefit of insured persons of that category resident in Alsace-Lorraine.

A special convention shall determine the conditions and procedure of these transfers.

ARTICLE 78.—With regard to the execution of judgments, orders, and prosecutions, the following rules shall be applied:

1. All civil and commercial judgments which shall have been given since Aug. 3, 1914, by the courts of Alsace-Lorraine between Alsace-Lorrainers, or between Alsace-Lorrainers and foreigners, or between foreigners, and which shall not have been appealed from before the 11th November, 1918, shall be regarded as final and capable of being fully executed.

When the judgment has been given between Alsace-Lorrainers and Germans, or between Alsace-Lorrainers and subjects of the allies of Germany, it shall only be capable of execution after the issue of an exequatur by the corresponding new tribunal in the restored territory referred to in Article 51.

2. All judgments given by German courts since the 3d August, 1914, against Alsace-Lorrainers for political crimes or misdemeanors shall be regarded as null and void.

3. All sentences passed since the 11th November, 1918, by the Imperial Court of Leipzig or Appeals against the decisions of the courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be regarded as null and void and shall be so pronounced. The papers in regard to the cases in which such sentences have been given shall be returned to the courts of Alsace-Lorraine concerned.

All appeals to the Imperial Court against decisions of the courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be suspended. In the cases referred to above, the papers shall be returned under the aforesaid conditions for transfer without delay to the French Cour de Cassation which shall be competent to decide them.

4. All prosecutions of Alsace-Lorraine for offenses committed during the period between the 11th November, 1918, and the coming into force of the present treaty will be conducted under German law except in so far as this has been modified by decrees duly published on the spot by the French authorities.

All other questions as to competence, procedure or administration of justice, shall be

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determined by a special convention between France and Germany.

ARTICLE 79.—The stipulations as to nationality contained in the annex hereto shall be considered as of equal force with the provisions of the present section.

All other questions concerning Alsace-Lorraine which are not regulated by the present section and the annex thereto, or by the general provisions of the present treaty, will form the subject of further conventions between France and Germany.

ANNEX

1. As from the 11th November, 1918, the following persons are ipso facto reinstated in French nationality:

First—Persons who lost French nationality by the application of the Franco-German treaty of the 10th May, 1871, and who have not since that date acquired any nationality other than German;

Second—The legitimate or natural descendants of the persons referred to in the immediately preceding paragraph, with the exception of those whose ascendants in the paternal line include a German who migrated into Alsace-Lorraine after the 15th July, 1870;

Third—All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine of unknown parents or whose nationality is unknown.

2. Within the period of one year from the coming into force of the present treaty, persons included in any of the following categories may claim French nationality:

First—All persons not restored to French nationality under Paragraph 1, above, whose ascendants include a Frenchman or French woman who lost French nationality under the conditions referred to in the said paragraph;

Second—All foreigners not nationals of a German State who acquired the status of a citizen of Alsace-Lorraine before the 3d August, 1914;

Third—All Germans domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine, if they have been so domiciled since a date previous to 15th July, 1870, or if one of their ascendants was at that date domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine;

Fourth—All Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine who have served in the allied or associated armies during the present war and their descendants;

Fifth—All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine before 10th May, 1871, of foreign parents, and the descendants of such persons;

Sixth—The husband or wife of any person whose French nationality may have been restored under Paragraph 1 or who may have claimed and obtained French nationality in accordance with the preceding provisions.

The legal representatives of a minor may exercise on behalf of that minor the right to claim French nationality; and if that right has not been exercised, the minor may claim French nationality within the year following his majority.

Except in the case provided in No. 6 of the present paragraph, the French authorities reserve to themselves the right in individual cases to reject the claim to French nationality.

3. Subject to the provisions of Paragraph 2, Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine shall not acquire French nationality by reason of the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, even though they may have the status of citizens of Alsace-Lorraine.

They may acquire French nationality only by naturalization, on condition of having been domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine from a date previous to the 3d August, 1914, and of submitting proof of unbroken residence within the restored territory for a period of three years from the 11th November, 1918.

France will be solely responsible for their diplomatic and consular protection from the date of their application for French naturalization.

4. The French Government shall determine the procedure by which reinstatement in French nationality as of right shall be effected, and the conditions under which decisions shall be given upon claims to such nationality and applications for naturalization, as provided by the present annex.

SECTION VI.—Austria

ARTICLE 80.—Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria. Within the frontiers which may be fixed by a treaty between that State and the principal Allied and Associated Powers she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

SECTION VII.—Czechoslovak State

ARTICLE 81.—Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of the Czechoslovak State, which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians. Germany hereby recognizes the frontier of this State as determined by the principal Allied and Associated Powers and the other interested States.

ARTICLE 82.—The old frontier as it existed on Aug. 3, 1914, between Austria-Hungary and the German Empire will constitute the frontier between Germany and the Czechoslovak State.

ARTICLE 83.—Germany renounces in favor of the Czechoslovak State all rights and title over the portion of Silesian territory defined as follows:

Starting from a point about 2 kilometers southeast of Katscher, on the boundary between the Circles (Kreise) of Loebischütz and Ratibor: the boundary between the two Kreise; then, the former boundary between Germany and Austria-Hungary up to a point on the Oder immediately to the south of the

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Ratibor-Oderberg railway; thence, toward the northwest and up to a point about 2 kilometers to the southeast of Katscher: a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the west of Kranowitz.

A commission composed of seven members, five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Poland, and one by the Czechoslovak State, will be appointed fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line between Poland and the Czechoslovak State.

The decisions of this commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

Germany hereby agrees to renounce in favor of the Czechoslovak State all rights and title over the part of the Kreis of Leobschütz comprised within the following boundaries in case after the determination of the frontier between Germany and Poland the said part of that circle should become isolated from Germany: from the southeastern extremity of the salient of the former Austrian frontier at about 5 kilometers to the west of Leobschütz southward and up to a point of junction with the boundary between the Kreise of Leobschütz and Ratibor: the former frontier between Germany and Austria-Hungary; then, northward, the administrative boundary between the Kreise of Leobschütz and Ratibor up to a point situated about 2 kilometers to the southeast of Katscher; thence, northwestward and up to the starting point of this definition: a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the east of Katscher.

ARTICLE 84.—German nationals habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of the Czechoslovak State will obtain Czechoslovak nationality *ipso facto* and lose their German nationality.

ARTICLE 85.—Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present treaty German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of the Czechoslovak State will be entitled to opt for German nationality. Czechoslovaks who are habitually resident in Germany will have a similar right to opt for Czechoslovak nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age. Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their landed property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property. Within the same period Czechoslovaks who are German nationals

and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired the foreign nationality, to obtain Czechoslovak nationality and lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Czechoslovak State.

ARTICLE 86.—The Czechoslovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

The Czechoslovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the said powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Germany and Prussia which the Czechoslovak State will have to assume on account of the Silesian territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions not decided by the present treaty which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

SECTION VIII.—*Poland*

ARTICLE 87.—Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of Poland and renounces in her favor all rights and title over the territory bounded by the Baltic Sea; the eastern frontier of Germany as laid down in Article 27 of Part II. (boundaries of Germany) of the present treaty, up to a point situated about two kilometers to the east of Lorzen-dorf, then a line to the acute angle which the northern boundary of Upper Silesia makes about three kilometers northwest of Simmenau, then to where the boundary of Upper Silesia has its meeting point with the old frontier between Germany and Russia, then this frontier to the point where it crosses the course of the Niemen, and then the northern frontier of East Prussia, as laid down in Article 28, Part II., aforesaid.

The terms of this article do not, however, apply to the territories of East Prussia and the free city of Danzig, as defined in Article 28, of Part II., (boundaries of Germany,) and in Article 100 of Section XI. (Danzig) of this part.

The boundaries of Poland not laid down in the present treaty will be subsequently determined by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. A commission consisting of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the principal Allied and Associated

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The legal representatives of a minor may exercise on behalf of that minor the right to claim French nationality; and if that right has not been exercised, the minor may claim French nationality within the year following his majority.

Except in the case provided in No. 6 of the present paragraph, the French authorities reserve to themselves the right in individual cases to reject the claim to French nationality.

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They may acquire French nationality only by naturalization, on condition of having been domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine from a date previous to the 3d August, 1914, and of submitting proof of unbroken residence within the restored territory for a period of three years from the 11th November, 1918.

France will be solely responsible for their diplomatic and consular protection from the date of their application for French naturalization.

4. The French Government shall determine the procedure by which reinstatement in French nationality as of right shall be effected, and the conditions under which decisions shall be given upon claims to such nationality and applications for naturalization, as provided by the present annex.

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The Czechoslovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the said powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Germany and Prussia which the Czechoslovak State will have to assume on account of the Silesian territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions not decided by the present treaty which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

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The terms of this article do not, however, apply to the territories of East Prussia and the free city of Danzig, as defined in Article 28, of Part II., (boundaries of Germany,) and in Article 100 of Section XI. (Danzig) of this part.

The boundaries of Poland not laid down in the present treaty will be subsequently determined by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. A commission consisting of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the principal Allied and Associated

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shall be appointed for one year and may be reappointed. They can be removed by the Council of the League of Nations, which will provide for their replacement. The members of the Governing Commission will be entitled to a salary which will be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations, and charged on the local revenues.

18. The Chairman of the Governing Commission shall be appointed for one year from among the members of the commission by the Council of the League of Nations and may be reappointed. The Chairman will act as the executive of the commission.

19. Within the territory of the Sarre Basin the Governing Commission shall have all the powers of government hitherto belonging to the German Empire, Prussia or Bavaria, including the appointment and dismissal of officials, and the creation of such administrative and representative bodies as it may deem necessary. It shall have full powers to administer and operate the railways, canals, and the different public services.

Its decisions shall be taken by a majority.

20. Germany will place at the disposal of the Governing Commission all official documents and archives under the control of Germany, of any German State, or of any local authority, which relate to the territory of the Sarre Basin or to the rights of the inhabitants thereof.

21. It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to insure, by such means and under such conditions as it may deem suitable, the protection abroad of the interests of the inhabitants of the territory of the Sarre Basin.

22. The Governing Commission shall have the full right of user of all property, other than mines, belonging, both in public and in private domain, to the Imperial German Government, or the Government of any German State, in the territory of the Sarre Basin.

As regards the railways, an equitable apportionment of rolling stock shall be made by a mixed commission on which the government of the territory of the Sarre Basin and the German railways will be represented.

Persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails, coming from or going to the Sarre Basin, shall enjoy all the rights and privileges relating to transit and transport which are specified in the provisions of Part XII. (ports, waterways, railways) of the present treaty.

23. The laws and regulations in force on Nov. 11, 1918, in the territory of the Sarre Basin, (except those enacted in consequence of the state of war,) shall continue to apply. If, for general reasons or to bring these laws and regulations into accord with the provisions of the present treaty, it is necessary to introduce modifications, these shall be decided on, and put into effect by the Governing Commission, after consultation with the elected representatives of the inhabitants in such a manner as the commission may deter-

mine. No modification may be made in the legal régime for the exploitation of the mines, provided for in Paragraph 12, without the French State being previously consulted, unless such modification results from a general regulation respecting labor adopted by the League of Nations.

In fixing the conditions and hours of labor for men, women, and children, the Governing Commission is to take into consideration the wishes expressed by the local labor organizations, as well as the principles adopted by the League of Nations.

24. Subject to the provisions of Paragraph 4, no rights of the inhabitants of the Sarre Basin acquired or in process of acquisition at the date of the coming into force of this treaty, in respect of any insurance system of Germany, or in respect of any pension of any kind, are affected by any of the provisions of the present treaty.

Germany and the Government of the territory of the Sarre Basin will preserve and continue all of the aforesaid rights.

25. The civil and criminal courts existing in the territory of the Sarre Basin shall continue.

A civil and criminal court will be established by the Governing Commission to hear appeals from the decisions of the said courts, and to decide matters for which these courts are not competent.

The Governing Commission will be responsible for settling the organization and jurisdiction of the said court.

Justice will be rendered in the name of the Governing Commission.

26. The Governing Commission will alone have the power of levying taxes and dues in the territory of the Sarre Basin.

These taxes and dues will be exclusively applied to the needs of the territory.

The fiscal system existing on Nov. 11, 1918, will be maintained as far as possible, and no new tax except customs duties may be imposed without previously consulting the elected representatives of the inhabitants.

27. The present stipulations will not affect the existing nationality of the inhabitants of the territory of the Sarre Basin. No hindrance shall be placed in the way of those who wish to acquire a different nationality, but in such case the acquisition of the new nationality will involve the loss of any other.

28. Under the control of the Governing Commission the inhabitants will retain their local assemblies, their religious liberties, their schools, and their language. The right of voting will not be exercised for any assemblies other than the local assemblies, and will belong to every inhabitant over the age of 20 years without distinction of sex.

29. Any of the inhabitants of the Sarre Basin who may desire to leave the territory will have full liberty to retain in it their immovable property or to sell it at fair prices and to remove their movable property free of any charges.

30. There will be no military service.

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whether compulsory or voluntary, in the territory of the Sarre Basin, and the construction of fortifications therein is forbidden. Only a local gendarmerie for the maintenance of order may be established. It will be the duty of the Governing Commission to provide in all cases for the protection of persons and property in the Sarre Basin.

31. The territory of the Sarre Basin as defined by Article 48 of the present treaty shall be subjected to the French customs régime. The receipts from the customs duties on goods intended for local consumption shall be included in the budget of the said territory after deduction of all costs of collection. No export tax shall be imposed upon metallurgical products or coal exported from the said territory to Germany, nor upon German exports for the use of the industries of the territory of the Sarre Basin. Natural or manufactured products originating in the basin in transit over German territory and similarly German products in transit over the territory of the basin shall be free of all customs duties.

Products which both originate in and pass from the basin into Germany shall be free of import duties for a period of five years from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, and during the same period articles imported from Germany into the territory of the basin for local consumption shall likewise be free of import duties.

During these five years the French Government reserves to itself the right of limiting to the annual average of the quantities imported into Alsace-Lorraine and France in the years 1911 to 1913 the quantities which may be sent into France of all articles coming from the basin, which include raw materials and semi-manufactured goods imported duty free from Germany. Such average shall be determined after reference to all available official information and statistics.

32. No prohibition or restriction shall be imposed upon the circulation of French money in the territory of the Sarre Basin. The French State shall have the right to use French money in all purchases, payments, and contracts connected with the exploitation of the mines or their accessories and subsidiaries.

33. The Governing Commission shall have power to decide all questions arising from the interpretation of the preceding provisions. France and Germany agree that any dispute involving a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the said provisions shall in the same way be submitted to the Governing Commission, and the decision of a majority of the commission shall be binding on both countries.

CHAPTER III.—PLEBISCITE

34. At the termination of a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty, the population of the territory of the Sarre Basin will be called upon to

indicate their desires in the following manner:

A vote will take place, by communes or districts, on the three following alternatives: (a) Maintenance of the régime established by the present treaty and by this annex; (b) union with France; (c) union with Germany.

All persons without distinction of sex, more than 20 years old at the date of the voting, resident in the territory at the date of the signature of the present treaty, will have the right to vote.

The other conditions, methods, and the date of the voting shall be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations in such a way as to secure the liberty, secrecy, and trustworthiness of the voting.

35. The League of Nations shall decide on the sovereignty under which the territory is to be placed, taking into account the wishes of the inhabitants as expressed by the voting.

(a) If, for the whole or part of the territory, the League of Nations decides in favor of the maintenance of the régime established by the present treaty and this annex, Germany hereby agrees to make such renunciation of her sovereignty in favor of the League of Nations as the latter shall deem necessary. It will be the duty of the League of Nations to take appropriate steps to adapt the régime definitely adopted to the permanent welfare of the territory and the general interests.

(b) If for the whole or part of the territory the League of Nations decides in favor of union with France, Germany hereby agrees to cede to France in accordance with the decision of the League of Nations all rights and title over the territory specified by the League.

(c) If for the whole or part of the territory the League of Nations decides in favor of union with Germany, it will be the duty of the League of Nations to cause the German Government to be re-established in the government of the territory specified by the League.

36. If the League of Nations decides in favor of the union of the whole or part of the territory of the Sarre Basin with Germany, France's rights of ownership in the mines situated in such part of the territory will be repurchased by Germany in their entirety at a price payable in gold. The price to be paid will be fixed by three experts, one nominated by Germany, one by France, and one, who shall be neither a Frenchman nor a German, by the Council of the League of Nations. The decision of the experts will be given by a majority.

The obligation of Germany to make such payment shall be taken into account by the Reparation Commission, and for the purpose of this payment Germany may create a prior charge upon her assets or revenues upon such detailed terms as shall be agreed to by the Reparation Commission.

If, nevertheless, Germany after a period of one year from the date on which the payment becomes due shall not have effected the said payment, the Reparation Commission shall do so in accordance with such instructions as may be given by the League of Nations, and, if necessary, by liquidating that part of the mines which is in question.

37. If, in consequence of the repurchase provided for in Paragraph 36, the ownership of the mines or any part of them is transferred to Germany, the French State and French nationals shall have the right to purchase such amount of coal of the Sarre Basin as their industrial and domestic needs are found at that time to require. An equitable arrangement regarding amounts of coal, duration of contract, and prices will be fixed in due time by the Council of the League of Nations.

38. It is understood that France and Germany may, by special agreements concluded before the time fixed for the payment of the price for the repurchase of the mines, modify the provisions of Paragraphs 36 and 37.

39. The Council of the League of Nations shall make such provisions as may be necessary for the establishment of the régime which is to take effect after the decisions of the League of Nations mentioned in Paragraph 35 have become operative, including an equitable apportionment of any obligations of the Government of the territory of the Sarre Basin arising from loans raised by the commission or from other causes.

From the coming into force of the new régime, the powers of the Governing Commission will terminate, except in the case provided for in Paragraph 35. (a)

40. In all matters dealt with in the present annex, the decisions of the Council of the League of Nations will be taken by a majority.

SECTION V.—*Alsace-Lorraine*

The high contracting powers, recognizing the moral obligation to redress the wrong done by Germany in 1871, both to the rights of France and to the wishes of the population of Alsace and Lorraine, which were separated from their country in spite of solemn protests of their representatives at the Assembly of Bordeaux, agree upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 51.—The territories which were ceded to Germany in accordance with the preliminaries of peace signed at Versailles on the 26th February, 1871, and the treaty of Frankfurt on the 10th May, 1871, are restored to French sovereignty as from the date of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918.

The provisions of the treaties establishing the delimitation of the frontiers before 1871 shall be restored.

ARTICLE 52.—The German Government shall hand over without delay to the French Government all archives, registers, plans,

titles, and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial, or other administrations of the territories restored to French sovereignty. If any of these documents, archives, registers, titles, or plans have been misplaced, they will be restored by the German Government on the demand of the French Government.

ARTICLE 53.—Separate agreements shall be made between France and Germany dealing with the interests of the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51, particularly as regards their civil rights, their business and the exercise of their professions, it being understood that Germany undertakes as from the present date to recognize and accept the regulations laid down in the annex hereto regarding the nationality of the inhabitants or natives of the said territories, not to claim at any time or in any place whatsoever as German nationals those who shall have been declared on any ground to be French, to receive all others in her territory, and to conform, as regards the property of German nationals in the territories indicated in Article 51, with the provisions of Article 207, and the Annex to Section 4 of Part X (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

Those German nationals who without acquiring French nationality shall receive permission from the French Government to reside in the said territories shall not be subjected to the provisions of the said article.

ARTICLE 54.—Those persons who have regained French nationality in virtue of Paragraph 1 of the annex hereto, will be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers for the purposes of the present section.

The persons referred to in Paragraph 2 of the said annex will, from the day on which they have claimed French nationality, be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers with retroactive effect as from the 11th November, 1918. From those whose application is rejected, the privilege will terminate at the date of the refusal.

Such juridical persons will also have the status of Alsace-Lorrainers as have been recognized as possessing this quality, whether by the French administrative authorities or by a judicial decision.

ARTICLE 55.—The territories referred to in Article 51 shall return to France, free and quit of all public debts under the conditions laid down in Article 255 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 56.—In conformity with the provisions of Article 256 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty, France shall enter into possession of all property and estate within the territories referred to in Article 51, which belong to the German Empire or German States, without any payment or credit on this account to any of the States ceding the territories.

This provision applies to all movable or immovable property of public or private domain, together with all rights whatsoever

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belonging to the German Empire or the German States or to their administrative areas.

Crown property and the property of the former Emperor or other German sovereigns shall be assimilated to property of the public domain.

ARTICLE 57.—Germany shall not take any action, either by means of stamping or by any other legal or administrative measures not applying equally to the rest of her territory, which may be to the detriment of the legal value or redeemability of German monetary instruments or moneys which at the date of the signature of the present treaty are legally current, and at that date are in the possession of the French Government.

ARTICLE 58.—A special convention will determine the conditions for repayment in marks of the exceptional war expenditure advanced during the course of the war by Alsace-Lorraine or by public bodies in Alsace-Lorraine on account of the empire in accordance with German law, such as payment to the families of persons mobilized, requisitions, billeting of troops, and assistance to persons who have been expelled. In fixing the amount of these sums Germany shall be credited with that portion which Alsace-Lorraine would have contributed to the empire to meet the expenses resulting from these payments, this contribution being calculated according to the proportion of the imperial revenues derived from Alsace-Lorraine in 1913.

ARTICLE 59.—The French Government will collect for its own account the imperial taxes, duties, and dues of every kind leviable in the territories referred to in Article 51 and not collected at the time of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918.

ARTICLE 60.—The German Government shall without delay restore to Alsace-Lorrainers, (individuals, juridical persons, and public institutions,) all property, rights, and interests belonging to them on the 11th November, 1918, in so far as these are situated in German territory.

ARTICLE 61.—The German Government undertakes to continue and complete without delay the execution of the financial clauses regarding Alsace-Lorraine contained in the armistice conventions.

ARTICLE 62.—The German Government undertakes to bear the expense of all civil and military pensions which had been earned in Alsace-Lorraine on the date of the 11th November, 1918, and the maintenance of which was a charge on the budget of the German Empire.

The German Government shall furnish each year the funds necessary for the payment in francs, at the average rate of exchange for that year, of the sums in marks to which persons resident in Alsace-Lorraine would have been entitled if Alsace-Lorraine had remained under German jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 63.—For the purposes of the obligation assumed by Germany in Part VIII.

(reparations) of the present treaty to give compensation for damages caused to the civil populations of the Allied and Associated countries in the form of fines, the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51 shall be assimilated to the above mentioned populations.

ARTICLE 64.—The regulations concerning the control of the Rhine and of the Moselle are laid down in Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 65.—Within a period of three weeks after the coming into force of the present treaty the Port of Strasbourg and the port of Kehl shall be constituted, for a period of seven years, a single unit from the point of view of exploitation.

The administration of this single unit will be carried on by a manager named by the Central Rhine Commission, which shall also have power to remove him. He shall be of French nationality. He will reside in Strasbourg and will be subject to the supervision of the Central Rhine Commission.

There will be established in the two ports free zones in conformity with Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty.

A special convention between France and Germany, which shall be submitted to the approval of the Central Rhine Commission, will fix the details of this organization, particularly as regards finance.

It is understood that for the purpose of the present article the port of Kehl includes the whole of the area necessary for the movements of the port and the trains which serve it, including the harbor, quays and railroads, platforms, cranes, sheds and warehouses, silos, elevators and hydro-electric plants, which make up the equipment of the port.

The German Government undertakes to carry out all measures which shall be required of it in order to assure that all the making up and switching of trains arriving at or departing from Kehl, whether for the right bank or the left bank of the Rhine, shall be carried on in the best conditions possible.

All property rights shall be safeguarded. In particular, the administration of the ports shall not prejudice any property rights of the French or Baden railroads.

Equality of treatment as respects traffic shall be assured in both ports to the nationals, vessels, and goods of every country.

In case at the end of the sixth year France shall consider that the progress made in the improvement of the Port of Strasbourg still requires a prolongation of this temporary régime, she may ask for such prolongation from the Central Rhine Commission, which may grant an extension for a period not exceeding three years.

Throughout the whole period of any such extension the free zones above provided for shall be maintained.

Pending appointment of the first manager by the Central Rhine Commission, a pro-

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If, nevertheless, Germany after a period of one year from the date on which the payment becomes due shall not have effected the said payment, the Reparation Commission shall do so in accordance with such instructions as may be given by the League of Nations, and, if necessary, by liquidating that part of the mines which is in question.

37. If, in consequence of the repurchase provided for in Paragraph 36, the ownership of the mines or any part of them is transferred to Germany, the French State and French nationals shall have the right to purchase such amount of coal of the Sarre Basin as their industrial and domestic needs are found at that time to require. An equitable arrangement regarding amounts of coal, duration of contract, and prices will be fixed in due time by the Council of the League of Nations.

38. It is understood that France and Germany may, by special agreements concluded before the time fixed for the payment of the price for the repurchase of the mines, modify the provisions of Paragraphs 36 and 37.

39. The Council of the League of Nations shall make such provisions as may be necessary for the establishment of the régime which is to take effect after the decisions of the League of Nations mentioned in Paragraph 35 have become operative, including an equitable apportionment of any obligations of the Government of the territory of the Sarre Basin arising from loans raised by the commission or from other causes.

From the coming into force of the new régime, the powers of the Governing Commission will terminate, except in the case provided for in Paragraph 35. (a)

40. In all matters dealt with in the present annex, the decisions of the Council of the League of Nations will be taken by a majority.

SECTION V.—*Alsace-Lorraine*

The high contracting powers, recognizing the moral obligation to redress the wrong done by Germany in 1871, both to the rights of France and to the wishes of the population of Alsace and Lorraine, which were separated from their country in spite of solemn protests of their representatives at the Assembly of Bordeaux, agree upon the following articles:

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The provisions of the treaties establishing the delimitation of the frontiers before 1871 shall be restored.

ARTICLE 52.—The German Government shall hand over without delay to the French Government all archives, registers, plans,

titles, and documents of every kind concerning the civil, military, financial, judicial, or other administrations of the territories restored to French sovereignty. If any of these documents, archives, registers, titles, or plans have been misplaced, they will be restored by the German Government on the demand of the French Government.

ARTICLE 53.—Separate agreements shall be made between France and Germany dealing with the interests of the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51, particularly as regards their civil rights, their business and the exercise of their professions, it being understood that Germany undertakes as from the present date to recognize and accept the regulations laid down in the annex hereto regarding the nationality of the inhabitants or natives of the said territories, not to claim at any time or in any place whatsoever as German nationals those who shall have been declared on any ground to be French, to receive all others in her territory, and to conform, as regards the property of German nationals in the territories indicated in Article 51, with the provisions of Article 207, and the Annex to Section 4 of Part X (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

Those German nationals who without acquiring French nationality shall receive permission from the French Government to reside in the said territories shall not be subjected to the provisions of the said article.

ARTICLE 54.—Those persons who have regained French nationality in virtue of Paragraph 1 of the annex hereto, will be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers for the purposes of the present section.

The persons referred to in Paragraph 2 of the said annex will, from the day on which they have claimed French nationality, be held to be Alsace-Lorrainers with retroactive effect as from the 11th November, 1918. From those whose application is rejected, the privilege will terminate at the date of the refusal.

Such juridical persons will also have the status of Alsace-Lorrainers as have been recognized as possessing this quality, whether by the French administrative authorities or by a judicial decision.

ARTICLE 55.—The territories referred to in Article 51 shall return to France, free and quit of all public debts under the conditions laid down in Article 255 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 56.—In conformity with the provisions of Article 256 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty, France shall enter into possession of all property and estate within the territories referred to in Article 51, which belong to the German Empire or German States, without any payment or credit on this account to any of the States ceding the territories.

This provision applies to all movable or immovable property of public or private domain, together with all rights whatsoever

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belonging to the German Empire or the German States or to their administrative areas.

Crown property and the property of the former Emperor or other German sovereigns shall be assimilated to property of the public domain.

ARTICLE 57.—Germany shall not take any action, either by means of stamping or by any other legal or administrative measures not applying equally to the rest of her territory, which may be to the detriment of the legal value or redeemability of German monetary instruments or moneys which at the date of the signature of the present treaty are legally current, and at that date are in the possession of the French Government.

ARTICLE 58.—A special convention will determine the conditions for repayment in marks of the exceptional war expenditure advanced during the course of the war by Alsace-Lorraine or by public bodies in Alsace-Lorraine on account of the empire in accordance with German law, such as payment to the families of persons mobilized, requisitions, billeting of troops, and assistance to persons who have been expelled. In fixing the amount of these sums Germany shall be credited with that portion which Alsace-Lorraine would have contributed to the empire to meet the expenses resulting from these payments, this contribution being calculated according to the proportion of the imperial revenues derived from Alsace-Lorraine in 1913.

ARTICLE 59.—The French Government will collect for its own account the imperial taxes, duties, and dues of every kind leviable in the territories referred to in Article 51 and not collected at the time of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918.

ARTICLE 60.—The German Government shall without delay restore to Alsace-Lorrainers, (individuals, juridical persons, and public institutions,) all property, rights, and interests belonging to them on the 11th November, 1918, in so far as these are situated in German territory.

ARTICLE 61.—The German Government undertakes to continue and complete without delay the execution of the financial clauses regarding Alsace-Lorraine contained in the armistice conventions.

ARTICLE 62.—The German Government undertakes to bear the expense of all civil and military pensions which had been earned in Alsace-Lorraine on the date of the 11th November, 1918, and the maintenance of which was a charge on the budget of the German Empire.

The German Government shall furnish each year the funds necessary for the payment in francs, at the average rate of exchange for that year, of the sums in marks to which persons resident in Alsace-Lorraine would have been entitled if Alsace-Lorraine had remained under German jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 63.—For the purposes of the obligation assumed by Germany in Part VIII.

(reparations) of the present treaty to give compensation for damages caused to the civil populations of the Allied and Associated countries in the form of fines, the inhabitants of the territories referred to in Article 51 shall be assimilated to the above mentioned populations.

ARTICLE 64.—The regulations concerning the control of the Rhine and of the Moselle are laid down in Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 65.—Within a period of three weeks after the coming into force of the present treaty the Port of Strasbourg and the port of Kehl shall be constituted, for a period of seven years, a single unit from the point of view of exploitation.

The administration of this single unit will be carried on by a manager named by the Central Rhine Commission, which shall also have power to remove him. He shall be of French nationality. He will reside in Strasbourg and will be subject to the supervision of the Central Rhine Commission.

There will be established in the two ports free zones in conformity with Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty.

A special convention between France and Germany, which shall be submitted to the approval of the Central Rhine Commission, will fix the details of this organization, particularly as regards finance.

It is understood that for the purpose of the present article the port of Kehl includes the whole of the area necessary for the movements of the port and the trains which serve it, including the harbor, quays and railroads, platforms, cranes, sheds and warehouses, silos, elevators and hydro-electric plants, which make up the equipment of the port.

The German Government undertakes to carry out all measures which shall be required of it in order to assure that all the making up and switching of trains arriving at or departing from Kehl, whether for the right bank or the left bank of the Rhine, shall be carried on in the best conditions possible.

All property rights shall be safeguarded. In particular, the administration of the ports shall not prejudice any property rights of the French or Baden railroads.

Equality of treatment as respects traffic shall be assured in both ports to the nationals, vessels, and goods of every country.

In case at the end of the sixth year France shall consider that the progress made in the improvement of the Port of Strasbourg still requires a prolongation of this temporary régime, she may ask for such prolongation from the Central Rhine Commission, which may grant an extension for a period not exceeding three years.

Throughout the whole period of any such extension the free zones above provided for shall be maintained.

Pending appointment of the first manager by the Central Rhine Commission, a pro-

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visional manager, who shall be of French nationality, may be appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, subject to the foregoing provisions.

For all purposes of the present article the Central Rhine Commission will decide by a majority of votes.

ARTICLE 66.—The railway and other bridges across the Rhine now existing within the limits of Alsace-Lorraine shall, as to all their parts and their whole length, be the property of the French State, which shall insure their upkeep.

ARTICLE 67.—The French Government is substituted in all the rights of the German Empire over all the railways which were administered by the Imperial Railway Administration, and which are actually working or under construction.

The same shall apply to the rights of the empire with regard to railway and tramway concessions within the territories referred to in Article 51.

This substitution shall not entail any payment on the part of the French State.

The frontier railway stations shall be established by a subsequent agreement, it being stipulated in advance that on the Rhine frontier they shall be situated on the right bank.

ARTICLE 68.—In accordance with the provisions of Article 268 of Chapter I. of Section I. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, for a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty, natural or manufactured products originating in and coming from the territories referred to in Article 51 shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty. The French Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

Further, during the period of five years above mentioned, the German Government shall allow the free export from Germany and the free reimportation into Germany, exempt from all customs duties and other charges, (including internal charges,) of yarns, tissues, and other textile materials or textile products of any kind, and in any condition, sent from Germany into the territories referred to in Article 51, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, printing, mercerization, gassing, twisting, or dressing.

ARTICLE 69.—During a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty, central electric supply works situated in German territory, and formerly furnishing electric power to the territories referred to in Article 51, or to any establishment the working of which passes permanently or temporarily from Germany to France, shall be

required to continue such supply up to the amount of consumption corresponding to the undertakings and contracts current on the 11th November, 1918.

Such supply shall be furnished according to the contracts in force and at a rate which shall not be higher than that paid to the said works by German nationals.

ARTICLE 70.—It is understood that the French Government preserves its right to prohibit in the future in the territories referred to in Article 51 all new German participation:

1. In the management or exploitation of the public domain and of public services, such as railways, navigable waterways, water works, gas works, electric power, &c.

2. In the ownership of mines and quarries of every kind and in enterprises connected therewith;

3. In metallurgical establishments, even though their working may not be connected with that of any mine.

ARTICLE 71.—As regards the territories referred to in Article 51, Germany renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals as from the 11th November, 1918, all rights under the law of the 25th May, 1910, regarding the trade in potash salts and generally under any stipulations for the intervention of German organizations in the working of the potash mines. Similarly she renounces on behalf of herself and her nationals all rights under any agreements, stipulations or laws, which may exist to her benefit with regard to other products of the aforesaid territories.

ARTICLE 72.—The settlement of the questions relating to debts contracted before the 11th November, 1918, between the German Empire and the German States or their nationals residing in Germany on the one part, and Alsace-Lorrainers residing in Alsace-Lorraine on the other part, shall be effected in accordance with the provisions of Section III. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, the expression "before the war" therein being replaced by the expression "before the 11th November, 1918." The rate of exchange applicable in the case of such settlement shall be the average rate quoted on the Geneva Exchange during the month preceding the 11th November, 1918. There may be established in the territories referred to in Article 51, for the settlement of the aforesaid debts under the conditions laid down in Section III. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, a special clearing office, it being understood that this office shall be regarded as a "central office" under the provisions of Paragraph 1 of the annex to the said section.

ARTICLE 73.—The private property rights and interests of Alsace-Lorrainers in Germany will be regulated by the stipulations of Section IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 74.—The French Government reserves the right to retain and liquidate all

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the property, rights and interests which German nationals or societies controlled by Germany possessed in the territories referred to in Article 51 on Nov. 11, 1918, subject to the conditions laid down in the last paragraph of Article 53 above.

Germany will directly compensate its nationals who may have been dispossessed by the aforesaid liquidations.

The product of these liquidations shall be applied in accordance with the stipulations of Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 75.—Notwithstanding the stipulations of Section V. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, all contracts made before the date of the promulgation in Alsace-Lorraine of the French decree of 30th November, 1918, between Alsace-Lorrainers (whether individuals or juridical persons) or others resident in Alsace-Lorraine on the one part, and the German Empire or German States and their nationals resident in Germany on the other part, the execution of which has been suspended by the armistice or by subsequent French legislation, shall be maintained.

Nevertheless, any contract of which the French Government shall notify the cancellation to Germany in the general interest within a period of six months from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty shall be annulled except in respect of any debt or other pecuniary obligation arising out of any act done or money paid thereunder before the 11th November, 1918. If this dissolution would cause one of the parties substantial prejudice, equitable compensation, calculated solely on the capital employed without taking account of loss of profits, shall be accorded to the prejudiced party.

With regard to prescriptions, limitations, and forfeitures in Alsace-Lorraine, the provisions of Articles 300 and 301 of Section V., Part X. (economic clauses) shall be applied, with the substitution for the expression "outbreak of war" of the expression "11th November, 1918," and for the expression "duration of the war" of the expression "period from the 11th November, 1918, to date of the coming into force of the present treaty."

ARTICLE 76.—Questions concerning rights in industrial, literary, or artistic property of Alsace-Lorrainers shall be regulated in accordance with the general stipulations of Section VII. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, it being understood that Alsace-Lorrainers holding rights of this nature under German legislation will preserve full and entire enjoyment of those rights on German territory.

ARTICLE 77.—The German Government undertakes to pay over to the French Government such proportion of all reserves accumulated by the empire or by public or private bodies dependent upon it, for the purposes of disability and old age insurance,

as would fall to the disability and old age insurance fund at Strasbourg.

The same shall apply in respect of the capital and reserves accumulated in Germany falling legitimately to other serial insurance funds, to miners' superannuation funds, to the fund of the railways of Alsace-Lorraine, to other superannuation organizations established for the benefit of the personnel of public administrations and institutions operating in Alsace-Lorraine, and also in respect of the capital and reserves due by the insurance fund of private employees at Berlin by reason of engagements entered into for the benefit of insured persons of that category resident in Alsace-Lorraine.

A special convention shall determine the conditions and procedure of these transfers.

ARTICLE 78.—With regard to the execution of judgments, orders, and prosecutions, the following rules shall be applied:

1. All civil and commercial judgments which shall have been given since Aug. 3, 1914, by the courts of Alsace-Lorraine between Alsace-Lorrainers, or between Alsace-Lorrainers and foreigners, or between foreigners, and which shall not have been appealed from before the 11th November, 1918, shall be regarded as final and capable of being fully executed.

When the judgment has been given between Alsace-Lorrainers and Germans, or between Alsace-Lorrainers and subjects of the allies of Germany, it shall only be capable of execution after the issue of an exequatur by the corresponding new tribunal in the restored territory referred to in Article 51.

2. All judgments given by German courts since the 3d August, 1914, against Alsace-Lorrainers for political crimes or misdemeanors shall be regarded as null and void.

3. All sentences passed since the 11th November, 1918, by the Imperial Court of Leipzig or Appeals against the decisions of the courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be regarded as null and void and shall be so pronounced. The papers in regard to the cases in which such sentences have been given shall be returned to the courts of Alsace-Lorraine concerned.

All appeals to the Imperial Court against decisions of the courts of Alsace-Lorraine shall be suspended. In the cases referred to above, the papers shall be returned under the aforesaid conditions for transfer without delay to the French Cour de Cassation which shall be competent to decide them.

4. All prosecutions of Alsace-Lorraine for offenses committed during the period between the 11th November, 1918, and the coming into force of the present treaty will be conducted under German law except in so far as this has been modified by decrees duly published on the spot by the French authorities.

All other questions as to competence, procedure or administration of justice, shall be

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determined by a special convention between France and Germany.

ARTICLE 79.—The stipulations as to nationality contained in the annex hereto shall be considered as of equal force with the provisions of the present section.

All other questions concerning Alsace-Lorraine which are not regulated by the present section and the annex thereto, or by the general provisions of the present treaty, will form the subject of further conventions between France and Germany.

ANNEX

1. As from the 11th November, 1918, the following persons are ipso facto reinstated in French nationality:

First—Persons who lost French nationality by the application of the Franco-German treaty of the 10th May, 1871, and who have not since that date acquired any nationality other than German;

Second—The legitimate or natural descendants of the persons referred to in the immediately preceding paragraph, with the exception of those whose ascendants in the paternal line include a German who migrated into Alsace-Lorraine after the 15th July, 1870;

Third—All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine of unknown parents or whose nationality is unknown.

2. Within the period of one year from the coming into force of the present treaty, persons included in any of the following categories may claim French nationality:

First—All persons not restored to French nationality under Paragraph 1, above, whose ascendants include a Frenchman or French woman who lost French nationality under the conditions referred to in the said paragraph;

Second—All foreigners not nationals of a German State who acquired the status of a citizen of Alsace-Lorraine before the 3d August, 1914;

Third—All Germans domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine, if they have been so domiciled since a date previous to 15th July, 1870, or if one of their ascendants was at that date domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine;

Fourth—All Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine who have served in the allied or associated armies during the present war and their descendants;

Fifth—All persons born in Alsace-Lorraine before 10th May, 1871, of foreign parents, and the descendants of such persons;

Sixth—The husband or wife of any person whose French nationality may have been restored under Paragraph 1 or who may have claimed and obtained French nationality in accordance with the preceding provisions.

The legal representatives of a minor may exercise on behalf of that minor the right to claim French nationality; and if that right has not been exercised, the minor may claim French nationality within the year following his majority.

Except in the case provided in No. 6 of the present paragraph, the French authorities reserve to themselves the right in individual cases to reject the claim to French nationality.

3. Subject to the provisions of Paragraph 2, Germans born or domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine shall not acquire French nationality by reason of the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, even though they may have the status of citizens of Alsace-Lorraine.

They may acquire French nationality only by naturalization, on condition of having been domiciled in Alsace-Lorraine from a date previous to the 3d August, 1914, and of submitting proof of unbroken residence within the restored territory for a period of three years from the 11th November, 1918.

France will be solely responsible for their diplomatic and consular protection from the date of their application for French naturalization.

4. The French Government shall determine the procedure by which reinstatement in French nationality as of right shall be effected, and the conditions under which decisions shall be given upon claims to such nationality and applications for naturalization, as provided by the present annex.

SECTION VI.—Austria

ARTICLE 80.—Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria. Within the frontiers which may be fixed by a treaty between that State and the principal Allied and Associated Powers she agrees that this independence shall be inalienable, except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

SECTION VII.—Czechoslovak State

ARTICLE 81.—Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of the Czechoslovak State, which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians. Germany hereby recognizes the frontier of this State as determined by the principal Allied and Associated Powers and the other interested States.

ARTICLE 82.—The old frontier as it existed on Aug. 3, 1914, between Austria-Hungary and the German Empire will constitute the frontier between Germany and the Czechoslovak State.

ARTICLE 83.—Germany renounces in favor of the Czechoslovak State all rights and title over the portion of Silesian territory defined as follows:

Starting from a point about 2 kilometers southeast of Katscher, on the boundary between the Circles (Kreise) of Loebischütz and Ratibor; the boundary between the two Kreise; then, the former boundary between Germany and Austria-Hungary up to a point on the Oder immediately to the south of the

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Ratibor-Oderberg railway; thence, toward the northwest and up to a point about 2 kilometers to the southeast of Katscher; a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the west of Kranowitz.

A commission composed of seven members, five nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Poland, and one by the Czechoslovak State, will be appointed fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line between Poland and the Czechoslovak State.

The decisions of this commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

Germany hereby agrees to renounce in favor of the Czechoslovak State all rights and title over the part of the Kreis of Leobschütz comprised within the following boundaries in case after the determination of the frontier between Germany and Poland the said part of that circle should become isolated from Germany: from the southeastern extremity of the salient of the former Austrian frontier at about 5 kilometers to the west of Leobschütz southward and up to a point of junction with the boundary between the Kreise of Leobschütz and Ratibor; the former frontier between Germany and Austria-Hungary; then, northward, the administrative boundary between the Kreise of Leobschütz and Ratibor up to a point situated about 2 kilometers to the southeast of Katscher; thence, northwestward and up to the starting point of this definition; a line to be fixed on the spot passing to the east of Katscher.

ARTICLE 84.—German nationals habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of the Czechoslovak State will obtain Czechoslovak nationality *ipso facto* and lose their German nationality.

ARTICLE 85.—Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present treaty German nationals over 18 years of age habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of the Czechoslovak State will be entitled to opt for German nationality. Czechoslovaks who are habitually resident in Germany will have a similar right to opt for Czechoslovak nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife, and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age. Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their landed property in the territory of the other State where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property. Within the same period Czechoslovaks who are German nationals

and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired the foreign nationality, to obtain Czechoslovak nationality and lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Czechoslovak State.

ARTICLE 86.—The Czechoslovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

The Czechoslovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the said powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of Germany and Prussia which the Czechoslovak State will have to assume on account of the Silesian territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions not decided by the present treaty which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

SECTION VIII.—*Poland*

ARTICLE 87.—Germany, in conformity with the action already taken by the Allied and Associated Powers, recognizes the complete independence of Poland and renounces in her favor all rights and title over the territory bounded by the Baltic Sea; the eastern frontier of Germany as laid down in Article 27 of Part II. (boundaries of Germany) of the present treaty, up to a point situated about two kilometers to the east of Lorenzendorf, then a line to the acute angle which the northern boundary of Upper Silesia makes about three kilometers northwest of Simmenau, then to where the boundary of Upper Silesia has its meeting point with the old frontier between Germany and Russia, then this frontier to the point where it crosses the course of the Niemen, and then the northern frontier of East Prussia, as laid down in Article 28, Part II., aforesaid.

The terms of this article do not, however, apply to the territories of East Prussia and the free city of Danzig, as defined in Article 28, of Part II., (boundaries of Germany,) and in Article 106 of Section XI. (Danzig) of this part.

The boundaries of Poland not laid down in the present treaty will be subsequently determined by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. A commission consisting of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the principal Allied and Associated



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line the German system of taxation, first to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and, secondly, so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission.

(c) In order to facilitate and continue the immediate restoration of the economic life of the Allied and Associated countries, the commission will, as provided in Article 235, take from Germany by way of security for and acknowledgment of her debt a first installment of gold bearer bonds free of all taxes or charges of every description established or to be established by the Government of the German Empire or of the German States, or by any authority subject to them; these bonds will be delivered on account and in three portions, the marks gold being payable in conformity with Article 262 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty, as follows:

First. To be issued forthwith, 20,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest. There shall be specially applied toward the amortization of these bonds the payments which Germany is pledged to make in conformity with Article 235, after deduction of the sums used for the reimbursement of expenses of the armies of occupation and for payment of foodstuffs and raw materials. Such bonds as have not been redeemed by May 1, 1921, shall then be exchanged for new bonds of the same type as those provided for below, (Paragraph 12, c. second.)

Second. To be issued forthwith, further 40,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds, bearing interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter at 5 per cent. per annum, with an additional 1 per cent. for amortization beginning in 1926 on the whole amount of the issue.

Third. To be delivered forthwith a covering undertaking in writing, to issue when, but not until, the commission is satisfied that Germany can meet such interest and sinking fund obligations, a further installment of 40,000,000,000 marks gold 5 per cent. bearer bonds, the time and mode of payment of principal and interest to be determined by the commission.

The dates for payment of interest, the manner of applying the amortization fund, and all other questions relating to the issue, management, and regulation of the bond issue shall be determined by the commission from time to time.

Further issues by way of acknowledgment and security may be required as the commission subsequently determines from time to time.

(d) In the event of bonds, obligations, or other evidence of indebtedness issued by Germany by way of security for or acknowl-

edgment of her reparation debt being disposed of outright, not by way of pledge, to persons other than the several Governments in whose favor Germany's original reparation indebtedness was created, an amount of such reparation indebtedness shall be deemed to be extinguished corresponding to the nominal value of the bonds, &c., so disposed of outright, and the obligation of Germany in respect of such bonds shall be confined to her liabilities to the holders of the bonds, as expressed upon their face.

(e) The damage for repairing, reconstructing, and rebuilding property in the invaded and devastated districts, including reinstallation of furniture, machinery and other equipment, will be calculated according to the cost at the dates when the work is done.

(f) Decisions of the commission relating to the total or partial cancellation of the capital or interest of any verified debt of Germany must be accompanied by a statement of its reasons.

13. As to voting, the commission will observe the following rules:

When a decision of the commission is taken, the votes of all the delegates entitled to vote, or in the absence of any of them, of their assistant delegates, shall be recorded. Abstention from voting is to be treated as a vote against the proposal under discussion. Assessors have no vote.

On the following questions unanimity is necessary:

(a) Questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, or the cancellation of the whole or any part of the debt or obligations of Germany.

(b) Questions of determining the amount and conditions of bonds or other obligations to be issued by the German Government and of fixing the time and manner for selling, negotiating, or distributing such bonds.

(c) Any postponement, total or partial, beyond the end of 1930, of the payment of installments falling due between the 1st May, 1921, and the end of 1926 inclusive.

(d) Any postponement, total or partial, of any installment falling due after 1926 for a period exceeding three years.

(e) Questions of applying in any particular case a method of measuring damages different from that which has been previously applied in a similar case.

(f) Questions of the interpretation of the provisions of this part of the present treaty.

All other questions shall be decided by the vote of a majority.

In case of any difference of opinion among the delegates, which cannot be solved by reference to their Governments, upon the question whether a given case is one which requires a unanimous vote for its decision or not, such difference shall be referred to the immediate arbitration of some impartial person to be agreed upon by the Governments, whose award the Allied and Associated Governments agree to accept.

14. Decisions of the commission, to be

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order the evacuation of such authorities and proceed to the replacement of such local authorities as may be required. It shall take all steps which it thinks proper to insure the freedom, fairness, and secrecy of the vote. In particular, it shall have the right to order the expulsion of any person who may in any way have attempted to distort the result of the plebiscite by methods of corruption or intimidation.

The commission shall have full power to settle all questions arising from the execution of the present clauses. It shall be assisted by technical advisers, chosen by it from among the local populations. The decision of the commission shall be taken by a majority vote.

4. The vote shall take place at such date as may be determined by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, but not sooner than six months or later than eighteen months after the establishment of the commission in the area.

The right to vote shall be given to all persons, without distinction of sex, who:

(a) Have completed their twentieth year on the 1st of January of the year in which the plebiscite takes place;

(b) Were born in the plebiscite area or have been domiciled there since a date to be determined by the commission, which shall not be subsequent to Jan. 1, 1919, or who have been expelled by the German authorities and have not retained their domicile there.

Persons convicted of political offenses shall not exercise their right of voting. Every person will vote in the commune where he is domiciled, or in which he was born, if he has not retained his domicile in the area.

The result of the vote will be determined by the communes according to the majority of votes in each commune.

5. On the conclusion of the voting the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the commission to the principal Allied and Associated Powers with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the frontier of Germany in Upper Silesia. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants, as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality.

6. As soon as the frontier has been fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers the German authorities will be notified by the International Commission that they are free to take over the administration of the territory which it is recognized should be German; the said authorities must proceed to do so within one month of such notification and in the manner prescribed by the commission. Within the same period and in the manner prescribed by the commission, the Polish Government must proceed to take over the administration of the territory which it is recognized should be Polish.

When the administration of the territory has been provided for by the German and Polish authorities respectively the powers of the commission will terminate.

The cost of the Army of Occupation and expenditure by the commission, whether in discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be a charge on the area.

ARTICLE 89.—Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails in transit between East Prussia and the rest of Ger-

many over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails, respectively, of Polish or of any other most-favored nationality, origin, importation starting point, or ownership, as regards facilities, restrictions, and all other matters.

Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other similar duties.

Freedom of transit will extend to telegraphic and telephonic services under the conditions laid down by the conventions referred to in Article 98.

ARTICLE 90.—Poland undertakes to permit, for a period of fifteen years, the exportation to Germany of the products of the mines in any part of Poland in accordance with the present treaty. Such export shall be subject to duties or other charges or restrictions on exportation.

Poland agrees to take such steps as may be necessary to secure that such products shall be available for sale to purchasers in Germany on terms as favorable as are applicable to like products sold under similar conditions to purchasers in Poland or in any other country.

ARTICLE 91.—German nationals habitually resident in territories recognized as forming part of Poland will acquire Polish nationality *ipso facto* and will lose their German nationality. German nationals, however, or their descendants who became resident in these territories after Jan. 1, 1908, will not acquire Polish nationality without a special authorization from the Polish State.

Within a period of two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, German nationals over 18 years of age, habitually resident in any of the territories recognized as forming part of Poland, will be entitled to opt for German nationality. Poles who are German nationals over 18 years of age, and habitually resident in Germany, will have a similar right to opt for Polish nationality. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age. Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the other State, where they had their place of residence before exercising the right to opt. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties or charges may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Within the same period Poles who are German nationals and are in a foreign country will be entitled, in the absence of any provisions to the contrary in the foreign law, and if they have not acquired foreign nationality, to obtain Polish nationality and to

lose their German nationality by complying with the requirements laid down by the Polish State.

In this portion of Upper Silesia submitted to a plebiscite the provisions of this article should only come into force as from the definite attribution of the territory.

ARTICLE 92.—The proportion and the nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and Prussia to be borne by Poland will be determined in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty. There shall be excluded from the share of such financial liabilities assumed by Poland that portion of the debt which, according to the finding of the Reparation Commission referred to in the above mentioned article, arises from measures adopted by the German and Prussian Governments with a view to German colonization in Poland. In fixing under Article 256 of the present treaty the value of the property and possessions belonging to the German Empire and to the German States which pass to Poland, with the territory transferred above, the Reparation Commission shall exclude from the valuation buildings, forests, and other State property which belonged to the former kingdom of Poland; Poland shall acquire these properties free of all costs and charges.

In all the German territory transferred in accordance with the present treaty and recognized as forming definitively a part of Poland, the property rights and interests of German nationals shall not be liquidated under Article 297 by the Polish Government except in accordance with the following provisions:

1. The proceeds of the liquidation shall be paid direct to the owner;

2. If, on his application, the mixed arbitral tribunal provided for by the Section 6 of Part X. (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty, or an arbitrator appointed by that tribunal, is satisfied that the conditions of the sale or measures taken by the Polish Government outside of its general legislation were unfairly prejudicial to the price obtained, they shall have discretion to award to the owner equitable compensation to be paid by the Polish Government.

Further agreements will regulate all questions arising out of the cession of the above territory, which are not regulated by the present treaty.

ARTICLE 93.—Poland accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

Poland further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the said powers such provisions as they may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

SECTION IX.—*East Prussia*

ARTICLE 94.—In the area between the southern frontier of East Prussia, as described in Article 28 of Part II. (frontiers of Germany) of the present treaty, and the line described below, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote the State to which they wish to belong:

The western and northern boundary of *Regierungsbezirk Allenstein* to its junction with the boundary between the *Kreise* of *Oletzko* and *Angerburg*, thence, the northern boundary of the *Kreis* of *Oletzko* to its junction with the old frontier of East Prussia.

ARTICLE 95.—The German troops and authorities will be withdrawn from the area defined above within a period not exceeding fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty. Until the evacuation is completed they will abstain from all requisitions in money or in kind and from all measures injurious to the economic interests of the country.

On the expiration of the above-mentioned period the said area will be placed under the authority of an International Commission of five members appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. This commission will have general powers of administration and, in particular, will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote, and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to insure its freedom, fairness, and secrecy. The commission will have all necessary authority to decide any questions to which the execution of these provisions may give rise. The commission will make such arrangements as may be necessary for assistance in the exercise of its functions by officials chosen by itself from the local population; its decisions will be taken by a majority.

Every person, irrespective of sex, will be entitled to vote who:

- (a) Is 20 years of age at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, and
- (b) Was born within the area where the vote will take place, or has been habitually resident there from a date to be fixed by the commission.

Every person will vote in the commune where he is habitually resident or, if not habitually resident in the area, in the commune where he was born.

The result of the vote will be determined by commune, (*Gemeinde*), according to the majority of the votes in each commune.

On the conclusion of the voting the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the commission to the principal Allied and Associated Powers with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the boundary of East Prussia in this region.

In this recommendation, regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality.

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The principal Allied and Associated Powers will then fix the frontier between East Prussia and Poland in this region. If the line fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers is such as to exclude from East Prussia any part of the territory defined in Article 94, the renunciation of its rights by Germany in favor of Poland, as provided in Article 87, above, will extend to the territories so excluded. As soon as the line has been fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, the authorities administering East Prussia will be notified by the International Commission that they are free to take over the administration of the territory to the north of the line so fixed, which they shall proceed to do within one month of such notification and in the manner prescribed by the commission. Within the same period, and as prescribed by the commission, the Polish Government must proceed to take over the administration of the territory to the south of the line. When the administration of the territory by the East Prussian and Polish authorities, respectively, has been provided for, the powers of the commission will terminate.

Expenditure by the commission, whether in the discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be borne by the local revenues. East Prussia will be required to bear such proportion of any deficit as may be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers.

ARTICLE 96.—In the area comprising the Kreise of Stuhm and Rosenberg, and the portion of the Kreis of Marienburg which is situated east of the Nogat, and that of Marienwerder east of the Vistula, the inhabitants will be called upon to indicate by a vote, to be taken in each commune, (*Gemeinde*), whether they desire the various communes situated in this territory to belong to Poland or to East Prussia.

ARTICLE 97.—The German troops and authorities will be withdrawn from the area defined in Article 96 within a period not exceeding fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty. Until the evacuation is completed they will abstain from all requisitions in money or in kind and from all measures injurious to the economic interests of the country. On the expiration of the above mentioned period the said area will be placed under the authority of an International Commission of five members appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. This commission, supported, if occasion arises, by the necessary forces, will have general powers of administration, and, in particular, will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to insure its freedom, fairness, and secrecy. The commission will conform as far as possible to the provisions of the present treaty relating to the plebiscite in the Allenstein area. Its decision will be taken by a majority. Expenditure by the commission, whether in the

discharge of its own functions or in the administration of the territory, will be borne by the local revenues.

On the conclusion of the voting, the number of votes cast in each commune will be communicated by the commission to the principal Allied and Associated Powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote and a recommendation as to the line which ought to be adopted as the boundary of East Prussia in this region. In this recommendation regard will be paid to the wishes of the inhabitants as shown by the vote and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality. The principal Allied and Associated Powers will then fix the frontier between East Prussia and Poland in this region, leaving in any case to Poland for the whole of the section bordering on the Vistula full and complete control of the river, including the east bank as far east of the river as may be necessary for its regulation and improvement. Germany agrees that in any portion of the said territory which remains German no fortifications shall at any time be erected.

The principal Allied and Associated Powers will at the same time draw up regulations for assuring to the population of East Prussia to the fullest extent, and under equitable conditions, access to the Vistula, and the use of it for themselves, their commerce, and their boats.

The determination of the frontier and the foregoing regulations shall be binding upon all the parties concerned. When the administration of the territory has been taken over by the East Prussian and Polish authorities, respectively, the powers of the commission will terminate.

ARTICLE 98.—Germany and Poland undertake, within one year of the coming into force of this treaty, to enter into conventions of which the terms, in case of difference, shall be settled by the Council of the League of Nations, with the object of securing on the one hand to Germany full and adequate railroad, telegraphic, and telephonic facilities for communication between the rest of Germany and East Prussia over the intervening Polish territory, and on the other hand to Poland full and adequate railroad, telegraphic, and telephonic facilities for communication between Poland and the free city of Danzig over any German territory that may, on the right bank of the Vistula, intervene between Poland and the free city of Danzig.

SECTION X.—*Memel*

ARTICLE 99.—Germany renounces in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territories included between the Baltic, the northeastern frontier of East Prussia as defined in Article 28 of Part II. (Frontiers of Germany) of the present treaty and the former frontier between Germany and Russia.

Germany undertakes to accept the settle-

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ment made by the principal Allied and Associated Powers in regard to these territories, particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants.

SECTION XI.—Free City of Danzig

ARTICLE 100.—Germany renounces in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights and title over the territory comprised within the following limits:

From the Baltic Sea southward to the point where the principal channels of navigation of the Nogat and Vistula (Weichsel) meet;

The boundary of East Prussia as described in Article 28 of Part II. (boundaries of Germany) of the present treaty;

Thence the principal channel of navigation of the Vistula downstream to a point about 6½ kilometers north of the bridge of Dirschau;

Thence northwest to point 5, 1½ kilometers southeast of the Church of Güttland, a line to be fixed on the ground;

Thence in a general westerly direction to the salient of the Kreis of Berent, 8½ kilometers northeast of Schöneck;

A line to be fixed on the ground passing between Mühlbanz on the south and Rambeltsch on the north;

Thence the boundary of the Kreis of Berent, westward to the re-entrant which it forms six kilometers north-northwest of Schöneck;

Thence to a point on the median line of Lonkener See; a line to be fixed on the ground passing north of Neu Fietz and Schattarp and south of Barenhütte and Lonken; thence the median line of the Lonkener See to its northernmost point; thence to the southern end of Pollenziner See; a line to be fixed on the ground;

Thence the median line of Pollenziner See to its northernmost point;

Thence in a northeasterly direction to a point about one kilometer south of Kollekken Church, where the Danzig-Neustadt Railway crosses a stream;

A line to be fixed on the ground passing southeast of Kamehlen, Krissau, Fidlín, Sulmin, (Richthof.) Mattern, Schäferel, and to the northwest of Neuendorf, Marschau, Czapleken, Hoch and Klein Kelpin, Pulvermühl, Renneberg, and the towns of Oliva and Zoppot;

Thence the course of this stream to the Baltic Sea.

The boundaries described above are drawn on a German map scale 1:100,000, attached to the present treaty, (Map No. 4.)

ARTICLE 101.—A commission composed of three members appointed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, including a High Commissioner as President, one member appointed by Germany, and one member appointed by Poland, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the coming into force of the present treaty for the purpose of

delimiting on the spot the frontier of the territory as described above, taking into account as far as possible the existing communal boundaries.

ARTICLE 102.—The principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to establish the town of Danzig, together with the rest of the territory described in Article 100, as a free city. It will be placed under the protection of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 103.—A constitution for the free city of Danzig shall be drawn up by the duly appointed representatives of the free city in agreement with a High Commissioner to be appointed by the League of Nations. The constitution shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

The High Commissioner will also be entrusted with the duty of dealing in the first instance with all differences arising between Poland and the free city of Danzig in regard to this treaty or any arrangements or agreements made thereunder.

The High Commissioner shall reside at Danzig.

ARTICLE 104.—The principal Allied and Associated Powers undertake to negotiate a treaty between the Polish Government and the free city of Danzig which shall come into force at the same time as the establishment of said free city, with the following objects:

1. To effect the inclusion of the free city of Danzig within the Polish customs frontiers and to establish a free area in the port.

2. To insure to Poland without any restriction the free use and service of all waterways, docks, basins, wharves, and other works within the territory of the free city necessary for Polish imports and exports.

3. To insure to Poland the control and administration of the Vistula and of the whole railway system within the free city; except such street and other railways as serve primarily the needs of the free city and of postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication between Poland and the Port of Danzig.

4. To insure to Poland the right to develop and improve the waterways, docks, basins, wharves, railways, and other works and means of communication mentioned in this article, as well as to lease or purchase through appropriate processes such land and other property as may be necessary for these purposes.

5. To provide against any discrimination within the free city of Danzig to the detriment of citizens of Poland and other persons of Polish origin or speech.

6. To provide that the Polish Government shall undertake the conduct of the foreign relations of the free city of Danzig as well as the diplomatic protection of citizens of that city when abroad.

ARTICLE 105.—On the coming into force of the present treaty German nationals ordinarily resident in the territory described in

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Article 100 will ipso facto lose their German nationality, in order to become nationals of the free city of Danzig.

ARTICLE 106.—Within a period of two years from the coming into force of the present treaty German nationals over 18 years of age ordinarily resident in the territory described in Article 100 will have the right to opt for German nationality.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age.

All persons who exercise the right of option referred to above must during the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to Germany.

These persons will be entitled to preserve the immovable property possessed by them in the territory of the free city of Danzig. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties shall be imposed upon them in this connection.

ARTICLE 107.—All property situated within the territory of the free city of Danzig belonging to the German Empire or any German State shall pass to the principal Allied and Associated Powers for transfer to the free city of Danzig or to the Polish State as they may consider equitable.

ARTICLE 108.—The proportion and nature of the financial liabilities of Germany and of Prussia to be borne by the free city of Danzig shall be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

All other questions which may arise from the cession of the territory referred to in Article 100 shall be settled by further agreements.

SECTION XII.—*Schleswig*

ARTICLE 109.—The frontier between Germany and Denmark shall be fixed in conformity with the wishes of the population.

For this purpose the population inhabiting the territories of the former German empire situated to the north of a line from east to west, (shown by a brown line on the Map No. 3 annexed to the present treaty;)

Leaving the Baltic coast about thirteen kilometers east-northeast of Flensburg, running southwest so as to pass southeast of Sygum, Ringsberg, Munkbrarup, Adelby, Tastrup, Jarplund, Oversee, and northwest of Langballigholz, Langballig, Bönstrup, Rüllschau, Weseby, Kleinwolstrup, Gross-Solt; thence westward passing south of Frörup and north of Wanderup; thence in a southwesterly direction passing southeast of Oxlund, Stieglund, and Ostenau and northwest of the villages on the Wanderup-Kollund road; thence in a northwesterly direction passing southwest of Löwenstedt, Joldelund, Goldelund and northeast of Kalkerheide and Hügél to the bend of the Soholm Au, about one kilometer east of Soholm, where it meets the southern boundary of the Kreis of Tondern; thence following this

boundary to the North Sea; thence passing south of the islands of Föhr and Amrum and north of the islands of Oland and Lange- nes, shall be called upon to pronounce by vote which will be taken under the following conditions:

1. Within a period not exceeding ten days from the coming into force of the present treaty, the German troops and authorities (including the Oberpräsidenten, Regierungs-Präsidenten, Landräthe, Amtsvorsteher, Oberbürgermeister) shall evacuate the zone lying to the north of the line above fixed.

Within the same period the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils which have been constituted in this zone shall be dissolved; members of such councils who are natives of another region and are exercising their functions at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, or who have gone out of office since the 1st March, 1919, shall also be evacuated.

The said zone shall immediately be placed under the authority of an international commission, composed of five members, of whom three will be designated by the principal Allied and Associated Powers; the Norwegian and Swedish Governments will each be requested to designate a member. In the event of their failing to do so, these two members will be chosen by the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

The commission, assisted in case of need by the necessary forces, shall have general powers of administration. In particular, it shall at once provide for filling the places of the evacuated German authorities, and, if necessary, shall itself give orders for their evacuation and proceed to fill the places of such local authorities as may be required. It shall take all steps which it thinks proper to insure the freedom, fairness, and secrecy of the vote. It shall be assisted by German and Danish technical advisers chosen by it from among the local population. Its decisions will be taken by a majority.

One-half of the expenses of the International Commission and of the expenditure occasioned by the plebiscite shall be paid by Germany.

2. The right to vote shall be given all persons, without distinction of sex, who:

(a) Have completed their twentieth year at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty; and

(b) Were born in the zone in which the plebiscite is taken, or had been domiciled there since a date before the 1st January, 1900, or had been expelled by the German authorities without having retained their domicile there.

Every person will vote in the commune (Gemeinde) where he is domiciled or of which he is a native.

Military persons, officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the German Army, who are natives of the zone of Schleswig, in which the plebiscite is taken, shall be given the opportunity to return to

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their native place in order to take part in the voting there.

3. In the section of the evacuated zone lying to the north of a line from east to west (shown by a red line on Map No. 3, which is annexed to the present treaty):

Passing south of the Island of Alsen and following the median line of Flensburg Fjord;

Thence leaving the fjord about six kilometers north of Flensburg, and following the course of the stream flowing past Kupfermühle upstream to a point north of Niehuus;

Thence passing north of Pattburg and Ellund and south of Fröslee to meet the eastern boundary of the Kreis of Tondern at its junction with the boundary between the old jurisdiction of Slogs and Kjaer, (Slogs Herred and Kjaer Herred;)

Thence the latter boundary to where it meets the Scheidebek;

Thence the course of the Scheidebek, (Alte Au, Süder Au, and Wied Au downstream successively to the point where the latter bends northward, about 1,500 meters west of Ruttebüll;

Thence in a west-northwesterly direction to meet the North Sea north of Slettoft;

Thence passing north of the Island of Sylt.

The vote above provided for shall be taken within a period not exceeding three weeks after the evacuation of the country by the German troops and authorities.

The result will be determined by the majority of votes cast in the whole of this section. This result will be immediately communicated by the commission to the principal Allied and Associated Governments and proclaimed.

If the vote results in favor of the reincorporation of this territory in the Kingdom of Denmark, the Danish Government, in agreement with the commission, will be entitled to effect its occupation with their military and administrative authorities immediately after the proclamation.

4. In the section of the evacuated zone situated to the south of the preceding section and to the north of the line which starts from the Baltic Sea thirteen kilometers from Flensburg and ends north of the islands of Oland and Langeness, the vote will be taken within a period not exceeding five weeks after the plebiscite shall have been held in the first section.

The result will be determined by communes (Gemeinden) in accordance with the majority of the votes cast in each commune, (Gemeinde.)

ARTICLE 110.—Pending a delimitation on the spot, a frontier line will be fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers according to a line based on the result of the voting, and proposed by the International Commission, and taking into account the particular geographical and economic conditions of the localities in question.

From that time the Danish Government

may effect the occupation of these territories which the Danish civil and military authorities, and the German Government may reinstate up to the said frontier line the German civil and military authorities whom it has evacuated.

Germany hereby renounced definitively in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights of sovereignty over the territories situated to the north of the frontier line fixed in accordance with the above provisions. The principal Allied and Associated Powers will hand over the said territories to Denmark.

ARTICLE 111.—A commission, composed of seven members, five of whom shall be nominated by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Denmark, and one by Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the date when the final result of the vote is known, to trace the frontier line on the spot.

The decisions of the commission will be taken by a majority of votes, and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 112.—All the inhabitants of the territory which is returned to Denmark will acquire Danish nationality ipso facto, and will lose their German nationality. Persons, however, who had become habitually resident in this territory after the 1st October, 1918, will not be able to acquire Danish nationality without permission from the Danish Government.

ARTICLE 113.—Within two years from the date on which the sovereignty over the whole or part of the territory of Schleswig subjected to the plebiscite is restored to Denmark:

Any person over 18 years of age, born in the territory restored to Denmark, not habitually resident in this region and possessing German nationality, will be entitled to opt for Denmark.

Any person over 18 years of age habitually resident in the territory restored to Denmark will be entitled to opt for Germany.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children less than 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the ensuing twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State in favor of which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain the immovable property which they own in the territory of the other State in which they were habitually resident before opting. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 114.—The proportion and nature of the financial or other obligations of Germany and Prussia which are to be assumed by Denmark will be fixed in accordance with Article 254 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty.

Further stipulations will determine an

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other questions arising out of the transfer to Denmark of the whole or part of the territory of which she was deprived by the treaty of Oct. 30, 1864.

SECTION XIII.—*Heligoland*

ARTICLE 115.—The fortifications, military establishments, and harbors of the islands of Heligoland and Dune shall be destroyed under the supervision of the principal Allied Governments by German labor and at the expense of Germany within a period to be determined by the said Governments.

The term "harbors" shall include the Northeast Mole, the West Wall, the outer and inner breakwaters and reclaimed land within them, and all naval and military works, fortifications, and buildings, constructed or under construction, between lines connecting the following positions taken from the British Admiralty Chart No. 126 of 19 April 1918:

(A) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 49 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 53 minutes 39 seconds E.;

(B) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 35 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 54 minutes 18 seconds E.;

(C) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 14 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 54 minutes 0 seconds E.;

(D) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 17 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 53 minutes 37 seconds E.;

(E) Lat. 54 degrees 10 minutes 44 seconds N.; long. 7 degrees 53 minutes 26 seconds E.

These fortifications, military establishments, and harbors shall not be reconstructed, nor shall any similar works be constructed in future.

SECTION XIV.—*Russia and Russian States*

ARTICLE 116.—Germany acknowledges and agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independence of all the territories which were part of the former Russian Empire on Aug. 1, 1914.

In accordance with the provisions of Article 259 of Part IX. (financial clauses) and Article 292 of Part X., (economic clauses,) Germany accepts definitively the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaties and of all treaties, conventions, and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia.

The Allied and Associated Powers formally reserve the rights of Russia to obtain from Germany restitution and reparation based on the principles of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 117.—Germany undertakes to recognize the full force of all treaties or agreements which may be entered into by the Allied and Associated Powers with States now existing or coming into existence in future in the whole or part of the former Empire of Russia as it existed on Aug. 1, 1914, and to recognize the frontiers of any such States as determined therein.

PART IV.—German Rights and Interests Outside Germany

ARTICLE 118.—In territory outside her European frontiers as fixed by the present treaty, Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges whatever in or over territory which belonged to her or to her allies, and all rights, titles, and privileges, whatever their origin, which she held as against the Allied and Associated Powers.

Germany undertakes immediately to recognize and to conform to the measures which may be taken now or in the future by the principal Allied and Associated Powers, in agreement where necessary with third powers, in order to carry the above stipulation into effect.

In particular, Germany declares her acceptance of the following articles relating to certain special subjects:

SECTION I.—*German Colonies*

ARTICLE 119.—Germany renounces in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions.

ARTICLE 120.—All movable and immovable property in such territories belonging to the German Empire or to any German State shall pass to the Government exercising authority over such territories on the terms laid down in Article 257 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty. The decision of the local courts in any dispute as to the nature of such property shall be final.

ARTICLE 121.—The provisions of Section I. (commercial relations) and Section IV. (property, rights, and interests) of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty shall apply in the case of these territories whatever be the form of government adopted for them.

ARTICLE 122.—The Government exercising authority over such territories may make such provisions as it thinks fit with reference to the repatriation from them of German nationals, and to the conditions upon which German subjects of European origin shall, or shall not, be allowed to reside, hold property, trade, or exercise a profession in them.

ARTICLE 123.—The provisions of Article 260 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty shall apply in the case of all agreements concluded with German nationals for the construction or exploitation of public works in the German overseas possessions, as well as any sub-concessions or contracts resulting therefrom which may have been made to or with such nationals.

ARTICLE 124.—Germany hereby undertakes to pay in accordance with the estimate to be

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presented by the French Government, and approved by the Reparation Commission, reparation for damage suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or the frontier zone by reason of the acts of the German civil and military authorities and of German private individuals during the period from Jan. 1, 1900, to Aug. 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 125.—Germany renounces all rights under the conventions and agreements with France of Nov. 4, 1911, and Sept. 28, 1912, relating to equatorial Africa. She undertakes to pay to the French Government, in accordance with the estimate to be presented by the Government and approved by the Reparation Commission, all the deposits, credits, advances, &c., effected by virtue of these instruments in favor of Germany.

ARTICLE 126.—Germany undertakes to accept and observe the agreements made or to be made by the Allied and Associated Powers or some of them with any other power with regard to the trade in arms and spirits, and to the matters dealt with in the general act of Berlin of Feb. 26, 1885, the general act of Brussels of July 2, 1890, and the conventions completing or modifying the same.

ARTICLE 127.—The native inhabitants of the former German overseas possessions shall be entitled to the diplomatic protection of the Governments exercising authority over those territories.

SECTION II.—*China*

ARTICLE 128.—Germany renounces in favor of China all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final protocol signed at Peking on Sept. 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes, and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise renounces in favor of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to March 14, 1917.

ARTICLE 129.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply in so far as concerns them respectively:

1. The arrangement of Aug. 29, 1902, regarding the new Chinese customs tariff.
2. The arrangement of Sept. 27, 1905, regarding Whang-Poo, and the provisional supplementary arrangement of April 4, 1912. China, however, will no longer be bound to grant to Germany the advantages or privileges which she allowed Germany under these arrangements.

ARTICLE 130.—Subject to the provisions of Section VIII. of this part, Germany cedes to China all the buildings, wharves and pontoons, barracks, forts, arms and munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations and other public property belonging to the German Government which are situated or may be in the German concessions at Tientsin and Hankow or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

It is understood, however, that premises

used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices are not included in the above cession, and, furthermore, that no steps shall be taken by the Chinese Government to dispose of the German public and private property situated within the so-called legation quarter at Peking without the consent of the diplomatic representatives of the powers which, on the coming into force of the present treaty, remain parties to the final protocol of Sept. 7, 1901.

ARTICLE 131.—Germany undertakes to restore to China within twelve months from the coming into force of the present treaty all the astronomical instruments which her troops in 1900-1901 carried away from China, and to defray all expenses which may be incurred in effecting such restoration, including the expenses of dismounting, packing, transporting, insurance, and installation in Peking.

ARTICLE 132.—Germany agrees to the abrogation of the leases from the Chinese Government under which the German concessions at Hankow and Tientsin are now held.

China, restored to the full exercise of her sovereign rights in the above areas, declares her intention of opening them to international residence and trade. She further declares that the abrogation of the leases under which these concessions are now held shall not affect the property rights of nationals or Allied and Associated Powers who are holders of lots in these concessions.

ARTICLE 133.—Germany waives all claims against the Chinese Government or against any Allied or Associated Government arising out of the internment of German nationals in China and their repatriation. She equally renounces all claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of German ships in China or the liquidation, sequestration or control of German properties, rights, and interests in that country since Aug. 14, 1917. This provision, however, shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 134.—Germany renounces, in favor of the Government of his Britannic Majesty, the German State property in the British concession at Shameen at Canton. She renounces, in favor of the French and Chinese Governments conjointly, the property of the German school situated in the French concession at Shanghai.

SECTION III.—*Siam*

ARTICLE 135.—Germany recognizes that all treaties, conventions, and agreements between her and Siam, and all rights, titles and privileges derived therefrom, including all rights of extraterritorial jurisdiction, terminated as from July 22, 1917.

ARTICLE 136.—All goods and property in Siam belonging to the German Empire or to any German State, with the exception of

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Premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices, pass ipso facto and without compensation to the Siamese Government.

The goods, property, and private rights of German nationals in Siam shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 137.—Germany waives all claims against the Siamese Government on behalf of herself or her nationals arising out of the seizure or condemnation of German ships, the liquidation of German property, or the internment of German nationals in Siam. This provision shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

SECTION IV.—*Liberia*

ARTICLE 138.—Germany renounces all rights and privileges arising from the arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, and particularly the right to nominate a German receiver of customs in Liberia. She further renounces all claim to participate in any measures whatsoever which may be adopted for the rehabilitation of Liberia.

ARTICLE 139.—Germany recognizes that all treaties and arrangements between her and Liberia terminated as from Aug. 4, 1917.

ARTICLE 140.—The property, rights, and interests of Germans in Liberia shall be dealt with in accordance with Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

SECTION V.—*Morocco*

ARTICLE 141.—Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges conferred on her by the general act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906, and by the Franco-German agreements of Feb. 9, 1909, and Nov. 4, 1911. All treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts concluded by her with the Sherifian Empire are regarded as abrogated as from Aug. 3, 1914.

In no case can Germany take advantage of these instruments, and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Morocco which may take place between France and the other powers.

ARTICLE 142.—Germany having recognized the French Protectorate in Morocco, hereby accepts all the consequences of its establishment, and she renounces the régime of the capitulations therein.

This renunciation shall take effect as from Aug. 3, 1914.

ARTICLE 143.—The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals in Morocco and the conditions in which they may establish themselves there.

German-protected persons, *semsars*, and "associés agricoles" shall be considered as

having ceased, as from Aug. 3, 1914, to enjoy the privileges attached to their status and shall be subject to the ordinary law.

ARTICLE 144.—All property and possessions in the Sherifian Empire of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Maghzen without payment.

For the purposes of this clause, the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, the empire, or States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in the Sherifian Empire belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

Mining rights which may be recognized as belonging to German nationals by the Court of Arbitration set up under the Moroccan mining regulations shall form the subject of a valuation, which the arbitrators shall be requested to make, and these rights shall then be treated in the same way as property in Morocco belonging to German nationals.

ARTICLE 145.—The German Government shall insure the transfer to a person nominated by the French Government of the shares representing Germany's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco. The value of these shares, as assessed by the Reparation Commission, shall be paid to the Reparation Commission for the credit of Germany on account of the sums due for reparation. The German Government shall be responsible for indemnifying its nationals so dispossessed.

This transfer will take place without prejudice to the repayment of debts which German nationals may have contracted toward the State Bank of Morocco.

ARTICLE 146.—Moroccan goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to French goods.

SECTION VI.—*Egypt*

ARTICLE 147.—Germany declares that she recognizes the protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on Dec. 18, 1914, and that she renounces the régime of the capitulations in Egypt. This renunciation shall take effect as from Aug. 4, 1914.

ARTICLE 148.—All treaties, agreements, arrangements, and contracts concluded by Germany with Egypt are regarded as abrogated as from Aug. 4, 1914.

In no case can Germany avail herself of these instruments, and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Egypt which may take place between Great Britain and the other powers.

ARTICLE 149.—Until an Egyptian law of judicial organization establishing courts with universal jurisdiction comes into force, provision shall be made, by means of decrees issued by his Highness the Sultan for the exercise of jurisdiction over German na-

nationals and property by the British consular tribunals.

ARTICLE 150.—The Egyptian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of German nationals and the conditions under which they may establish themselves in Egypt.

ARTICLE 151.—Germany consents to the abrogation of the decree issued by his Highness the Khédive on Nov. 28, 1904, relating to the commission of the Egyptian public debt, or to such changes as the Egyptian Government may think it desirable to make therein.

ARTICLE 152.—Germany consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to his Britannic Majesty's Government of the powers conferred on his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, by the convention signed at Constantinople on Oct. 29, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

She renounces all participation in the Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt, and consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to the Egyptian authorities of the powers of that board.

ARTICLE 153.—All property and possessions in Egypt of the German Empire and the German States pass to the Egyptian Government without payment.

For this purpose the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, the empire, or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages.

All movable and immovable property in Egypt belonging to German nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 154.—Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods.

SECTION VII.—*Turkey and Bulgaria*

ARTICLE 155.—Germany undertakes to recognize and accept all arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers may make with Turkey and Bulgaria, with reference to

any rights, interests, and privileges whatever which might be claimed by Germany or her nationals in Turkey and Bulgaria and which are not dealt with in the provisions of the present treaty.

SECTION VIII.—*Shantung*

ARTICLE 156.—Germany renounces, in favor of Japan, all her rights, titles, and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiao-Chau, railways, mines, and submarine cables, which she acquired in virtue of the treaty concluded by her with China on 6th March, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the Province of Shantung.

All German rights in the Tsing-tao-Tsinnan-Fu railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant, and material for the exploitation of the mines are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

The German State submarine cables from Tsing-tao to Shanghai and from Tsing-tao to Che Foo, with all the rights, privileges, and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and incumbrances.

ARTICLE 157.—The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiao-Chau, as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and incumbrances.

ARTICLE 158.—Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty the archives, registers, plans, title deeds, and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial or other, of the territory of Kiao-Chau.

Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements or agreements relating to the rights, title or privileges referred to in the two preceding articles.

PART V.—Military, Naval, and Aerial Clauses

IN order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow:

SECTION I.—*Military Clauses*

CHAPTER I.—EFFECTIVES AND CADRES OF THE GERMAN ARMY

ARTICLE 159.—The German military forces

shall be demobilized and reduced as prescribed hereinafter.

ARTICLE 160.—1. By a date which must not be later than March 31, 1920, the German Army must not comprise more than seven divisions of infantry and three divisions of cavalry. After that date the total number of effectives in the army of the States constituting Germany must not exceed 100,000 men, including officers and establishments of depots. The army shall be de-

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voted exclusively to the maintenance of order within the territory and to the control of the frontiers.

The total effective strength of officers, including the personnel of staffs, whatever their composition, must not exceed 4,000.

2. Divisions and army corps headquarters staffs shall be organized in accordance with Table No. 1 annexed to this section.

The number and strength of the units of infantry, artillery, engineers, technical services, and troops laid down in the aforesaid table constitute maxima which must not be exceeded.

The following units may each have their own depot:

An infantry regiment; a cavalry regiment; a regiment of field artillery; a battalion of pioneers.

3. The divisions must not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs.

The maintenance or formation of forces differently grouped or of other organizations for the command of troops or for preparation for war is forbidden.

The Great German General Staff and all similar organizations shall be dissolved and may not be reconstituted in any form.

The officers, or persons in the position of officers, in the Ministries of War in the different States in Germany and in the administrations attached to them, must not exceed three hundred in number and are included in the maximum strength of four thousand laid down in the third sub-paragraph of the first paragraph of this article.

ARTICLE 161.—Army administrative services consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives prescribed by the present treaty will have such personnel reduced in each class to one-tenth of that laid down in the budget of 1913.

ARTICLE 162.—The number of employes or officials of the German States, such as customs officers, forest guards, and coast guards shall not exceed that of the employes or officials functioning in these capacities in 1913.

The number of gendarmes and employes or officials of the local or municipal police may only be increased to an extent corresponding to the increase of population since 1913 in the districts or municipalities in which they are employed.

These employes and officials may not be assembled for military training.

ARTICLE 163.—The reduction of the strength of the German military forces as provided for in Article 160 may be effected gradually in the following manner:

Within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty the total number of effectives must be reduced to 200,000 and the number of units must not exceed twice the number of those laid down in Article 160.

At the expiration of this period, and at the end of each subsequent period of three

months, a conference of military experts of the principal Allied and Associated Powers will fix the reductions to be made in the ensuing three months, so that by the 31st of March, 1920, at the latest, the total number of German effectives does not exceed the maximum number of 100,000 men laid down in Article 160. In these successive reductions the same ratio between the number of officers and of men, and between the various kinds of units shall be maintained as is laid down in that article.

CHAPTER II.—ARMAMENT, MUNITIONS, AND MATERIAL

ARTICLE 164.—Up till the time at which Germany is admitted as a member of the League of Nations the German Army must not possess an armament greater than the amounts fixed in Table No. 2, annexed to this section, with the exception of an optional increase not exceeding one-twenty-fifth part for small arms and one-fiftieth part for guns, which shall be exclusively used to provide for such eventual replacements as may be necessary.

Germany agrees that after she has become a member of the League of Nations the armaments fixed in the said table shall remain in force until they are modified by the Council of the League. Furthermore she hereby agrees strictly to observe the decisions of the Council of the League on this subject.

ARTICLE 165.—The maximum number of guns, machine guns, trench mortars, rifles, and the amount of ammunition and equipment which Germany is allowed to maintain during the period between the coming into force of the present treaty and the date of March 31, 1920, referred to in Article 160, shall bear the same proportion to the amount authorized in Table No. 3 annexed to this section as the strength of the German Army as reduced from time to time in accordance with Article 163 bears to the strength permitted under Article 160.

ARTICLE 166.—At the date of March 31, 1920, the stock of munitions which the German Army may have at its disposal shall not exceed the amounts fixed in Table No. 3 annexed to this section.

Within the same period the German Government will store these stocks at points to be notified to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. The German Government is forbidden to establish any other stocks, depots, or reserves of munitions.

ARTICLE 167.—The number and calibre of the guns constituting at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty the armament of the fortified works, fortresses, and any land or coast forts which Germany is allowed to retain, must be notified immediately by the German Government to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, and will constitute

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maximum amounts which may not be exceeded.

Within two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the maximum stock of ammunition for these guns will be reduced to, and maintained at, the following uniform rates: Fifteen hundred rounds per piece for those the calibre of which is 10.5 cm. and under; 500 rounds per piece for those of higher calibre.

ARTICLE 168.—The manufacture of arms, munitions, or any war material shall only be carried out in factories or works the locations of which shall be communicated to and approved by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, and the number of which they retain the right to restrict.

Within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty all other establishments for the manufacture, preparation, storage, or design of arms, munitions, or any war material whatever shall be closed down. The same applies to all arsenals except those used as depots for the authorized stocks of munitions. Within the same period the personnel of these arsenals will be dismissed.

ARTICLE 169.—Within two months from the coming into force of the present treaty, German arms, munitions, and war materials, including anti-aircraft material, existing in Germany in excess of the quantities allowed must be surrendered to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, to be destroyed or rendered useless. This will also apply to any special plant intended for the manufacture of military material, except such as may be recognized as necessary for equipping the authorized strength of the German Army.

The surrender in question will be effected at such points in German territory as may be selected by the said Governments.

Within the same period, arms, munitions, and war material, including anti-aircraft material, of origin other than German, in whatever state they may be, will be delivered to the said Governments, who will decide as to their disposal.

Arms and munitions which on account of the successive reductions in the strength of the German Army become in excess of the amounts authorized by Tables 2 and 3 of the annex must be handed over in the manner laid down above within such periods as may be decided by the conferences referred to in Article 163.

ARTICLE 170.—Importation into Germany of arms, munitions, and war material of every kind shall be strictly prohibited.

The same applies to the manufacture for and export to foreign countries of arms, munitions, and war material of every kind.

ARTICLE 171.—The use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices being prohibited, their manufacture and importation are strictly forbidden in Germany.

The same applies to materials specially in-

tended for the manufacture, storage, and use of the said products or devices.

The manufacture and the importation into Germany of armored cars, tanks, and all similar constructions suitable for use in war are also prohibited.

ARTICLE 172.—Within a period of three months from the coming into force of the present treaty the German Government will disclose to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers the nature and mode of manufacture of all explosives, toxic substances or other like chemical preparations used by them in the war or prepared by them for the purpose of being so used.

CHAPTER III.—RECRUITING AND MILITARY TRAINING

ARTICLE 173.—Universal compulsory military service shall be abolished in Germany.

The German Army may only be constituted and recruited by means of voluntary enlistment.

ARTICLE 174.—The period of enlistment for noncommissioned officers and privates must be twelve consecutive years.

The number of men discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of enlistment must not exceed in any year 5 per cent. of the total effectives as fixed by the second sub-paragraph of Paragraph 1 of Article 160 of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 175.—The officers who are retained in the army must undertake the obligation to serve in it up to the age of forty-five years, at least.

Officers newly appointed must undertake to serve on the active list for twenty-five consecutive years, at least.

Officers who have previously belonged to any formation whatever of the army and who are not retained in the units allowed to be maintained must not take part in any military exercise, whether theoretical or practical, and will not be under any military obligations whatever.

The number of officers discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of service must not exceed in any year 5 per cent. of the total effectives of officers provided for in the third sub-paragraph of Paragraph 1 of Article 160 of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 176.—On the expiration of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty there must only exist in Germany the number of military schools which is absolutely indispensable for the recruitment of the officers of the units allowed. These schools will be exclusively intended for the recruitment of officers of each arm, in the proportion of one school per arm.

The number of students admitted to attend the courses of the said schools will be strictly in proportion to the vacancies to be filled in the cadres of officers. The students and the cadres will be reckoned in the effectives fixed by the second and third sub-

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paragraphs of Paragraph 1 of Article 160 of the present treaty.

Consequently, and during the period fixed above, all military academies or similar institutions in Germany, as well as the different military schools for officers, student officers, (aspiranten,) cadets, noncommissioned officers, or student noncommissioned officers, (aspiranten,) other than the schools above provided for, will be abolished.

ARTICLE 177.—Educational establishments, the universities, societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, and, generally speaking, associations of every description, whatever be the age of their members, must not occupy themselves with any military matters. In particular they will be forbidden to instruct or exercise their members, or to allow them to be instructed or exercised, in the profession or use of arms.

These societies, associations, educational establishments, and universities must have no connection with the Ministries of War or any other military authority.

ARTICLE 178.—All measures of mobilization or appertaining to mobilization are forbidden.

In no case must formations, administrative services, or general staffs include supplementary cadres.

ARTICLE 179.—Germany agrees, from the coming into force of the present treaty, not to accredit nor to send to any foreign country any military, naval, or air mission, nor to allow any such missions to leave her territory, and Germany further agrees to take appropriate measures to prevent German nationals from leaving her territory to become enrolled in the army, navy, or air service of any foreign power, or to be attached to such army, navy, or air service for the purpose of assisting in the military, naval, or air training thereof, or otherwise for the purpose of giving military, naval, or air instruction in any foreign country.

The Allied and Associated Powers agree, so far as they are concerned, from the coming into force of the present treaty, not to enroll in nor to attach to their armies or naval or air forces any German national for the purpose of assisting in the military training of such armies or naval or air forces, or otherwise to employ any such German national as military, naval, or aeronautic instructor.

The present provision, however, does not affect the right of France to recruit for the Foreign Legion in accordance with French military laws and regulations.

CHAPTER IV.—FORTIFICATIONS

ARTICLE 180.—All fortified works, fortresses, and field works situated in German territory to the west of a line drawn fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine shall be disarmed and dismantled.

Within a period of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty such of the above fortified works, fortresses, and

field works as are situated in territory not occupied by Allied and Associated troops shall be disarmed, and within a further period of four months they shall be dismantled. Those which are situated in territory occupied by Allied and Associated troops shall be disarmed and dismantled within such periods as may be fixed by the Allied High Command.

The construction of any new fortification, whatever its nature and importance, is forbidden in the zone referred to in the first paragraph above.

The system of fortified works of the southern and eastern frontiers of Germany shall be maintained in its existing state.

TABLE NO. 1

State and Establishment of Army Corps Headquarters Staffs and of Infantry and Cavalry Divisions.

These tabular statements do not form a fixed establishment to be imposed on Germany, but the figures contained in them (number of units and strengths) represent maximum figures, which should not in any case be exceeded.

1. ARMY CORPS HEADQUARTERS STAFFS

Unit.	Maximum No. Authorized.	Max. Strength of Each Unit. Offi- N.C.O.'s cers. and Men.
Army corps hdq. staffs	2	30 150
Total for hdq. staffs.	..	60 300

2. ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INFANTRY DIVISION

Unit.	Maximum No. of Such Units in a Single Division.	Max. Strength of Each Unit. Offi- cers. N.C.'s and Men.
Hdqrs. of inf. div.....	1	25 70
Hdqrs. of divisional inf.	1	4 30
Hdqrs. of divisional art.	1	4 30
Regiment of inf.....	3	70 2,990
(Each regiment comprises 3 battalions of infantry. Each battalion comprises 3 companies of infantry and 1 machine-gun company.)		
Trench mortar company	3	6 150
Divisional squadron	1	6 150
Field artillery regiment	1	66 1,800
(Each regiment comprises 3 groups of artillery. Each group comprises 3 batteries.)		
Pioneer battalion	1	12 406
(This battalion comprises 2 companies of pioneers, 1 pontoon detachment, 1 searchlight section.)		
Signal detachment	1	13 300
(This detachment comprises 1 telephone detachment, 1 listening section, 1 carrier pigeon section.)		
Divisional Med. Service.	1	36 408
Parks and convoys.....	..	14 800
Total for infantry div.	..	416 8,830

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2. ESTABLISHMENT OF A CAVALRY DIVISION

		Maximum Strength of Each Unit.		
		N.C.O.'s and *Units.	Officers.	Men.
Headquarters of a cavalry division	1	15		50
Cavalry regiment.....	6	40		800
(Each regiment comprises four squadrons)				
Horse artillery group, (three batteries)	1	20		400
Total for cavalry division. . .		275		5,250
*Maximum number of such units in single division.				

TABLE NO. 2.

Tabular statement of armament establishment for a maximum of seven infantry divisions, three cavalry divisions, and two army corps headquarters staffs.

	Inf.	For 7	Cav.	For 3	Total
Material.	Div.	Divs.	Div.	Divs.	Col- ums
Rifles	12,000	84,000	...	...	84,000
Carbines	...	...	6,000	18,000	18,000
Heavy machine guns	108	756	12	36	792
Light machine guns	162	1,134	...	...	1,134
Medium trench mortars	9	63	...	...	63
Light trench mortars	27	189	...	...	189
7.7 cm. guns...	24	168	12	36	204
10.5 cm. howit- zers	12	84	...	...	84
Army corps headquarters staff establishment must be drawn from the increased armaments of the divisional infantry.					

TABLE NO. 3.

Maximum Stocks Authorized

Material.	Maximum Authorized.	Estab- lishment of Arms Per Unit. Rounds.	Maximum Totals. Rounds.
Rifles	84,000	400	40,800,000
Carbines	18,000	...	
Heavy mach. guns.	792	8,000	15,408,000
Light mach. guns.	1,134	...	
Medium trench mortars	63	400	25,200
Lgt. trench mort's.	189	800	151,200
Field artillery—			
7.7 cm. guns....	204	1,000	204,000
10.5 cm. howitz's.	84	800	67,200

SECTION II.—*Naval Clauses*

ARTICLE 181.—After the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the German naval forces in commission must not exceed: Six battleships of the Deutschland or Lothringen type, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo boats, or an equal number of ships constructed to replace them as provided in Article 190.

No submarines are to be included. All other warships except where there is provision to the contrary in the present treaty, must be placed in reserve or devoted to commercial purposes.

ARTICLE 182.—Until the completion of the

minesweeping prescribed by Article 193, Germany will keep in commission such number of minesweeping vessels as may be fixed by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 183.—After the expiration of a period of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the total personnel of the German Navy, including the manning of the fleet, coast defenses, signal stations, administration, and other land services, must not exceed 15,000, including officers and men of all grades and corps. The total strength of officers and warrant officers must not exceed 1,500. Within two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the personnel in excess of the above strength shall be demobilized. No naval or military corn or reserve force in connection with the navy may be organized in Germany without being included in the above strength.

ARTICLE 184.—From the date of the coming into force of the present treaty all the German surface warships which are not in German ports cease to belong to Germany, who renounces all rights over them. Vessels which, in compliance with the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, are now interned in the ports of the Allied and Associated Powers, are declared to be finally surrendered. Vessels which are now interned in neutral ports will be there surrendered to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. The German Government must address a notification to that effect to the neutral powers on the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 185.—Within a period of two months from the coming into force of the present treaty the German surface warships enumerated below will be surrendered to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in such allied ports as the said powers may direct. These warships will have been disarmed as provided in Article 23 of the armistice, dated Nov. 11, 1918. Nevertheless, they must have all their guns on board.

Battleships—Oldenburg, Thüringen, Ostfriesland, Helgoland. Posen, Westfalen, Rheinland, and Nassau.

Light Cruisers—Stettin, Danzig, München, Lübeck, Stralsund, Augsburg, Kolberg, and Stuttgart.

And in addition forty-two modern destroyers and fifty modern torpedo boats, as chosen by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 186.—On the coming into force of the present treaty the German Government must undertake, under the supervision of the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers, the breaking up of all the German surface warships now under construction.

ARTICLE 187.—The German auxiliary cruisers and fleet auxiliaries enumerated below will be disarmed and treated as merchant ships.

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Ships interned in neutral countries: Berlin, Santa Fé, Seydlitz, Yorck.

Ships interned in Germany: Ammon, Fürst Bülow, Answald, Gertrud, Bosna, Kigoma, Cordoba, Rugla, Cassel, Santa Elena, Danla, Schleswig, Rio Negro, Möwe, Rio Pardo, Sierra Ventana, Santa Cruz, Chemnitz, Schwaben, Emil Georg von Strauss, Solingen, Habsburg, Steigerwald, Meteor, Franken, Waltraute, Gundomar, Scharnhorst.

ARTICLE 188.—On the expiration of one month from the coming into force of the present treaty all German submarines, salvage vessels, and docks for submarines, including the tubular dock, must have been handed over to the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. Such of these submarines, vessels, and docks as are considered by said Governments to be fit to proceed under their own power or to be towed shall be taken by the German Government into such allied ports as have been indicated. The remainder, and also those in course of construction, shall be broken up entirely by the German Government under the supervision of the said Governments. The breaking up must be completed within three months at the most after the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 189.—Articles, machinery, and material arising from the breaking up of German warships of all kinds, whether surface vessels or submarines, may not be used except for purely industrial or commercial purposes. They may not be sold or disposed of to foreign countries.

ARTICLE 190.—Germany is forbidden to construct or acquire any warships other than those intended to replace the units in commission provided for in Article 181 of the present treaty. The warships intended for replacement purposes as above shall not exceed the following displacement: Armored ships, 10,000 tons; light cruisers, 6,000 tons; destroyers, 800 tons; torpedo boats, 200 tons. Except where a ship has been lost, units of the different classes shall only be replaced at the end of a period of twenty years in the case of battleships and cruisers, and fifteen years in the case of destroyers and torpedo boats, counting from the launching of the ship.

ARTICLE 191.—The construction or acquisition of any submarine, even for commercial purposes, shall be forbidden in Germany.

ARTICLE 192.—The warships in commission of the German fleet must only have on board or in reserve the allowance of arms, munitions, and war material fixed by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. Within a month from the fixing of the quantities as above, arms, munitions and war material of all kinds, including mines and torpedoes, now in the hands of the German Government and in excess of the said quantities, shall be surrendered to the Governments of the said powers at places to be indicated by them. Such arms, munitions and war material will

be destroyed or rendered useless. All other stocks, depots or reserves of arms, munitions or naval war material of all kinds are forbidden. The manufacture of these articles in German territory for, and their export to, foreign countries shall be forbidden.

ARTICLE 193.—On the coming into force of the present treaty Germany will forthwith sweep up the mines in the following areas in the North Sea to the eastward of longitude 4 degrees 00 minutes east of Greenwich: (1) Between parallels of latitude 53 degrees 00 minutes N. and 59 degrees 00 minutes N.; (2) to the northward of latitude 60 degrees 30 minutes N. Germany must keep these areas free from mines. Germany must also sweep and keep free from mines such areas in the Baltic as may ultimately be notified by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 194.—The personnel of the German Navy shall be recruited entirely by voluntary engagements entered into for a minimum period of twenty-five consecutive years for officers and warrant officers, and twelve consecutive years for petty officers and men. The number engaged to replace those discharged for any reason before the expiration of their term of service must not exceed 5 per cent. per annum of the totals laid down in this section. (Article 183.)

The personnel discharged from the navy must not receive any kind of naval or military training or undertake any further service in the navy or army. Officers belonging to the German Navy and not demobilized must engage to serve till the age of 45 unless discharged for sufficient reasons. No officer or man of the German mercantile marine shall receive any training in the navy.

ARTICLE 195.—In order to insure free passage into the Baltic to all nations, Germany shall not erect any fortifications in the area comprised between latitudes 55.27 north and 54.00 north and longitudes 9.00 east and 16.00 east of the meridian of Greenwich, nor install any guns commanding the maritime routes between the North Sea and the Baltic. The fortifications now existing in this area shall be demolished and the guns removed under the supervision of the allied Governments and in periods to be fixed by them. The German Government shall place at the disposal of the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all hydrographical information now in its possession concerning the channels and adjoining waters between the Baltic and the North Sea.

ARTICLE 196.—All fortified works and fortifications other than those mentioned in Article 195 and in Part III. (political clauses for Europe.) Section XIII. (Helligoland,) now established within fifty kilometers of the German coast or on German islands off that coast, shall be considered of a defensive nature and may remain in their existing condition. No new fortifications shall be constructed within these limits. The armament



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Tribunal to their knowledge of the language of the other country concerned. Each of the clearing offices will be at liberty to correspond with the other, and to forward documents in its own language.

22. Subject to any special agreement to the contrary between the Governments concerned, debts shall carry interest in accordance with the following provisions:

Interest shall not be payable on sums of money due by way of dividend, interest, or other periodical payments which themselves represent interest on capital.

The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent. per annum except in cases where, by contract, law, or custom, the creditor is entitled to payment of interest at a different rate. In such cases the rate to which he is entitled shall prevail.

Interest shall run from the date of commencement of hostilities (or, if the sum of money to be recovered fell due during the war, from the date at which it fell due) until the sum is credited to the clearing office of the creditor.

Sums due by way of interest shall be treated as debts admitted by the clearing offices and shall be credited to the Creditor Clearing Office in the same way as such debts.

23. Where by decision of the clearing offices or the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal a claim is held not to fall within Article 206, the creditor shall be at liberty to prosecute the claim before the courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

The presentation of a claim to the clearing office suspends the operation of any period of prescription.

24. The high contracting parties agree to regard the decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as final and conclusive, and to render them binding upon their nationals.

25. In any case where a Creditor Clearing Office declines to notify a claim to the Debtor Clearing Office, or to take any step provided for in this annex, intended to make effective in whole or in part a request of which it has received due notice, the enemy creditor shall be entitled to receive from the clearing office a certificate setting out the amount of the claim, and shall then be entitled to prosecute the claim before the courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

SECTION IV.—*Property, Rights, and Interests*

ARTICLE 297.—The question of private property, rights, and interests in an enemy country, shall be settled according to the principles laid down in this section and to the provisions of the annex hereto:

(a) The exceptional war measures and measures of transfer (defined in paragraph 3 of the annex hereto) taken by Germany with respect to the property, rights, and interests of nationals of Allied or Associated

Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, when liquidation has not been completed, shall be immediately discontinued or stayed and the property, rights, and interests concerned restored to their owners, who shall enjoy full rights therein in accordance with the provisions of Article 298.

(b) Subject to any contrary stipulations which may be provided for in the present treaty, the Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to retain and liquidate all property, rights, and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty to German nationals, or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions, and protectorates including territories ceded to them by the present treaty.

The liquidation shall be carried out in accordance with the laws of the Allied or Associated State concerned, and the German owner shall not be able to dispose of such property, rights, or interests nor to subject them to any charge without the consent of that State.

German nationals who acquire *ipso facto* the nationality of an Allied or Associated Power in accordance with the provisions of the present treaty will not be considered as German nationals within the meaning of this paragraph.

(c) The price or the amount of compensation in respect of the exercise of the right referred to in the preceding paragraph (b) will be fixed in accordance with the methods of sale or valuation adopted by the laws of the country in which the property has been retained or liquidated.

(d) As between the Allied and Associated Powers or their nationals on the one hand and Germany or her nationals on the other hand, all the exceptional war measures, or measures of transfer, or acts done or to be done in execution of such measures as defined in Paragraphs 1 and 3 of the annex hereto shall be considered as final and binding upon all persons except as regards the reservations laid down in the present treaty.

(e) The nationals of Allied and Associated Powers shall be entitled to compensation in respect of damage or injury inflicted upon their property, rights, or interests, including any company or association in which they are interested, in German territory as it existed on Aug. 1, 1914, by the application either of the exceptional war measures or measures of transfer mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 3 of the annex hereto. The claims made in this respect by such nationals shall be investigated, and the total of the compensation shall be determined by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI. or by an arbitrator appointed by that tribunal. This compensation shall be borne by Germany, and may be charged upon the property of German nationals, within the territory or under the control of the claimant's State. This property may be con-

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man authorities the decisions which the principal Allied and Associated Powers have reserved the right to take, or which the execution of the military, naval, and air clauses may necessitate.

ARTICLE 205.—The Interallied Commissions of Control may establish their organizations at the seat of the Central German Government. They shall be entitled as often as they think desirable to proceed to any point whatever in German territory, or to send sub-commissions, or to authorize one or more of their members to go, to any such point.

ARTICLE 206.—The German Government must give all necessary facilities for the accomplishment of their missions to the Interallied Commissions of Control and to their members. It shall attach a qualified representative to each Interallied Commission of Control for the purpose of receiving the communications which the commission may have to address to the German Government, and of supplying or procuring for the commission all information or documents which may be required. The German Government must in all cases furnish at its own cost all labor and material required to effect the deliveries and the work of destruction, dismantling, demolition, and of rendering things useless, provided for in the present treaty.

ARTICLE 207.—The upkeep and cost of the Commissions of Control and the expenses involved by their work shall be borne by Germany.

ARTICLE 208.—The Military Interallied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the military clauses. In particular it will be its duty to receive from the German Government the notifications relating to the location of the stocks and depots of munitions, the armament of the fortified works, fortresses and forts which Germany is allowed to retain, and the location of the works or factories for the production of arms, munitions and war material and their operations. It will take delivery of the arms, munitions, and war material, will select the points where such delivery is to be effected, and will supervise the works of destruction and demolition and of rendering things useless which are to be carried out in accordance with the present treaty. The German Government must furnish to the Military Interallied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the latter may deem necessary to insure the complete execution of the military clauses, and in particular all legislative and administrative documents and regulations.

ARTICLE 209.—The Naval Interallied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the

execution of the naval clauses. In particular it will be its duty to proceed to the building yards and to supervise the breaking up of the ships which are under construction there, to take delivery of all surface ships or submarines, salvage ships, docks and the tubular dock, and to supervise the destruction and breaking up provided for. The German Government must furnish to the Naval Interallied Commission of Control all such information and documents as the commission may deem necessary to insure the complete execution of the naval clauses, in particular the designs of the warships, the composition of their armaments, the details and models of the guns, munitions, torpedoes, mines, explosives, wireless telegraphic apparatus and in general everything relating to naval war material, as well as all legislative or administrative documents or regulations.

ARTICLE 210.—The Aeronautical Interallied Commission of Control will represent the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in dealing with the German Government in all matters concerning the execution of the air clauses. In particular it will be its duty to make an inventory of the aeronautical material existing in German territory, to inspect airplane, balloon, and motor manufactories, and factories producing arms, munitions, and explosives capable of being used by aircraft, to visit all aerodromes, sheds, landing grounds, parks, and depots, to authorize, where necessary, a removal of material, and to take delivery of such material. The German Government must furnish to the Aeronautical Interallied Commission of Control all such information and legislative, administrative or other documents which the commission may consider necessary to insure the complete execution of the air clauses, and, in particular, a list of the personnel belonging to all the German air services, and of the existing material as well as of that in process of manufacture or on order, and a list of all establishments working for aviation, of their positions, and of all sheds and landing grounds.

SECTION V.—General Articles

ARTICLE 211.—After the expiration of a period of three months from the coming into force of the present treaty, the German laws must have been modified and shall be maintained in conformity with this part of the present treaty. Within the same period all the administrative or other measures relating to the execution of this part of the treaty must have been taken.

ARTICLE 212.—The following portions of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918: Article VI., the first two and the sixth and seventh paragraphs of Article VII., Article IX., Clauses I., II., and V. of Annex No. 2 and the protocol, dated April 4, 1919, supplementing the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, remain in force so far

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as they are not inconsistent with the above stipulations.

ARTICLE 213.—So long as the present treaty remains in force, Germany undertakes

to give every facility for any investigation which the Council of the League of Nations, acting if need be by a majority vote, may consider necessary.

PART VI.—Prisoners of War and Graves

SECTION I.—Prisoners of War

ARTICLE 214.—The repatriation of prisoners of war and interned civilians shall take place as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present treaty and shall be carried out with the greatest rapidity.

ARTICLE 215.—The repatriation of German prisoners of war and interned civilians shall, in accordance with Article 214, be carried out by a commission composed of representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one part, and of the German Government on the other part.

For each of the Allied and Associated Powers a subcommission composed exclusively of representatives of the interested powers and of delegates of the German Government shall regulate the details of carrying into effect the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

ARTICLE 216.—From the time of their delivery into the hands of the German authorities the prisoners of war and interned civilians are to be returned without delay to their homes by the said authorities. Those among them who before the war were habitually resident in territory occupied by the troops of the Allied and Associated Powers are likewise to be sent to their homes, subject to the consent and control of the military authorities of the Allied and Associated Armies of Occupation.

ARTICLE 217.—The whole cost of repatriation from the moment of starting shall be borne by the German Government, who shall also provide the land and sea transport and staff considered necessary by the commission referred to in Article 215.

ARTICLE 218.—Prisoners of war and interned civilians awaiting disposal or undergoing sentences for offenses against discipline shall be repatriated irrespective of the completion of their sentence or of the proceedings pending against them.

This stipulation shall not apply to prisoners of war and interned civilians punished for offenses committed subsequent to May 1, 1919.

During the period pending their repatriation all prisoners of war and interned civilians shall remain subject to the existing regulations, more especially as regards work and discipline.

ARTICLE 219.—Prisoners of war and interned civilians who are awaiting disposal or undergoing sentence for offenses other than those against discipline may be detained.

ARTICLE 220.—The German Government

undertakes to admit to its territory without distinction all persons liable to repatriation.

Prisoners of war or other German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated may be excluded from repatriation; but the Allied and Associated Governments reserve to themselves the right either to repatriate them or to take them to a neutral country or to allow them to reside in their own territories.

The German Government undertakes not to institute any exceptional proceedings against these persons or their families nor to take any repressive or vexatious measures of any kind whatsoever against them on this account.

ARTICLE 221.—The Allied and Associated Governments reserve the right to make the repatriation of German prisoners of war or German nationals in their hands conditional upon the immediate notification and release by the German Government of any prisoners of war who are nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and may still be in Germany.

ARTICLE 222.—Germany undertakes:

1. To give every facility to the commissions to inquire into the cases of those who cannot be traced; to furnish such commissions with all necessary means of transport; to allow them access to camps, prisons, hospitals, and all other places; and to place at their disposal all documents, whether public or private, which would facilitate their inquiries.

2. To impose penalties upon any German officials or private persons who have concealed the presence of any nationals of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, or have neglected to reveal the presence of any such after it had come to their knowledge.

ARTICLE 223.—Germany undertakes to restore without delay from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty all articles, money, securities, and documents which have belonged to nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and which have been retained by the German authorities.

ARTICLE 224.—The high contracting parties waive reciprocally all repayment of sums due for the maintenance of prisoners of war in their respective territories.

SECTION II.—Graves

ARTICLE 225.—The Allied and Associated Governments and the German Government will cause to be respected and maintained the graves of the soldiers and sailors buried in their respective territories.

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They agree to recognize any commission appointed by an Allied or Associated Government for the purpose of identifying, registering, caring for, or erecting suitable memorials over the said graves and to facilitate the discharge of its duties.

Furthermore, they agree to afford, so far as the provisions of their laws and the requirements of public health allow, every facility for giving effect to requests that the bodies of their soldiers and sailors may be transferred to their own countries.

ARTICLE 226.—The graves of prisoners of war and interned civilians who are nationals

of the different belligerent States and have died in captivity shall be properly maintained in accordance with Article 225 of the present treaty.

The Allied and Associated Governments on the one part, and the German Government on the other part, reciprocally undertake also to furnish to each other:

1. A complete list of those who have died, together with all information useful for identification.

2. All information as to the number and position of the graves of all those who have been buried without identification.

PART VII.—Penalties

ARTICLE 227.—The Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William II. of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

A special tribunal will be constituted to try the accused, thereby assuring him the guarantees essential to the right of defense. It will be composed of five judges, one appointed by each of the following powers: The United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

In its decision, the tribunal will be guided by the highest motives of international policy with a view to vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality. It will be its duty to fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed.

The Allied and Associated Powers will address a request to the Government of the Netherlands for the surrender to them of the ex-Emperor in order that he may be put on trial.

ARTICLE 228.—The German Government recognizes the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war. Such persons shall, if found guilty, be sentenced to punishments laid down by

law. This provision will apply, notwithstanding any proceedings or prosecution before a tribunal in Germany or in the territory of her allies.

The German Government shall hand over to the Allied and Associated Powers or to such one of them as shall so request, all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war who are specified either by name or by the rank, office, or employment which they held under the German authorities.

ARTICLE 229.—Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before the military tribunals of that power.

Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of more than one of the Allied and Associated Powers will be brought before military tribunals composed of members of the military tribunals of the powers concerned.

In every case the accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

ARTICLE 230.—The German Government undertakes to furnish all documents and information of every kind, the production of which may be considered necessary to insure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of offenders, and the just appreciation of responsibility.

PART VIII.—Reparation

SECTION I.—General Provisions

ARTICLE 231.—The Allied and Associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

ARTICLE 232.—The Allied and Associated Governments recognize that the resources of

Germany are not adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present treaty, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage.

The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require, and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany by such aggression by land,

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by sea, and from the air, and in general all damage as defined in Annex I. hereto.

In accordance with Germany's pledges, already given as to complete restoration for Belgium, Germany undertakes, in addition to the compensation for damage elsewhere in this chapter provided for, as a consequence of the violation of the treaty of 1839, to make reimbursement of all sums which Belgium has borrowed from the Allied and Associated Governments up to Nov. 11, 1918, together with interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum on such sums. This amount shall be determined by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government undertakes thereupon forthwith to make a special issue of bearer bonds to an equivalent amount payable in marks gold, on May 1, 1926, or, at the option of the German Government, on the 1st of May in any year up to 1926. Subject to the foregoing, the form of such bonds shall be determined by the Reparation Commission. Such bonds shall be handed over to the Reparation Commission, which has authority to take and acknowledge receipt thereof on behalf of Belgium.

ARTICLE 233.—The amount of the above damage for which compensation is to be made by Germany shall be determined by an interallied commission, to be called the Reparation Commission, and constituted in the form and with the power set forth hereunder and in Annexes II. to VII. inclusive hereto.

This commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard.

The findings of the commission as to the amount of damage defined as above shall be concluded and notified to the German Government on or before the 1st May, 1921, as representing the extent of that Government's obligations.

The commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging the entire obligation within a period of thirty years from the 1st May, 1921. If, however, within the period mentioned, Germany fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may, within the discretion of the commission, be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the Allied and Associated Governments, acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this part of the present treaty, shall determine.

ARTICLE 234.—The Reparation Commission shall after the 1st May, 1921, from time to time, consider the resources and capacity of Germany and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date and to modify the form of payments, such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 233; but not to cancel any part, except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented upon the commission.

ARTICLE 235.—In order to enable the Allied and Associated Powers to proceed at once to the restoration of their industrial and economic life, pending the full determination of their claims, Germany shall pay in such installments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities, or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may fix, during 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921, the equivalent of 20,000,000,000 gold marks.

Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the armistice of the 11th November, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of the said Governments, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned toward liquidation of the amounts due for reparation.

Germany shall further deposit bonds as prescribed in Paragraph 12 (c) of Annex II. hereto.

ARTICLE 236.—Germany further agrees to the direct application of her economic resources to reparation as specified in Annexes III., IV., V., and VI., relating respectively to merchant shipping, to physical restoration, and to coal and derivatives of coal, and to dye-stuffs and other chemical products; provided always that the value of the property transferred and any services rendered by her under these annexes, assessed in the manner therein prescribed, shall be credited to her toward liquidation of her obligations under the above articles.

ARTICLE 237.—The successive installments, including the above sum, paid over by Germany in satisfaction of the above claims, will be divided by the Allied and Associated Governments in proportions which have been determined upon by them in advance on a basis of general equity and of the rights of each.

For the purposes of this division the value of property transferred and services rendered under Article 243 and under Annexes III., IV., V., VI., and VII. shall be reckoned in the same manner as cash payments effected in that year.

ARTICLE 238.—In addition to the payments mentioned above, Germany shall effect, in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Reparation Commission, restitution in cash of cash taken away, seized, or sequestered, and also restitution of animals, objects of every nature, and securities taken away, seized, or sequestered, in the cases in which it proves possible to identify them in territory belonging to Germany or her allies.

Until this procedure is laid down restitution will continue in accordance with the provisions of the armistice of 11th of November, 1918, and its renewals and the protocols thereto.

ARTICLE 239.—Germany undertakes to make forthwith the restitution contemplated

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by Article 238 and to make the payments and deliveries contemplated by Articles 233, 234, 235, and 236.

ARTICLE 240.—Germany recognizes the commission provided for by Article 233 as the same may be constituted by the Allied and Associated Governments in accordance with Annex II, and agrees irrevocably to the possession and exercise by such commission of the power and authority given to it under the present treaty. The German Government will supply to the commission all the information which the commission may require relative to the financial situation and operations and to the property, productive capacity, and stocks and current production of raw materials and manufactured articles of Germany and her nationals, and, further, any information relative to military operations which in the judgment of the commission may be necessary for the assessment of Germany's liability for reparation as defined in Annex I.

The German Government will accord to the members of the commission and its authorized agents the same rights and immunities as are enjoyed in Germany by duly accredited diplomatic agents of friendly powers. Germany further agrees to provide for the salaries and expenses of the commission, and of such staff as it may employ.

ARTICLE 241.—Germany undertakes to pass, issue, and maintain in force any legislation, orders, and decrees that may be necessary to give complete effect to these present.

ARTICLE 242.—The provisions of this part of the present treaty do not apply to the property, rights, and interests referred to in Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, nor to the product of their liquidation, except so far as concerns any final balance in favor of Germany under Article 243. (a.)

ARTICLE 243.—The following shall be reckoned as credits to Germany in respect of her reparation obligations:

(a) Any final balance in favor of Germany under Sections III. and IV. of Part X. (economic clauses) and Section V. (Alsace-Lorraine) of Part III., (political clauses for Europe.)

(b) Amounts due to Germany in respect of transfers under Part IX., (financial clauses,) Part XII., (ports, waterways, and railways,) and Section IV. (Sarre Basin) of Part III., (political clauses for Europe.)

(c) Amounts which in the judgment of the Reparation Commission should be credited to Germany on account of any other transfers under the present treaty of property, rights, concessions, or other interests.

In no case, however, shall credit be given for property restored in accordance with Article 238.

ARTICLE 244.—The transfer of the German submarine cables which do not form the subject of particular provisions of the present treaty is regulated by Annex VII. hereto.

ANNEX I.

Compensation may be claimed from Ger-

many under Article 232 above in respect of the total damage under the following categories:

1. Damage to injured persons and to surviving dependents by personal injury to or death of civilians caused by acts of war, including bombardments or other attacks on land, on sea, or from the air, and all the direct consequences thereof, and of all operations of war by the two groups of belligerents wherever arising.

2. Damage caused by Germany or her allies to civilian victims of acts of cruelty, violence, or maltreatment, (including injuries to life or health as a consequence of imprisonment, deportation, internment, or evacuation, of exposure at sea, or of being forced to labor by Germany or her allies,) wherever arising, and to the surviving dependents of such victims.

3. Damage caused by Germany or her allies in their own territory or in occupied or invaded territory to civilian victims of all acts injurious to health or capacity to work, or to honor, as well as to the surviving dependents of such victims.

4. Damage caused by any kind of maltreatment of prisoners of war.

5. As damage caused to the peoples of the Allied and Associated Powers, all pensions and compensations in the nature of pensions to naval and military victims of war, (including members of the air forces,) whether mutilated, wounded, sick, or invalided, and to the dependents of such victims, the amount due to the Allied and Associated Governments being calculated for each of them as being the capitalized cost of such pensions and compensations at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, on the basis of the scales in force in France at such date.

6. The cost of assistance by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to prisoners of war and to their families and dependents.

7. Allowances by the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers to the families and dependents of mobilized persons or persons serving with the forces, the amount due to them for each calendar year in which hostilities occurred being calculated for each Government on the basis of the average scale for such payments in force in France during that year.

8. Damage caused to civilians by being forced by Germany or her allies to labor without just remuneration.

9. Damage in respect of all property, wherever situated, belonging to any of the Allied or Associated States or their nationals, with the exception of naval and military works or materials, which have been carried off, seized, injured, or destroyed by the acts of Germany or her allies on land, on sea, or from the air, or damage directly in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war.

10. Damage in the form of levies, fines and

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other similar exactions imposed by Germany or her allies upon the civilian population.

ANNEX II.

1. The commission referred to in Article 233 shall be called "The Reparation Commission," and is hereinafter referred to as "the commission."

2. Delegates to the commission shall be nominated by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. Each of these powers will appoint one delegate and also one assistant delegate, who will take his place in case of illness or necessary absence, but at other times will only have the right to be present at proceedings without taking any part therein. On no occasion shall the delegates of more than five of the above powers have the right to take part in the proceedings of the commission and to record their votes. The delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy shall have this right on all occasions. The delegate of Belgium shall have this right on all occasions other than those referred to below. The delegate of Japan shall have this right on occasions when questions relating to damage at sea and questions arising under Article 260 of Part IX. (financial clauses) in which Japanese interests are concerned are under consideration. The delegate of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State shall have this right when questions relating to Austria, Hungary, or Bulgaria are under consideration.

Each Government represented on the commission shall have the right to withdraw therefrom upon twelve months' notice, filed with the commission and confirmed in the course of the sixth month after the date of the original notice.

3. Such of the other Allied and Associated Powers as may be interested shall have the right to appoint a delegate to be present and act as assessor only while their respective claims and interests are under examination or discussion, but without the right to vote.

4. In case of the death, resignation or recall of any delegate, assistant delegate, or assessor, a successor to him shall be nominated as soon as possible.

5. The commission will have its principal permanent bureau in Paris and will hold its first meeting in Paris as soon as practicable after the coming into force of the present treaty, and thereafter will meet in such place or places and at such time as it may deem convenient and as may be necessary for the most expeditious discharge of its duties.

6. At its first meeting the commission shall elect from among the delegates referred to above a Chairman and a Vice Chairman, who shall hold office for one year and shall be eligible for re-election. If a vacancy in the Chairmanship or Vice Chairmanship should occur during the annual period the commission shall proceed to a new election for the remainder of the said period.

7. The commission is authorized to appoint all necessary officers, agents, and employees who may be required for the execution of its functions, and to fix their remuneration; to constitute committees, whose members need not necessarily be members of the commission, and to take all executive steps necessary for the purpose of discharging its duties, and to delegate authority and discretion to officers, agents, and committees.

8. All proceedings of the commission shall be private unless, on particular occasions, the commission shall otherwise determine for special reasons.

9. The commission shall be required, if the German Government so desire, to hear, within a period which it will fix from time to time, evidence and arguments on the part of Germany on any question connected with her capacity to pay.

10. The commission shall consider the claims and give to the German Government a just opportunity to be heard, but not to take any part whatever in the decisions of the commission. The commission shall afford a similar opportunity to the allies of Germany when it shall consider that their interests are in question.

11. The commission shall not be bound by any particular code or rules of law or by any particular rule of evidence or of procedure, but shall be guided by justice, equity, and good faith. Its decisions must follow the same principles and rules in all cases where they are applicable. It will establish rules relating to methods of proof of claims. It may act on any trustworthy modes of computation.

12. The commission shall have all the powers conferred upon it, and shall exercise all the functions assigned to it by the present treaty.

The commission shall in general have wide latitude as to its control and handling of the whole reparation problem as dealt with in this part of the present treaty, and shall have authority to interpret its provisions. Subject to the provisions of the present treaty, the commission is constituted by the several Allied and Associated Governments referred to in Paragraphs 2 and 3 above as the exclusive agency of the said Governments respectively for receiving, selling, holding, and distributing the reparation payments to be made by Germany under this part of the present treaty. The commission must comply with the following conditions and provisions:

(a) Whatever part of the full amount of the proved claims is not paid in gold, or in ships, securities, and commodities or otherwise, Germany shall be required, under such conditions as the commission may determine, to cover by way of guarantee by an equivalent issue of bonds, obligations, or otherwise, in order to constitute an acknowledgment of the said part of the debt:

(b) In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the commission shall exam-

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line the German system of taxation, first to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and, secondly, so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission.

(c) In order to facilitate and continue the immediate restoration of the economic life of the Allied and Associated countries, the commission will, as provided in Article 235, take from Germany by way of security for and acknowledgment of her debt a first installment of gold bearer bonds free of all taxes or charges of every description established or to be established by the Government of the German Empire or of the German States, or by any authority subject to them; these bonds will be delivered on account and in three portions, the marks gold being payable in conformity with Article 262 of Part IX. (financial clauses) of the present treaty, as follows:

First. To be issued forthwith, 20,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest. There shall be specially applied toward the amortization of these bonds the payments which Germany is pledged to make in conformity with Article 235, after deduction of the sums used for the reimbursement of expenses of the armies of occupation and for payment of foodstuffs and raw materials. Such bonds as have not been redeemed by May 1, 1921, shall then be exchanged for new bonds of the same type as those provided for below, (Paragraph 12, c. second.)

Second. To be issued forthwith, further 40,000,000,000 marks gold bearer bonds, bearing interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter at 5 per cent. per annum, with an additional 1 per cent. for amortization beginning in 1926 on the whole amount of the issue.

Third. To be delivered forthwith a covering undertaking in writing, to issue when, but not until, the commission is satisfied that Germany can meet such interest and sinking fund obligations, a further installment of 40,000,000,000 marks gold 5 per cent. bearer bonds, the time and mode of payment of principal and interest to be determined by the commission.

The dates for payment of interest, the manner of applying the amortization fund, and all other questions relating to the issue, management, and regulation of the bond issue shall be determined by the commission from time to time.

Further issues by way of acknowledgment and security may be required as the commission subsequently determines from time to time.

(d) In the event of bonds, obligations, or other evidence of indebtedness issued by Germany by way of security for or acknowl-

edgment of her reparation debt being disposed of outright, not by way of pledge, to persons other than the several Governments in whose favor Germany's original reparation indebtedness was created, an amount of such reparation indebtedness shall be deemed to be extinguished corresponding to the nominal value of the bonds, &c., so disposed of outright, and the obligation of Germany in respect of such bonds shall be confined to her liabilities to the holders of the bonds, as expressed upon their face.

(e) The damage for repairing, reconstructing, and rebuilding property in the invaded and devastated districts, including reinstallation of furniture, machinery and other equipment, will be calculated according to the cost at the dates when the work is done.

(f) Decisions of the commission relating to the total or partial cancellation of the capital or interest of any verified debt of Germany must be accompanied by a statement of its reasons.

13. As to voting, the commission will observe the following rules:

When a decision of the commission is taken, the votes of all the delegates entitled to vote, or in the absence of any of them, of their assistant delegates, shall be recorded. Abstention from voting is to be treated as a vote against the proposal under discussion. Assessors have no vote.

On the following questions unanimity is necessary:

(a) Questions involving the sovereignty of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, or the cancellation of the whole or any part of the debt or obligations of Germany.

(b) Questions of determining the amount and conditions of bonds or other obligations to be issued by the German Government and of fixing the time and manner for selling, negotiating, or distributing such bonds.

(c) Any postponement, total or partial, beyond the end of 1930, of the payment of installments falling due between the 1st May, 1921, and the end of 1926 inclusive.

(d) Any postponement, total or partial, of any installment falling due after 1926 for a period exceeding three years.

(e) Questions of applying in any particular case a method of measuring damages different from that which has been previously applied in a similar case.

(f) Questions of the interpretation of the provisions of this part of the present treaty.

All other questions shall be decided by the vote of a majority.

In case of any difference of opinion among the delegates, which cannot be solved by reference to their Governments, upon the question whether a given case is one which requires a unanimous vote for its decision or not, such difference shall be referred to the immediate arbitration of some impartial person to be agreed upon by the Governments, whose award the Allied and Associated Governments agree to accept.

14. Decisions of the commission, to be

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cordance with the powers conferred upon it, shall forthwith become binding and may be put into immediate execution without further proceedings.

15. The commission will issue to each of the interested powers, in such form as the commission shall fix:

First. A certificate stating that it holds for the account of the said power bonds of the issues mentioned above, the said certificate, on the demand of the power concerned, being divisible in a number of parts not exceeding five;

Second. From time to time certificates stating the goods delivered by Germany on account of her reparation debt which it holds for the account of the said power.

The said certificates shall be registered, and, upon notice to the commission, may be transferred by indorsement.

When bonds are issued for sale or negotiation, and when goods are delivered by the commission, certificates to an equivalent value must be withdrawn.

16. Interest shall be debited to Germany as from 1st May, 1921, in respect of her debt as determined by the commission, after allowing for sums already covered by cash payments or their equivalent, or by bonds issued to the commission, or under Article 243. The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent., unless the commission shall determine at some future time that circumstances justify a variation of this rate.

The commission, in fixing on 1st May, 1921, the total amount of the debt of Germany, may take account of interest due on sums arising out of the reparation of material damage as from 11th November, 1918, up to 1st May, 1921.

17. In case of default by Germany in the performance of any obligation under this part of the present treaty, the commission will forthwith give notice of such default to each of the interested powers and may make such recommendations as to the action to be taken in consequence of such default as it may think necessary.

18. The measures which the Allied and Associated Powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany, and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective Governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

19. Payments required to be made in gold or its equivalent on account of the proved claims of the Allied and Associated Powers may at any time be accepted by the commission in the form of chattels, properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, within or without German territory, ships, bonds, shares, or securities of any kind, or currencies of Germany or other States, the value of such substitutes for gold being fixed at a fair and just amount by the commission itself.

20. The commission, in fixing or accepting payment in specified properties or rights, shall have due regard for any legal or equitable interests of the Allied and Associated Powers or of neutral powers or of their nationals therein.

21. No member of the commission shall be responsible, except to the Government appointing him, for any action or omission as such member. No one of the Allied or Associated Governments assumes any responsibility in respect of any other Government.

22. Subject to the provisions of the present treaty this annex may be amended by the unanimous decision of the Governments represented from time to time upon the commission.

23. When all the amounts due from Germany and her allies under the present treaty or the decisions of the commission have been discharged and all sums received, or their equivalents, shall have been distributed to the powers interested, the commission shall be dissolved.

ANNEX III.

1. Germany recognizes the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to the replacement, ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that the tonnage of German shipping at present in existence is much less than that lost by the Allied and Associated Powers in consequence of the German aggression, the right thus recognized will be enforced on German ships and boats under the following conditions:

The German Government on behalf of themselves and so as to bind all other persons interested, cede to the Allied and Associated Governments the property in all the German merchant ships which are of 1,600 tons gross and upward; in one-half, reckoned in tonnage, of the ships which are between 1,000 tons and 1,600 tons gross; in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the steam trawlers, and in one-quarter, reckoned in tonnage, of the other fishing boats.

2. The German Government will, within two months of the coming into force of the present treaty, deliver to the Reparation Commission all the ships and boats mentioned in Paragraph 1.

3. The ships and boats mentioned in Paragraph 1 include all ships and boats which (a) fly, or may be entitled to fly, the German merchant flag; or (b) are owned by any German national, company, or corporation or by any company or corporation belonging to a country other than an Allied or Associated country and under the control or direction of German nationals; or (c) which are now under construction (1) in Germany, (2) in other than Allied or Associated countries for the account of any German national, company, or corporation.

4. For the purpose of providing documents

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of title for the ships and boats to be handed over as above mentioned the German Government will:

(a) Deliver to the Reparation Commission in respect of each vessel a bill of sale or other document of title evidencing the transfer to the commission of the entire property in the vessel free from all incumbrances, charges, and liens of all kinds, as the commission may require;

(b) Take all measures that may be indicated by the Reparation Commission for insuring that the ships themselves shall be placed at its disposal.

5. As an additional part of reparation, Germany agrees to cause merchant ships to be built in German yards for the account of the Allied and Associated Governments as follows:

(a) Within three months of the coming into force of the present treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in German shipyards in each of the two years next succeeding the three months mentioned above;

(b) Within twenty-four months of the coming into force of the present treaty, the Reparation Commission will notify to the German Government the amount of tonnage to be laid down in each of the three years following the two years mentioned above;

(c) The amount of tonnage to be laid down in each year shall not exceed 200,000 tons, gross tonnage;

(d) The specifications of the ships to be built, the conditions under which they are to be built and delivered, the price per ton at which they are to be accounted for by the Reparation Commission, and all other questions relating to the accounting, ordering, building and delivery of the ships, shall be determined by the commission.

6. Germany undertakes to restore in kind and in normal condition of upkeep to the Allied and Associated Powers, within two months of the coming into force of the present treaty, in accordance with procedure to be laid down by the Reparation Commission, any boats and other movable appliances belonging to inland navigation which since the 1st August, 1914, have by any means whatever come into her possession or into the possession of her nationals, and which can be identified.

With a view to make good the loss in inland navigation tonnage, from whatever cause arising, which has been incurred during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers, and which cannot be made good by means of the restitution prescribed above, Germany agrees to cede to the Reparation Commission a portion of the German river fleet up to the amount of the loss mentioned above, provided that such cession shall not exceed 20 per cent. of the river fleet as it existed on the 11th November, 1918.

The condition of this cession shall be settled by the arbitrators referred to in Article

339 of Part XII. (ports, waterways and railways) of the present treaty, who are charged with the settlement of difficulties relating to the apportionment of river tonnage resulting from the new international régime applicable to certain river systems or from the territorial changes affecting those systems.

7. Germany agrees to take any measures that may be indicated to her by the Reparation Commission for obtaining the full title to the property in all ships which have been during the war transferred, or are in process of transfer, to neutral flags, without the consent of the Allied and Associated Governments.

8. Germany waives all claims of any description against the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals in respect of the detention, employment, loss or damage of any German ships or boats, except when being made of payments due in respect of the employment of ships in conformity with the armistice agreement of the 13th January, 1919, and subsequent agreements.

The handing over of the ships of the German mercantile marine must be continued without interruption in accordance with the said agreement.

9. Germany waives all claims to vessels or cargoes sunk by or in consequence of naval action and subsequently saved, in which any of the Allied or Associated Governments or their nationals may have any interest, either as owners, charterers, insurers or otherwise, notwithstanding any decree of condemnation which may have been made by a prize court of Germany or of her allies.

ANNEX IV.

1. The Allied and Associated Powers require, and Germany undertakes, that, in part satisfaction of her obligations expressed in this part of the present treaty, she will, as hereinafter provided, devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas of the Allied and Associated Powers, to the extent that these powers may determine.

2. The Allied and Associated Governments may file with the Reparation Commission lists showing:

(a) Animals, machinery, equipment, tools, and like articles of commercial character, which have been seized, consumed, or destroyed by Germany or destroyed in direct consequence of military operations, and which such Governments, for the purpose of meeting immediate and urgent needs, desire to have replaced by animals and articles of the same nature which are in being in German territory at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty;

(b) Reconstruction materials, (stones, bricks, refractory bricks, tiles, wood, window glass, steel, lime, cement, &c.) machinery, heating apparatus, furniture, and like articles of a commercial character which the said Governments desire to have produced and

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manufactured in Germany and delivered to them to permit of the restoration of the invaded areas.

3. The lists relating to the articles mentioned in 2 (a), above, shall be filed within sixty days after the date of the coming into force of the present treaty. The lists relating to the articles in 2 (b), above, shall be filed on or before Dec. 31, 1919. The lists shall contain all such details as are customary in commercial contracts dealing with the subject matter, including specifications, dates of delivery, (but not extending over more than four years,) and places of delivery, but not price or value, which shall be fixed as hereinafter provided by the commission.

4. Immediately upon the filing of such lists with the commission, the commission shall consider the amount and number of the materials and animals mentioned in the lists provided for above which are to be required of Germany. In reaching a decision on this matter the commission shall take into account such domestic requirements of Germany as it deems essential for the maintenance of Germany's social and economic life, and the prices and dates at which similar articles can be obtained in the Allied and Associated countries as compared with those to be fixed for German articles, and the general interest of the Allied and Associated Governments that the industrial life of Germany be not so disorganized as to affect adversely the ability of Germany to perform the other acts of reparation stipulated for. Machinery, equipment, tools, and like articles of a commercial character in actual industrial use are not, however, to be demanded of Germany unless there is no free stock of such articles respectively which is not in use and is available, and then not in excess of 30 per cent. of the quantity of such articles in use in any one establishment or undertaking.

The commission shall give representatives of the German Government an opportunity and a time to be heard as to their capacity to furnish the said materials, articles, and animals. The decision of the commission shall thereupon and at the earliest possible moment be communicated to the German Government and to the several interested Allied and Associated Governments. The German Government undertakes to deliver the materials, articles, and animals as specified in the said communication, and the interested Allied and Associated Governments severally agree to accept the same, provided they conform to the specification given, or are not, in the judgment of the commission, unfit to be utilized in the work of reparation.

5. The commission shall determine the value to be attributed to the materials, articles, and animals to be delivered in accordance with the foregoing, and the Allied or Associated Power receiving the same agrees to be charged with such value, and the amount thereof shall be treated as a payment

by Germany to be divided in accordance with Article 237 of this part of the present treaty.

In cases where the right to require physical restoration as above provided is exercised the commission shall insure that the amount to be credited against the reparation obligation of Germany shall be the fair value of work done or materials supplied by Germany and that the claim made by the interested power in respect of the damage so repaired by physical restoration shall be discharged to the extent of the proportion which the damage thus repaired bears to the whole of the damage thus claimed for.

6. As an immediate advance on account of the animals referred to in Paragraph 2 (a), above, Germany undertakes to deliver in equal monthly installments in the three months following the coming into force of the present treaty the following quantities of live stock:

First. To the French Government, 500 stallions, (3 to 7 years,) 30,000 fillies and mares, (18 months to 7 years,) type: Ardennais, Boulonnais, or Belgian; 2,000 bulls, (18 months to 3 years,) 90,000 milch cows, (2 to 6 years,) 1,000 rams, 100,000 sheep, 10,000 goats.

Second. To the Belgian Government, 200 stallions, (3 to 7 years,) large Belgian type; 5,000 mares, (3 to 7 years,) large Belgian type; 5,000 fillies, (18 months to 3 years,) large Belgian type; 2,000 bulls, (18 months to 3 years,) 50,000 milch cows, (2 to 6 years,) 40,000 heifers, 200 rams, 20,000 sheep, 15,000 sows.

The animals delivered shall be of average health and condition. To the extent that animals so delivered cannot be identified as animals taken away or seized, the value of such animals shall be credited against the reparation obligations of Germany in accordance with Paragraph 5 of this annex.

7. Without waiting for the decisions of the commission, referred to in Paragraph 4 of this annex, to be taken, Germany must continue the delivery to France of the agricultural material referred to in Article 3 of the renewal of the armistice of 16th January, 1919.

ANNEX V.

1. Germany accords the following options for the delivery of coal and derivatives of coal to the undermentioned signatories of the present treaty.

2. Germany undertakes to deliver to France 7,000,000 tons of coal per year for ten years. In addition, Germany undertakes to deliver to France annually for a period not exceeding ten years an amount of coal equal to the difference between the annual production before the war of the coal mines of the Nord and Pas de Calais, destroyed as a result of the war, and the production of the mines of the same area during the years in question: such delivery not to exceed 20,000,000 tons in any one year of the first five years, and 8,000,000 tons in any one year of the succeeding five years.

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It is understood due diligence will be exercised in the restoration of the destroyed mines in the Nord and Pas de Calais.

3. Germany undertakes to deliver to Belgium 8,000,000 tons of coal annually for ten years.

4. Germany undertakes to deliver to Italy up to the following quantities of coal:

July, 1919, to June, 1920, 4,500,000 tons.

July, 1920, to June, 1921, 6,000,000 tons.

July, 1921, to June, 1922, 7,500,000 tons.

July, 1922, to June, 1923, 8,000,000 tons.

July, 1923, to June, 1924, 8,500,000 tons.

and each of the following five years, 8,500,000 tons.

At least two-thirds of the actual deliveries to be land borne.

5. Germany further undertakes to deliver annually to Luxemburg, if directed by the Reparation Commission, a quantity of coal equal to the pre-war annual consumption of German coal in Luxemburg.

6. The prices to be paid for coal delivered under these options shall be as follows:

(a) For overland delivery, including delivery by barge, the German pithead price to German nationals, plus the freight to French, Belgian, Italian, or Luxemburg frontiers, provided the pithead price does not exceed the pithead price of British coal for export. In case of Belgian bunker coal, the price shall not exceed the Dutch bunker price. Railroad and barge tariffs shall not be higher than the lowest similar rates paid in Germany.

(b) For sea delivery, the German export price f. o. b. the German ports, or the British export price f. o. b. British ports, whichever may be lower.

7. The Allied and Associated Governments interested may demand the delivery in place of coal of metallurgical coke in the proportion of three tons of coke to four tons of coal.

8. Germany undertakes to deliver to France and to transport to the French frontier by rail or by water the following products during each of the three years following the coming into force of this treaty:

Benzol—35,000 tons.

Coal tar—50,000 tons.

Sulphate of ammonia—30,000 tons.

All or part of the coal tar may, at the option of the French Government, be replaced by corresponding quantities of products of distillation, such as light oils, heavy oils, anthracene, naphthalene, or pitch.

9. The price paid for coke and for the articles referred to in the preceding paragraphs shall be the same as the price paid by German nationals under the same conditions of shipment to the French frontier or to the German ports, and shall be subject to any advantages which may be accorded similar products furnished to German nationals.

10. The foregoing options shall be exercised through the intervention of the Reparation Commission, which, subject to the specific

provisions hereof, shall have power to determine all questions relative to procedure and the qualities and quantities of products, the quantity of coke which may be substituted for coal, and the times and modes of delivery and payment. In giving notice to the German Government of the foregoing options the commission shall give at least 120 days' notice of deliveries to be made after the 1st January, 1920, and at least thirty days' notice of deliveries to be made between the coming into force of this treaty and the 1st January, 1920. Until Germany has received the demands referred to in this paragraph the provisions of the protocol of the 25th December, 1918, (execution of Article 6 of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918,) remain in force.

The notice to be given to the German Government of the exercise of the right of substitution accorded by Paragraphs 7 and 8 shall be such as the Reparation Commission may consider sufficient.

If the commission shall determine that the full exercise of the foregoing options would interfere unduly with the industrial requirements of Germany, the commission is authorized to postpone or to cancel deliveries, and in so doing to settle all questions of priority, but the coal to replace coal from destroyed mines shall receive priority over other deliveries.

ANNEX VI.

1. Germany accords to the Reparation Commission an option to require as part of reparation the delivery by Germany of such quantities and kinds of dyestuffs and chemical drugs as the commission may designate, not exceeding 50 per cent. of the total stock of each and every kind of dyestuff and chemical drug in Germany or under German control at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty.

This option shall be exercised within sixty days of the receipt by the commission of such particulars as to stocks as may be considered necessary by the commission.

2. Germany further accords to the Reparation Commission an option to require delivery during the period from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty until Jan. 1, 1920, and during each period of six months thereafter until Jan. 1, 1925, of any specified kind of dyestuff and chemical drug up to an amount not exceeding 25 per cent. of the German production of such dyestuffs and chemical drugs during the previous six months' period. If in any case the production during such previous six months was, in the opinion of the commission, less than normal, the amount required may be 25 per cent. of the normal production.

Such option shall be exercised within four weeks after the receipt of such particulars as to production and in such form as may be considered necessary by the commission; these particulars shall be furnished by the German Government immediately after the expiration of each six months' period.

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8. For dyestuffs and chemical drugs delivered under Paragraph 1 the price shall be fixed by the commission, having regard to pre-war net export prices and to subsequent increases of cost.

For dyestuffs and chemical drugs delivered under Paragraph 2 the price shall be fixed by the commission, having regard to pre-war net export prices and subsequent variations of cost or the lowest net selling price of similar dyestuffs and chemical drugs to any other purchaser.

4. All details, including mode and times of exercising the options and making delivery, and all other questions arising under this arrangement shall be determined by the Reparation Commission; the German Government will furnish to the commission all necessary information and other assistance which it may require.

5. The above expression "dyestuffs and chemical drugs" includes all synthetic dyes and drugs and intermediate or other products used in connection with dyeing, so far as they are manufactured for sale. The present arrangement shall also apply to cinchona bark and salts of quinine.

ANNEX VII.

Germany renounces on her own behalf and on behalf of her nationals in favor of the principal Allied and Associated Powers all rights, titles or privileges of whatever nature in the submarine cables set out below, or in any portions thereof:

Emden-Vigo: from the Straits of Dover to off Vigo;

Emden-Brest: from off Cherbourg to Brest;

Emden-Teneriffe: from off Dunkirk to off Teneriffe;

Emden-Azores (1): from the Straits of Dover to Fayal;

Emden-Azores (2): from the Straits of Dover to Fayal;

Azores-New York (1): from Fayal to New York;

Azores-New York (2): from Fayal to the longitude of Halifax;

Teneriffe-Monrovia: from off Teneriffe to off Monrovia;

Monrovia-Lome: from about latitude 2 degrees 30 minutes north, and longitude 7 degrees 40 minutes west of Greenwich, to about latitude 2 degrees 20 minutes north, and longitude 5 degrees 30 minutes west of Greenwich,

and from about latitude 3 degrees 48 minutes north, and longitude 0 degrees 0 minutes to Lome;

Lome-Duala: from Lome to Duala;

Monrovia-Pernambuco: from off Monrovia to off Pernambuco;

Constantinople-Constanza: from Constantinople to Constanza;

Yap-Shanghai, Yap-Guam, and Yap-Menado (Celebes): from Yap Island to Shanghai, from Yap Island to Guam Island, and from Yap Island to Menado.

The value of the above-mentioned cables or portions thereof in so far as they are privately owned, calculated on the basis of the original cost less a suitable allowance for depreciation, shall be credited to Germany in the reparation account.

SECTION II.—*Special Provisions*

ARTICLE 245.—Within six months after coming into force of the present treaty the German Government must restore to the French Government the trophies, archives, historical souvenirs, or works of art carried away from France by the German authorities in the course of the war of 1870-1871 and during this last war, in accordance with a list which will be communicated to it by the French Government; particularly the French flags taken in the course of the war of 1870-1871, and all the political papers taken by the German authorities on Oct. 10, 1870, at the Château of Cercay, near Brunoy, (Seine-et-Oise,) belonging at the time to M. Rouher, formerly Minister of State.

ARTICLE 246.—Within six months of the coming into force of the present treaty Germany will restore to his Majesty the King of the Hedjaz the original Koran of the Caliph Othman, which was removed from Medina by the Turkish authorities and is stated to have been presented to the ex-Emperor William II.

Within the same period Germany will hand over to his Britannic Majesty's Government the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa, which was removed from the protectorate of German East Africa and taken to Germany.

The delivery of the articles above referred to will be effected in such place and on such conditions as may be laid down by the Governments to which they are to be restored.

ARTICLE 247.—Germany undertakes to furnish to the University of Louvain, within three months after a request made by it and transmitted through the intervention of the Reparation Commission, manuscripts, incunabula, printed books, maps, and objects of collection corresponding in number and value to those destroyed in the burning by Germany of the library of Louvain. All details regarding such replacement will be determined by the Reparation Commission.

Germany undertakes to deliver to Belgium, through the Reparation Commission, within six months of the coming into force of the present treaty, in order to enable Belgium to reconstitute her two great artistic works:

(a) The leaves of the triptych of the Mystic Lamb painted by the Van Eyck Brothers, formerly in the Church of St. Bavon at Ghent, now in the Berlin Museum.

(b) The leaves of the triptych of the Last Supper, painted by Dierick Bouts, formerly in the Church of St. Peter at Louvain, two of which are now in the Berlin Museum and two in the old Pinakothek at Munich.

PART IX.—Financial Clauses

ARTICLE 248.—Subject to such exceptions as the Reparation Commission may approve, a first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire and its constituent States shall be the cost of reparation and all other costs arising under the present treaty or any treaties or agreements supplementary thereto or under arrangements concluded between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers during the armistice or its extensions.

Up to May 1, 1921, the German Government shall not export or dispose of, and shall forbid the export or disposal of, gold without the previous approval of the Allied and Associated Powers acting through the Reparation Commission.

ARTICLE 249.—There shall be paid by the German Government the total cost of all armies of the Allied and Associated Governments in occupied German territory from the date of the signature of the armistice of the 11th November, 1918, including the keep of men and beasts, lodging and billeting, pay and allowances, salaries and wages, bedding, heating, lighting, clothing, equipment, harness and saddlery, armament and rolling stock, air services, treatment of sick and wounded, veterinary and remount services, transport service of all sorts, (such as by rail, sea, river, or motor lorries,) communications and correspondence, and in general the cost of all administrative or technical services, the working of which is necessary for the training of troops and for keeping their numbers up to strength and preserving their military efficiency.

The cost of such liabilities under the above heads, so far as they relate to purchases or requisitions by the Allied and Associated Governments in the occupied territories, shall be paid by the German Government to the Allied and Associated Governments in marks at the current or agreed rate of exchange. All other of the above costs shall be paid in gold marks.

ARTICLE 250.—Germany confirms the surrender of all material handed over to the Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with the armistice agreement of the 11th November, 1918, and subsequent armistice agreements, and recognizes the title of the Allied and Associated Powers to such material.

There shall be credited to the German Government against the sums due from it to the Allied and Associated Powers for reparation, the value, as assessed by the Reparation Commission referred to in Article 233 of Part VIII. (Reparation) of the present treaty, of the material handed over in accordance with Article 7 of the armistice agreement of the 11th November, 1918, Article 3 of the armistice agreement of the 16th January, 1919, as well as of any other material handed over in accordance with the armistice agreement of the 11th November, 1918, and of subsequent armistice agreements, for which,

as having non-military value, credit should, in the judgment of the Reparation Commission, be allowed to the German Government.

Property belonging to the Allied and Associated Governments or their nationals restored or surrendered under the armistice agreements in specie shall not be credited to the German Government.

ARTICLE 251.—The priority of the charges established by Article 248 shall, subject to the qualifications made below, be as follows:

(a) The cost of the armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 during the armistice and its extensions;

(b) The cost of any armies of occupation as defined under Article 249 after the coming into force of the present treaty;

(c) The cost of reparation arising out of the present treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto;

(d) The cost of all other obligations incumbent on Germany under the armistice conventions or under this treaty or any treaties or conventions supplementary thereto.

The payment for such supplies of food and raw material for Germany and such other payments as may be judged by the Allied and Associated Powers to be essential to enable Germany to meet her obligations in respect of reparation will have priority to the extent and upon the conditions which have been or may be determined by the Governments of the said powers.

ARTICLE 252.—The right of each of the Allied and Associated Powers to dispose of enemy assets and property within its jurisdiction at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty is not affected by the foregoing provisions.

ARTICLE 253.—Nothing in the foregoing provisions shall prejudice in any manner charges or mortgages lawfully effected in favor of the Allied and Associated Powers or their nationals respectively, before the date at which a state of war existed between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers concerned, by the German Empire or its constituent States, or by German nationals on assets in their ownership at that date.

ARTICLE 254.—The powers to which German territory is ceded shall, subject to the qualifications made in Article 253, undertake to pay:

1. A portion of the debt of the German Empire as it stood on the 1st August, 1914, calculated on the basis of the ratio between the average for the three financial years 1911, 1912, 1913, of such revenues of the ceded territory and the average for the same years of such revenues of the whole German Empire as in the judgment of the Reparation Commission are best calculated to represent the relative ability of the respective territories to make payments.

2. A portion of the debt as it stood on the 1st August, 1914, of the German State to which the ceded territory belonged, to be de-

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terminated in accordance with the principle stated above.

Such portions shall be determined by the Reparation Commission.

The method of discharging the obligation both in respect of capital and of interest, so assumed, shall be fixed by the Reparation Commission. Such method may take the form, *inter alia*, of the assumption by the power to which the territory is ceded of Germany's liability for the German debt held by her nationals. But in the event of the method adopted involving any payments to the German Government, such payments shall be transferred to the Reparation Commission on account of the sums due for reparation so long as any balance in respect of such sums remains unpaid.

ARTICLE 255.—1. As an exception to the above provision and inasmuch as in 1871 Germany refused to undertake any portion of the burden of the French debt, France shall be, in respect of Alsace-Lorraine, exempt from any payment under Article 254.

2. In the case of Poland that portion of the debt which, in the opinion of the Reparation Commission is attributable to the measures taken by the German and Prussian Governments for the German colonization of Poland shall be excluded from the apportionment to be made under Article 254.

3. In the case of all ceded territories other than Alsace-Lorraine that portion of the debt of the German Empire or German States which in the opinion of the Reparation Commission represents expenditure by the Governments of the German Empire or States upon the Government properties referred to in Article 256 shall be excluded from the apportionment to be made under Article 254.

ARTICLE 256.—Powers to which German territory is ceded shall acquire all property and possessions situated therein belonging to the German Empire or to the German States, and the value of such acquisitions shall be fixed by the Reparation Commission, and paid by the State acquiring the territory to the Reparation Commission for the credit of the German Government on account of the sums due for reparation.

For the purposes of this article the property and possessions of the German Empire and States shall be deemed to include all the property of the Crown, the Empire or the States, and the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages.

In view of the terms on which Alsace-Lorraine was ceded to Germany in 1871 France shall be exempt in respect thereof from making any payment or credit under this article for any property or possessions of the German Empire or States situated therein. Belgium also shall be exempt from making any payment or any credit under this article for any property or possessions of the German Empire or States situated in German territory ceded to Belgium under the present treaty.

ARTICLE 257.—In the case of the former German territories, including colonies, protectorates, or dependencies, administered by a mandatory under Article 22 of Part I. (League of Nations) of the present treaty, neither the territory nor the mandatory power shall be charged with any portion of the debt of the German Empire or States.

All property and possessions belonging to the German Empire or to the German States situated in such territory shall be transferred with the territories to the Mandatory Power in its capacity as such, and no payment shall be made nor any credit given to those Governments in consideration of this transfer.

For the purpose of this article the property and possessions of the German Empire and of the German States shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, the empire or the States and the private property of the former German Emperor and other royal personages.

ARTICLE 258.—Germany renounces all rights accorded to her or her nationals by treaties, conventions or agreements, of whatsoever kind, to representation upon or participation in the control or administration of commissions, state banks, agencies or other financial or economic organizations of an international character, exercising powers of control or administration, and operating in any of the Allied or Associated States, or in Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey, or in the dependencies of these States, or in the former Russian Empire.

ARTICLE 259.—1. Germany agrees to deliver within one month from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, to such authority as the principal Allied and Associated Powers may designate, the sum in gold which was to be deposited in the Reichsbank in the name of the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the first issue of Turkish Government currency notes.

2. Germany recognizes her obligation to make annually for the period of twelve years the payments in gold for which provision is made in the German Treasury bonds deposited by her from time to time in the name of the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt as security for the second and subsequent issues of Turkish Government currency notes.

3. Germany undertakes to deliver, within one month from the coming into force of the present treaty, to such authority as the principal Allied and Associated Powers may designate, the deposit gold constituted in the Reichsbank or elsewhere, representing the residue of the advance in gold agreed to on the 5th of July, 1915, by the Council of the Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt to the Imperial Ottoman Government.

4. Germany agrees to transfer to the principal Allied and Associated Powers any title that she may have to the sum in gold and silver transmitted by her to the Turkish Ministry of Finance in November, 1918, in anticipation of the payment to be made in



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May, 1919, for the service of the Turkish internal loan.

5. Germany undertakes to transfer to the principal Allied and Associated Powers within a period of one month from the coming into force of the present treaty, any sums in gold transferred as pledge or as collateral security to the German Government or its nationals in connection with loans made by them to the Austro-Hungarian Government.

6. Without prejudice to Article 292 of Part X. (economic clauses) of the present treaty, Germany confirms the renunciation provided for in Article XV. of the armistice convention of the 11th November, 1918, of any benefit disclosed by the treaties of Bucharest and of Brest-Litovsk, and by the treaties supplementary thereto.

Germany undertakes to transfer, either to Rumania or to the principal Allied and Associated Powers, as the case may be, all monetary instruments, specie, securities and negotiable instruments or goods which she has received under the aforesaid treaties.

7. The sums of money and all securities, instruments and goods of whatever nature, to be delivered, paid and transferred under the provisions of this article, shall be disposed of by the principal Allied and Associated Powers in a manner hereafter to be determined by these powers.

ARTICLE 260.—Without prejudice to the renunciation of any rights by Germany on behalf of herself or of her nationals in the other provisions of the present treaty, the Reparation Commission may, within one year from the coming into force of the present treaty, demand that the German Government become possessed of any rights and interests of the German nationals in any public utility undertaking or in any concession operating in Russia, China, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, or in the possessions or dependencies of these States or in any territory formerly belonging to Germany or her allies, to be ceded by Germany or her allies to any power, or to be administered by a mandatary under the present treaty, and may require that the German Government transfer, within six months of the date of demand, all such rights and interests and any similar rights and interests the German Government may itself possess, to the Reparation Commission.

Germany shall be responsible for indemnifying her nationals so dispossessed and the Reparation Commission shall credit Germany on account of sums due for reparation with such sums in respect of the value of the transferred rights and interests as may be assessed by the Reparation Commission, and the German Government shall, within six months from the coming into force of the present treaty, communicate to the Reparation Commission all such rights and interests, whether already granted, contingent, or not yet exercised, and shall renounce on behalf of itself and its nationals in favor of the Allied and Associated Powers all such rights and interests which have not been so communicated.

ARTICLE 261.—Germany undertakes to transfer to the Allied and Associated Powers any claims she may have to payment or repayment by the Governments of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and, in particular any claims which may arise, now or hereafter, from the fulfillment of undertakings made by Germany during the war to those Governments.

ARTICLE 262.—Any monetary obligation due by Germany arising out of the present treaty and expressed in terms of gold marks shall be payable at the option of the creditors in pounds sterling payable in London; gold dollars of the United States of America payable in New York; gold francs payable in Paris, or gold lire payable in Rome.

For the purpose of this article, the gold coins mentioned above shall be defined as being of the weight and fineness of gold as enacted by law on the 1st January, 1914.

ARTICLE 263.—Germany gives a guarantee to the Brazilian Government that all sums representing the sale of coffee belonging to the State of Sao Paulo in the Ports of Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, and Trieste, which were deposited with the Bank of Bleichröder at Berlin, shall be reimbursed, together with interest at the rate or rates agreed upon.

Germany, having prevented the transfer of the sums in question to the State of Sao Paulo at the proper time, guarantees also that the reimbursements shall be effected at the rate of exchange of the day of the deposit.

PART X.—Economic Clauses

SECTION I.—Commercial Relations

CHAPTER I.—CUSTOMS REGULATIONS, DUTIES, AND RESTRICTIONS

ARTICLE 264.—Germany undertakes that goods the produce or manufacture of any one of the Allied or Associated States imported into German territory, from whatsoever place arriving, shall not be sub-

jected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those to which the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country are subject.

Germany will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the importation into German territory of any goods the produce or manufacture of the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States, from whatsoever place arriving, which shall

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not equally extend to the importation of the like goods the produce or manufacture of any other such State or of any other foreign country.

ARTICLE 265.—Germany further undertakes that, in the matter of the régime applicable on importation, no discrimination against the commerce of any of the Allied and Associated States as compared with any other of the said States or any other foreign country shall be made, even by indirect means, such as customs regulations or procedure, methods of verification or analysis, conditions of payment of duties, tariff classification or interpretation, or the operation of monopolies.

ARTICLE 266.—In all that concerns exportation Germany undertakes that goods, natural products or manufactured articles, exported from German territory to the territories of any one of the Allied or Associated States shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges (including internal charges) than those paid on the like goods exported to any other such State or to any other foreign country.

Germany will not maintain or impose any prohibition or restriction on the exportation of any goods sent from her territory to any one of the Allied or Associated States which shall not equally extend to the exportation of the like goods, natural products or manufactured articles, sent to any other such State or to any other foreign country.

ARTICLE 267.—Every favor, immunity, or privilege in regard to the importation, exportation, or transit of goods granted by Germany to any Allied or Associated State or to any other foreign country whatever shall simultaneously and unconditionally, without request and without compensation, be extended to all the Allied and Associated States.

ARTICLE 268.—The provisions of Articles 264 to 267 inclusive of this chapter and of Article 323 of Part XII. (ports, waterways, and railways) of the present treaty are subject to the following exceptions:

(a) For a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty, natural or manufactured products which both originate in and come from the territories of Alsace and Lorraine reunited to France shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The French Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

Further, during the period above mentioned the German Government shall allow the free export from Germany, and the free reimportation into Germany, exempt from all customs duties and other charges, (including internal charges,) of yarns, tissues, and other

textile materials or textile products of any kind and in any condition, sent from Germany into the territories of Alsace or Lorraine, to be subjected there to any finishing process, such as bleaching, dyeing, printing, mercerization, gassing, twisting, or dressing.

(b) During a period of three years from the coming into force of the present treaty natural or manufactured products which both originate in and come from Polish territories which before the war were part of Germany shall, on importation into German customs territory, be exempt from all customs duty.

The Polish Government shall fix each year, by decree communicated to the German Government, the nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy this exemption.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

(c) The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to require Germany to accord freedom from customs duty, on importation into German customs territory, to natural products and manufactured articles which both originate in and come from the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, for a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

The nature and amount of the products which shall enjoy the benefits of this régime shall be communicated each year to the German Government.

The amount of each product which may be thus sent annually into Germany shall not exceed the average of the amounts sent annually in the years 1911-1913.

ARTICLE 269.—During the first six months after the coming into force of the present treaty, the duties imposed by Germany on imports from Allied and Associated States shall not be higher than the most favorable duties which were applied to imports into Germany on the 31st July, 1914.

During a further period of thirty months after the expiration of the first six months, this provision shall continue to be applied exclusively with regard to products which, being comprised in Section A of the First Category of the German Customs Tariff of the 25th December, 1902, enjoyed at the above-mentioned date (31st July, 1914) rates conventionalized by treaties with the Allied and Associated Powers, with the addition of all kinds of wine and vegetable oils, of artificial silk and of washed or scoured wool, whether or not they were the subject of special conventions before the 31st July, 1914.

ARTICLE 270.—The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to apply to German territory occupied by their troops a special customs régime as regards imports and exports, in the event of such a measure being necessary in their opinion in order to safeguard the economic interests of the population of these territories.

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CHAPTER II.—SHIPPING

ARTICLE 271.—As regards sea fishing, maritime coasting trade, and maritime towage, vessels of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy, in German territorial waters, the treatment accorded to vessels of the most-favored nation.

ARTICLE 272.—Germany agrees that, notwithstanding any stipulation to the contrary contained in the conventions relating to the North Sea fisheries and liquor traffic, all rights of inspection and police shall, in the case of fishing boats of the Allied Powers, be exercised solely by ships belonging to those powers.

ARTICLE 273.—In the case of vessels of the Allied or Associated Powers, all classes of certificates or documents relating to the vessel, which were recognized as valid by Germany before the war, or which may hereafter be recognized as valid by the principal maritime States, shall be recognized by Germany as valid and as equivalent to the corresponding certificates issued to German vessels.

A similar recognition shall be accorded to the certificates and documents issued to their vessels by the Governments of new States, whether they have a seacoast or not, provided that such certificates and documents shall be issued in conformity with the general practice observed in the principal maritime States.

The high contracting parties agree to recognize the flag flown by the vessels of an Allied or Associated Power having no seacoast which are registered at some one specified place situated in its territory: such place shall serve as the port of registry of such vessels.

CHAPTER III.—UNFAIR COMPETITION

ARTICLE 274.—Germany undertakes to adopt all the necessary legislative and administrative measures to protect goods the produce or manufacture of any one of the Allied and Associated Powers from all forms of unfair competition in commercial transactions.

Germany undertakes to prohibit and repress by seizure and by other appropriate remedies the importation, exportation, manufacture, distribution, sale or offering for sale in its territory of all goods bearing upon themselves or their usual get-up or wrappings any marks, names, devices, or descriptions whatsoever which are calculated to convey directly or indirectly a false indication of the origin, type, nature, or special characteristics of such goods.

ARTICLE 275.—Germany undertakes on condition that reciprocity is accorded in these matters to respect any law, or any administrative or judicial decision given in conformity with such law, in force in any Allied or Associated State and duly communicated to her by the proper authorities, defining or reg-

ulating the right to any regional appellation in respect of wine or spirits produced in the State to which the region belongs or the conditions under which the use of any such appellation may be permitted; and the importation, exportation, manufacture, distribution, sale or offering for sale of products or articles bearing regional appellations inconsistent with such law or order shall be prohibited by the German Government and repressed by the measures prescribed in the preceding article.

CHAPTER IV.—TREATMENT OF NATIONALS OF ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS

ARTICLE 276.—Germany undertakes:

(a) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers to any prohibition in regard to the exercise of occupations, professions, trade, and industry, which shall not be equally applicable to all aliens without exception;

(b) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers in regard to the rights referred to in Paragraph (a) to any regulation or restriction which might contravene directly or indirectly the stipulations of the said paragraph, or which shall be other or more disadvantageous than those which are applicable to nationals of the most-favored nation;

(c) not to subject the nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers, their property, rights, or interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested, to any charge, tax, or impost, direct or indirect, other or higher than those which are or may be imposed on her own nationals or their property, rights, or interests;

(d) not to subject the nationals of any one of the Allied and Associated Powers to any restriction which was not applicable on July 1, 1914, to the nationals of such powers unless such restriction is likewise imposed on her own nationals.

ARTICLE 277.—The nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in German territory a constant protection for their persons and for their property, rights, and interests, and shall have free access to the courts of law.

ARTICLE 278.—Germany undertakes to recognize any new nationality which has been or may be acquired by her nationals under the laws of the Allied and Associated Powers, and in accordance with the decisions of the competent authorities of these powers pursuant to naturalization laws or under treaty stipulations, and to regard such persons as having, in consequence of the acquisition of such new nationality, in all respects severed their allegiance to their country of origin.

ARTICLE 279.—The Allied and Associated Powers may appoint Consuls General, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents in German towns and ports. Germany undertakes to approve the designation of the Con-

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suls General, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, whose names shall be notified to her, and to admit them to the exercise of their functions in conformity with the usual rules and customs.

CHAPTER V.—GENERAL ARTICLES

ARTICLE 280.—The obligations imposed on Germany by Chapter I. and by Articles 271 and 272 of Chapter II. above shall cease to have effect five years from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, unless otherwise provided in the text, or unless the Council of the League of Nations shall, at least twelve months before the expiration of that period, decide that these obligations shall be maintained for a further period with or without amendment.

Article 276 of Chapter IV. shall remain in operation, with or without amendment, after the period of five years for such further period, if any, not exceeding five years, as may be determined by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 281.—If the German Government engages in international trade, it shall not in respect thereof have or be deemed to have any rights, privileges, or immunities of sovereignty.

SECTION II.—*Treaties*

ARTICLE 282.—From the coming into force of the present treaty and subject to the provisions thereof the multilateral treaties, conventions, and agreements of an economic or technical character enumerated below and in the subsequent articles shall alone be applied as between Germany and those of the Allied and Associated Powers party thereto:

1. Conventions of March 14, 1864; Dec. 1, 1886, and March 23, 1887, and final protocol of July 7, 1887, regarding the protection of submarine cables.

2. Convention of Oct. 11, 1900, regarding the international circulation of motor cars.

3. Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to customs inspection, and protocol of May 18, 1907.

4. Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardization of railways.

5. Convention of July 5, 1890, regarding the publication of customs tariffs and the organization of an international union for the publication of customs tariffs.

6. Convention of Dec. 31, 1913, regarding the unification of commercial statistics.

7. Convention of April 25, 1907, regarding the raising of the Turkish customs tariff.

8. Convention of March 14, 1857, for the redemption of toll dues on the sound and belts.

9. Convention of June 22, 1861, for the redemption of the state toll on the Elbe.

10. Convention of July 16, 1863, for the redemption of toll dues on the Scheldt.

11. Convention of Oct. 29, 1888, regarding the establishment of a definite arrangement guaranteeing the free use of the Suez Canal.

12. Convention of Sept. 23, 1910, respecting

the unification of certain regulations regarding collisions and salvage at sea.

13. Convention of Dec. 21, 1904, regarding the exemption of hospital ships from dues and charges in ports.

14. Convention of Feb. 4, 1898, regarding the tonnage measurement of vessels for inland navigation.

15. Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of nightwork for women.

16. Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

17. Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the white slave traffic.

18. Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.

19. Sanitary conventions of January, 1892; April 15, 1893; April 3, 1894; April 19, 1897, and Dec. 3, 1903.

20. Convention of May 20, 1875, regarding the unification and improvement of the metric system.

21. Convention of Nov. 29, 1906, regarding the unification of pharmacopoeial formulae for potent drugs.

22. Convention of Nov. 16 and 19, 1885, regarding the establishment of a concert pitch.

23. Convention of June 7, 1905, regarding the creation of an International Agricultural Institute at Rome.

24. Conventions of Nov. 3, 1881, and April 15, 1889, regarding precautionary measures against phylloxera.

25. Convention of March 19, 1902, regarding the protection of birds useful to agriculture.

26. Convention of June 12, 1902, as to the protection of minors.

ARTICLE 283.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply the conventions and agreements hereinafter mentioned, in so far as concerns them, on condition that the special stipulations contained in this article are fulfilled by Germany.

Postal Conventions:

Conventions and agreements of the Universal Postal Union concluded at Vienna, July 4, 1891.

Conventions and agreements of the Postal Union signed at Washington, June 15, 1897.

Conventions and agreements of the Postal Union signed at Rome, May 26, 1906.

Telegraphic Conventions:

International Telegraphic Conventions signed at St. Petersburg July 10, (22,) 1875.

Regulations and tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraphic Conference, Lisbon, June 11, 1908.

Germany undertakes not to refuse her assent to the conclusion by the new States of the special arrangements referred to in the conventions and agreements relating to the Universal Postal Union and to the International Telegraphic Union, to which the said new States have adhered or may adhere.

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ARTICLE 284.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them, the International Radio-Telegraphic Convention of July 5, 1912, on condition that Germany fulfills the provisional regulations which will be indicated to her by the Allied and Associated Powers.

If within five years after the coming into force of the present treaty a new convention regulating international radio-telegraphic communications should have been concluded to take the place of the convention of July 5, 1912, this new convention shall bind Germany even if Germany should refuse either to take part in drawing up the convention or to subscribe thereto.

This new convention will likewise replace the provisional regulations in force.

ARTICLE 285.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply in so far as concerns them and under the conditions stipulated in Article 272 the conventions hereinafter mentioned:

1. The conventions of May 6, 1882, and Feb. 1, 1889, regulating the fisheries in the North Sea outside territorial waters.

2. The conventions and protocols of Nov. 16, 1887, Feb. 14, 1893, and April 11, 1894, regarding the North Sea liquor traffic.

ARTICLE 286.—The International Convention of Paris of March 20, 1883, for the protection of industrial property, revised at Washington on June 2, 1911; the International Convention of Berne of Sept. 9, 1886, for the protection of literary and artistic works, revised at Berlin on Nov. 13, 1908, and completed by the additional protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, will again come into effect as from the coming into force of the present treaty, in so far as they are not affected or modified by the exceptions and restrictions resulting therefrom.

ARTICLE 287.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them, the Convention of the Hague of July 17, 1905, relating to civil procedure. This renewal, however, will not apply to France, Portugal, and Rumania.

ARTICLE 288.—The special rights and privileges granted to Germany by Article 3 of the convention of Dec. 2, 1899, relating to Samoa shall be considered to have terminated on Aug. 4, 1914.

ARTICLE 289.—Each of the Allied or Associated Powers, being guided by the general principles or special provisions of the present treaty, shall notify to Germany the bilateral treaties or conventions which such Allied or Associated Power wishes to revive with Germany.

The notification referred to in the present article shall be made either directly or through the intermediary of another power. Receipt thereof shall be acknowledged in writing by Germany. The date of the revival shall be that of the notification.

The Allied and Associated Powers undertake among themselves not to revive with Germany any conventions or treaties which are not in accordance with the terms of the present treaty.

The notification shall mention any provisions of the said conventions and treaties which, not being in accordance with the terms of the present treaty, shall not be considered as revived. In case of any difference of opinion, the League of Nations will be called on to decide.

A period of six months from the coming into force of the present treaty is allowed to the Allied and Associated Powers within which to make the notification.

Only those bilateral treaties and conventions which have been the subject of such a notification shall be revived between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany; all the others are and shall remain abrogated.

The above regulations apply to all bilateral treaties or conventions existing between all the Allied and Associated Powers signatories to the present treaty and Germany, even if the said Allied and Associated Powers have not been in a state of war with Germany.

ARTICLE 290.—Germany recognizes that all the treaties, conventions, or agreements which she has concluded with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey since Aug. 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present treaty are and remain abrogated by the present treaty.

ARTICLE 291.—Germany undertakes to secure to the Allied and Associated Powers, and to the officials and nationals of the said powers, the enjoyment of all the rights and advantages of any kind which she may have granted to Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey, or to the officials and nationals of these States by treaties, conventions, or arrangements concluded before Aug. 1, 1914, so long as those treaties, conventions, or arrangements remain in force.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to accept or not the enjoyment of these rights and advantages.

ARTICLE 292.—Germany recognizes that all treaties, conventions, or arrangements which she concluded with Russia or with any State or Government of which the territory previously formed a part of Russia, or with Rumania before Aug. 1, 1914, or after that date until the coming into force of the present treaty, are and remain abrogated.

ARTICLE 293.—Should an Allied or Associated Power, Russia, or a State or Government of which the territory formerly constituted a part of Russia have been forced since Aug. 1, 1914, by reason of military occupation or by any other means or for any other cause, to grant or to allow to be granted by the act of any public authority, concessions, privileges, and favors of any kind to Germany or to a German national, such concessions, privileges, and favors are *ipso facto* annulled by the present treaty.

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No claims or indemnities which may result from this annulment shall be charged against the Allied or Associated Powers or the powers, States, Governments, or public authorities which are released from their engagements by the present article.

ARTICLE 294.—From the coming into force of the present treaty Germany undertakes to give the Allied and Associated Powers and their nationals the benefit *ipso facto* of the rights and advantages of any kind which she has granted by treaties, conventions, or arrangements to non-belligerent States or their nationals since Aug. 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present treaty so long as those treaties, conventions, or arrangements remain in force.

ARTICLE 295.—Those of the high contracting parties who have not yet signed, or who have signed but not yet ratified, the Opium Convention signed at The Hague on Jan. 23, 1912, agree to bring the said convention into force, and for this purpose to enact the necessary legislation without delay and in any case within a period of twelve months from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Furthermore, they agree that ratification of the present treaty should in the case of powers which have not yet ratified the Opium Convention be deemed in all respects equivalent to the ratification of that convention and to the signature of the special protocol which was opened at The Hague in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the Third Opium Conference in 1914 for bringing the said convention into force.

For this purpose the Government of the French Republic will communicate to the Government of the Netherlands a certified copy of the protocol of the deposit of ratifications of the present treaty, and will invite the Government of the Netherlands to accept and deposit the said certified copy as if it were a deposit of ratifications of the Opium Convention and a signature of the additional protocol of 1914.

SECTION III.—*Debts.*

ARTICLE 296.—There shall be settled through the intervention of clearing offices to be established by each of the high contracting parties within three months of the notification referred to in paragraph (e) hereafter the following classes of pecuniary obligations:

1. Debts payable before the war and due by a national of one of the contracting powers, residing within its territory, to a national of an opposing power, residing within its territory.

2. Debts which became payable during the war to nationals of one contracting power residing within its territory and arose out of transactions or contracts with the nationals of an opposing power, resident within its territory, of which the total or partial execution was suspended on account of the declaration of war.

3. Interest which has accrued due before

and during the war to a national of one of the contracting powers in respect of securities issued by an opposing power, provided that the payment of interest on such securities to the nationals of that power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war.

4. Capital sums which have become payable before and during the war to nationals of one of the contracting powers in respect of securities issued by one of the opposing powers, provided that the payment of such capital sums to nationals of that power or to neutrals has not been suspended during the war.

The proceeds of liquidation of enemy property, rights, and interests mentioned in Section IV. and in the annex thereto will be accounted for through the clearing offices, in the currency and at the rate of exchange hereinafter provided in Paragraph (d), and disposed of by them under the conditions provided by the said section and annex.

The settlements provided for in this article shall be effected according to the following principles and in accordance with the annex to this section:

- (a) Each of the high contracting parties shall prohibit, as from the coming into force of the present treaty, both the payment and the acceptance of payment of such debts, and also all communications between the interested parties with regard to the settlement of the said debts otherwise than through the clearing offices.

- (b) Each of the high contracting parties shall be respectively responsible for the payment of such debts due by its nationals, except in the cases where before the war the debtor was in a state of bankruptcy or failure, or had given formal indication of insolvency or where the debt was due by a company whose business has been liquidated under emergency legislation during the war. Nevertheless, debts due by the inhabitants of territory invaded or occupied by the enemy before the armistice will not be guaranteed by the States of which those territories form part.

- (c) The sums due to the nationals of one of the high contracting parties by the nationals of an opposing State will be debited to the clearing office of the country of the debtor, and paid to the creditor by the clearing office of the country of the creditor.

- (d) Debts shall be paid or credited in the currency of such one of the Allied and Associated Powers, their colonies or protectorates, or the British Dominions or India, as may be concerned. If the debts are payable in some other currency they shall be paid or credited in the currency of the country concerned, whether an Allied or Associated Power, colony, protectorate, British Dominion, or India, at the pre-war rate of exchange.

For the purpose of this provision the pre-war rate of exchange shall be defined as the average cable transfer rate prevailing

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in the Allied or Associated country concerned during the month immediately preceding the outbreak of war between the said country concerned and Germany.

If a contract provides for a fixed rate of exchange governing the conversion of the currency in which the debt is stated into the currency of the Allied or Associated country concerned, then the above provisions concerning the rate of exchange shall not apply.

In the case of new States the currency in which and the rate of exchange at which debts shall be paid or credited shall be determined by the Reparation Commission provided for in Part VIII., (Reparation.)

(c) The provisions of this article and of the annex hereto shall not apply as between Germany on the one hand and any one of the Allied and Associated Powers, their colonies or protectorates, or any one of the British Dominions or India on the other hand, unless within a period of one month from the deposit of the ratifications of the present treaty by the power in question, or of the ratification on behalf of such Dominion or of India, notice to that effect is given to Germany by the Government of such Allied or Associated Power or of such Dominion or of India as the case may be.

(f) The Allied and Associated Powers who have adopted this article and the annex hereto may agree between themselves to apply them to their respective nationals established in their territory so far as regards matters between their nationals and German nationals. In this case the payments made by application of this provision will be subject to arrangements between the allied and associated clearing offices concerned.

ANNEX

1. Each of the high contracting parties will, within three months from the notification provided for in Article 296, paragraph (e), establish a clearing office for the collection and payment of enemy debts.

Local clearing offices may be established for any particular portion of the territories of the high contracting parties. Such local clearing offices may perform all the functions of a central clearing office in their respective districts, except that all transactions with the clearing office in the opposing State must be effected through the central clearing office.

2. In this annex the pecuniary obligations referred to in the first paragraph of Article 296 are described as "enemy debts", the persons from whom the same are due as "enemy debtors", the persons to whom they are due as "enemy creditors", the clearing office in the country of the creditor is called the "Creditor Clearing Office," and the clearing office in the country of the debtor is called the "Debtor Clearing Office".

3. The high contracting parties will subject contraventions of Paragraph (a) of Article 296 to the same penalties as are at present provided by their legislation for trading with

the enemy. They will similarly prohibit within their territory all legal process relating to payment of enemy debts, except in accordance with the provisions of this annex.

4. The Government guarantee specified in Paragraph (b) of Article 296 shall take effect whenever, for any reason, a debt shall not be recoverable, except in a case where at the date of the outbreak of war the debt was barred by the laws of prescription in force in the country of the debtor, or where the debtor was at that time in a state of bankruptcy or failure or had given formal indication of insolvency, or where the debt was due by a company whose business has been liquidated under emergency legislation during the war. In such case the procedure specified by this annex shall apply to payment of the dividends.

The terms "bankruptcy" and "failure" refer to the application of legislation providing for such juridical conditions. The expression "formal indication of insolvency" bears the same meaning as it has in English law.

5. Creditors shall give notice to the Creditor Clearing Office within six months of its establishment of debts due to them, and shall furnish the Clearing Office with any documents and information required of them.

The high contracting parties will take all suitable measures to trace and punish collusion between enemy creditors and debtors. The clearing offices will communicate to one another any evidence and information which might help the discovery and punishment of such collusion.

The high contracting parties will facilitate as much as possible postal and telegraphic communication at the expense of the parties concerned and through the intervention of the clearing offices between debtors and creditors desirous of coming to an agreement as to the amount of their debt.

The Creditor Clearing Office will notify the Debtor Clearing Office of all debts declared to it. The Debtor Clearing Office will, in due course, inform the Creditor Clearing Office which debts are admitted and which debts are contested. In the latter case the Debtor Clearing Office will give the grounds for the nonadmission of debt.

6. When a debt has been admitted, in whole or in part, the Debtor Clearing Office will at once credit the Creditor Clearing Office with the amount admitted, and at the same time notify it of such credit.

7. The debt shall be deemed to be admitted in full and shall be credited forthwith to the Creditor Clearing Office unless within three months from the receipt of the notification or such longer time as may be agreed to by the Creditor Clearing Office notice has been given by the Debtor Clearing Office that it is not admitted.

8. When the whole or part of a debt is not admitted the two clearing offices will examine into the matter jointly, and will endeavor to bring the parties to an agreement.

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9. The Creditor Clearing Office will pay to the individual creditor the sums credited to it out of the funds placed at its disposal by the Government of its country and in accordance with the conditions fixed by the said Government, retaining any sums considered necessary to cover risks, expenses, or commissions.

10. Any person having claimed payment of an enemy debt which is not admitted in whole or in part shall pay to the clearing office by way of fine interest at 5 per cent. on the part not admitted. Any person having unduly refused to admit the whole or part of a debt claimed from him shall pay by way of fine interest at 5 per cent. on the amount with regard to which his refusal shall be disallowed.

Such interest shall run from the date of expiration of the period provided for in Paragraph 7 until the date on which the claim shall have been disallowed or the debt paid.

Each clearing office shall in so far as it is concerned take steps to collect the fines above provided for, and will be responsible if such fines cannot be collected.

The fines will be credited to the other clearing office, which shall retain them as a contribution toward the cost of carrying out the present provisions.

11. The balance between the clearing offices shall be struck monthly, and the credit balance paid in cash by the debtor State within a week.

Nevertheless, any credit balances which may be due by one or more of the Allied and Associated Powers shall be retained until complete payment shall have been effected of the sums due to the Allied or Associated Powers or their nationals on account of the war.

12. To facilitate discussion between the clearing offices each of them shall have a representative at the place where the other is established.

13. Except for special reasons all discussions in regard to claims will, so far as possible, take place at the Debtor Clearing Office.

14. In conformity with Article 296, Paragraph (b), the high contracting parties are responsible for the payment of the enemy debts owing by their nationals.

The Debtor Clearing Office will therefore credit the Creditor Clearing Office with all debts admitted, even in case of inability to collect them from the individual debtor. The Governments concerned will, nevertheless, invest their respective clearing offices with all necessary powers for the recovery of debts which have been admitted.

As an exception the admitted debts owing by persons having suffered injury from acts of war shall only be credited to the Creditor Clearing Office when the compensation due to the person concerned in respect of such injury shall have been paid.

15. Each Government will defray the expenses of the clearing office set up in its territory, including the salaries of the staff.

16. Where the two clearing offices are unable to agree whether a debt claimed is due, or in case of a difference between an enemy debtor and an enemy creditor, or between the clearing offices, the dispute shall either be referred to arbitration if the parties so agree under conditions fixed by agreement between them, or referred to the mixed arbitral tribunal provided for in Section VI. hereafter.

At the request of the Creditor Clearing Office the dispute may, however, be submitted to the jurisdiction of the courts of the place of domicile of the debtor.

17. Recovery of sums found by the mixed arbitral tribunal, the court, or the arbitration tribunal to be due shall be effected through the clearing offices as if these sums were debts admitted by the Debtor Clearing Office.

18. Each of the Governments concerned shall appoint an agent who will be responsible for the presentation to the mixed arbitral tribunal of the cases conducted on behalf of its clearing office. This agent will exercise a general control over the representatives or counsel employed by its nationals.

Decisions will be arrived at on documentary evidence, but it will be open to the tribunal to hear the parties in person, or, according to their preference, by their representatives approved by the two Governments, or by the agent referred to above, who shall be competent to intervene along with the party or to reopen and maintain a claim abandoned by the same.

19. The clearing offices concerned will lay before the mixed arbitral tribunal all the information and documents in their possession, so as to enable the tribunal to decide rapidly on the cases which are brought before it.

20. Where one of the parties concerned appeals against the joint decision of the two clearing offices he shall make a deposit against the costs, which deposit shall only be refunded when the first judgment is modified in favor of the appellant and in proportion to the success he may attain, his opponent in case of such a refund being required to pay an equivalent proportion of the costs and expenses. Security accepted by the tribunal may be substituted for a deposit.

A fee of 5 per cent. of the amount in dispute shall be charged in respect of all cases brought before the tribunal. This fee shall, unless the tribunal directs otherwise, be borne by the unsuccessful party. Such fee shall be added to the deposit referred to. It is also independent of the security.

The tribunal may award to one of the parties a sum in respect of the expenses of the proceedings.

Any sum payable under this paragraph shall be credited to the clearing office of the successful party as a separate item.

21. With a view to the rapid settlement of claims, due regard shall be paid in the appointment of all persons connected with the clearing offices or with the Mixed Arbitral

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Tribunal to their knowledge of the language of the other country concerned. Each of the clearing offices will be at liberty to correspond with the other, and to forward documents in its own language.

22. Subject to any special agreement to the contrary between the Governments concerned, debts shall carry interest in accordance with the following provisions:

Interest shall not be payable on sums of money due by way of dividend, interest, or other periodical payments which themselves represent interest on capital.

The rate of interest shall be 5 per cent. per annum except in cases where, by contract, law, or custom, the creditor is entitled to payment of interest at a different rate. In such cases the rate to which he is entitled shall prevail.

Interest shall run from the date of commencement of hostilities (or, if the sum of money to be recovered fell due during the war, from the date at which it fell due) until the sum is credited to the clearing office of the creditor.

Sums due by way of interest shall be treated as debts admitted by the clearing offices and shall be credited to the Creditor Clearing Office in the same way as such debts.

23. Where by decision of the clearing offices or the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal a claim is held not to fall within Article 296, the creditor shall be at liberty to prosecute the claim before the courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

The presentation of a claim to the clearing office suspends the operation of any period of prescription.

24. The high contracting parties agree to regard the decisions of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal as final and conclusive, and to render them binding upon their nationals.

25. In any case where a Creditor Clearing Office declines to notify a claim to the Debtor Clearing Office, or to take any step provided for in this annex, intended to make effective in whole or in part a request of which it has received due notice, the enemy creditor shall be entitled to receive from the clearing office a certificate setting out the amount of the claim, and shall then be entitled to prosecute the claim before the courts or to take such other proceedings as may be open to him.

SECTION IV.—*Property, Rights, and Interests*

ARTICLE 297.—The question of private property, rights, and interests in an enemy country, shall be settled according to the principles laid down in this section and to the provisions of the annex hereto:

(a) The exceptional war measures and measures of transfer (defined in paragraph 3 of the annex hereto) taken by Germany with respect to the property, rights, and interests of nationals of Allied or Associated

Powers, including companies and associations in which they are interested, when liquidation has not been completed, shall be immediately discontinued or stayed and the property, rights, and interests concerned restored to their owners, who shall enjoy full rights therein in accordance with the provisions of Article 298.

(b) Subject to any contrary stipulations which may be provided for in the present treaty, the Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to retain and liquidate all property, rights, and interests belonging at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty to German nationals, or companies controlled by them, within their territories, colonies, possessions, and protectorates including territories ceded to them by the present treaty.

The liquidation shall be carried out in accordance with the laws of the Allied or Associated State concerned, and the German owner shall not be able to dispose of such property, rights, or interests nor to subject them to any charge without the consent of that State.

German nationals who acquire *ipso facto* the nationality of an Allied or Associated Power in accordance with the provisions of the present treaty will not be considered as German nationals within the meaning of this paragraph.

(c) The price or the amount of compensation in respect of the exercise of the right referred to in the preceding paragraph (b) will be fixed in accordance with the methods of sale or valuation adopted by the laws of the country in which the property has been retained or liquidated.

(d) As between the Allied and Associated Powers or their nationals on the one hand and Germany or her nationals on the other hand, all the exceptional war measures, or measures of transfer, or acts done or to be done in execution of such measures as defined in Paragraphs 1 and 3 of the annex hereto shall be considered as final and binding upon all persons except as regards the reservations laid down in the present treaty.

(e) The nationals of Allied and Associated Powers shall be entitled to compensation in respect of damage or injury inflicted upon their property, rights, or interests, including any company or association in which they are interested, in German territory as it existed on Aug. 1, 1914, by the application either of the exceptional war measures or measures of transfer mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 3 of the annex hereto. The claims made in this respect by such nationals shall be investigated, and the total of the compensation shall be determined by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI. or by an arbitrator appointed by that tribunal. This compensation shall be borne by Germany, and may be charged upon the property of German nationals, within the territory or under the control of the claimant's State. This property may be con-

stituted as a pledge for enemy liabilities under the conditions fixed by Paragraph 4 of the annex hereto. The payment of this compensation may be made by the Allied or Associated State, and the amount will be debited to Germany.

(f) Whenever a national of an Allied or Associated Power is entitled to property which has been subjected to a measure of transfer in German territory and expresses a desire for its restitution, his claim for compensation in accordance with Paragraph (e) shall be satisfied by the restitution of the said property if it still exists in specie.

In such case Germany shall take all necessary steps to restore the evicted owner to the possession of his property, free from all incumbrances or burdens with which it may have been charged after the liquidation, and to indemnify all third parties injured by the restitution.

If the restitution provided for in this paragraph cannot be effected, private agreements arranged by the intermediation of the powers concerned or the clearing offices provided for in the Annex to Section III. may be made, in order to secure that the national of the Allied or Associated Power may secure compensation for the injury referred to in Paragraph (e) by the grant of advantages or equivalents which he agrees to accept in place of the property, rights or interests of which he was deprived.

Through restitution in accordance with this article, the price or the amount of compensation fixed by the application of Paragraph (e) will be reduced by the actual value of the property restored, account being taken of compensation in respect of loss of use or deterioration.

(g) The rights conferred by Paragraph (f) are reserved to owners who are nationals of Allied or Associated Powers within whose territory legislative measures prescribing the general liquidation of enemy property, rights or interests were not applied before the signature of the armistice.

(h) Except in cases where, by application of Paragraph (f), restitutions in specie have been made, the net proceeds of sales of enemy property, rights or interests wherever situated carried out either by virtue of war legislation, or by application of this article, and in general all cash assets of enemies, shall be dealt with as follows:

(1) As regards powers adopting Section III. and the annex thereto, the said proceeds and cash assets shall be credited to the power of which the owner is a national, through the clearing office established thereunder; any credit balance in favor of Germany resulting therefrom shall be dealt with as provided in Article 243.

(2) As regards powers not adopting Section III. and the annex thereto, the proceeds of the property, rights and interests, and the cash assets, of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers held by Germany shall be paid immediately to the person entitled

thereto or to his Government; the proceeds of the property, rights and interests, and the cash assets, of German nationals received by an Allied or Associated Power shall be subject to disposal by such power in accordance with its laws and regulations and may be applied in payment of the claims and debts defined by this article or Paragraph 4 of the annex hereto. Any property, rights and interests or proceeds thereof or cash assets not used as above provided may be retained by the said Allied or Associated Power and if retained the cash value thereof shall be dealt with as provided in Article 243.

In the case of liquidations effected in new States, which are signatories of the present treaty as Allied and Associated Powers, or in States which are not entitled to share in the reparation payments to be made by Germany, the proceeds of liquidations effected by such States shall, subject to the rights of the Reparation Commission under the present treaty, particularly under Articles 235 and 260, be paid direct to the owner. If on the application of that owner, the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, provided for by Section VI. of this part or an arbitrator appointed by that tribunal, is satisfied that the conditions of the sale or measures taken by the Government of the State in question outside its general legislation were unfairly prejudicial to the price obtained, they shall have discretion to award to the owner equitable compensation to be paid by that State.

(i) Germany undertakes to compensate its nationals in respect of the sale or retention of their property, rights or interests in Allied or Associated States.

(j) The amount of all taxes and imposts upon capital levied or to be levied by Germany on the property, rights, and interests of the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers from the 11th of November, 1918, until three months from the coming into force of the present treaty, or, in the case of property, rights or interests which have been subjected to exceptional measures of war, until restitution in accordance with the present treaty, shall be restored to the owners.

ARTICLE 298.—Germany undertakes, with regard to the property, rights and interests, including companies and associations in which they were interested, restored to nationals of Allied and Associated Powers in accordance with the provisions of Article 297, Paragraph (a) or (f):

(a) to restore and maintain, except as expressly provided in the present treaty, the property, rights, and interests of the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers in the legal position obtaining in respect of the property, rights, and interests of German nationals under the laws in force before the war.

(b) not to subject the property, rights, or interests of the nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers to any measures in derogation of property rights which are not applied equally to the property, rights, and interests

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of German nationals, and to pay adequate compensation in the event of the application of these measures.

ANNEX

1. In accordance with the provisions of Article 297, Paragraph (d), the validity of vesting orders and of orders for the winding up of businesses or companies, and of any other orders, directions, decisions, or instructions of any court or any department of the Government of any of the high contracting parties made or given, or purporting to be made or given, in pursuance of war legislation with regard to enemy property, rights, and interests is confirmed. The interests of all persons shall be regarded as having been effectively dealt with by any order, direction, decision, or instruction dealing with property in which they may be interested, whether or not such interests are specifically mentioned in the order, direction, decision, or instruction. No question shall be raised as to the regularity of a transfer of any property, rights, or interests dealt with in pursuance of any such order, direction, decision, or instruction. Every action taken with regard to any property, business, or company, whether as regards its investigation, sequestration, compulsory administration, use, requisition, supervision, or winding up, the sale or management of property, rights, or interests, the collection or discharge of debts, the payment of costs, charges or expenses, or any other matter whatsoever, in pursuance of orders, directions, decisions, or instructions of any court or of any department of the Government of any of the high contracting parties, made or given, or purporting to be made or given, in pursuance of war legislation with regard to enemy property, rights, or interests, is confirmed. Provided that the provisions of this paragraph shall not be held to prejudice the titles to property heretofore acquired in good faith and for value and in accordance with the laws of the country in which the property is situated by nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers.

The provisions of this paragraph do not apply to such of the above-mentioned measures as have been taken by the German authorities in invaded or occupied territory, nor to such of the above mentioned measures as have been taken by Germany or the German authorities since Nov. 11, 1918, all of which shall be void.

2. No claim or action shall be made or brought against any Allied or Associated Power or against any person acting on behalf of or under the direction of any legal authority or department of the Government of such a power by Germany or by any German national wherever resident in respect of any act or omission with regard to his property, rights, or interests during the war or in preparation for the war. Similarly no claim or action shall be made or brought against any person in respect of any act or

omission under or in accordance with the exceptional war measures, laws, or regulations of any Allied or Associated Power.

3. In Article 297 and this Annex the expression "exceptional war measures" includes measures of all kinds, legislative, administrative, judicial, or others, that have been taken or will be taken hereafter with regard to enemy property, and which have had or will have the effect of removing from the proprietors the power of disposition over their property, though without affecting the ownership, such as measures of supervision, of compulsory administration, and of sequestration; or measures which have had or will have as an object the seizure of, the use of, or the interference with enemy assets, for whatsoever motive, under whatsoever form or in whatsoever place. Acts in the execution of these measures include all detentions, instructions, orders or decrees of Government departments or courts applying these measures to enemy property, as well as acts performed by any person connected with the administration or the supervision of enemy property, such as the payment of debts, the collecting of credits, the payment of any costs, charges, or expenses, or the collecting of fees.

Measures of transfer are those which have affected or will affect the ownership of enemy property by transferring it in whole or in part to a person other than the enemy owner, and without his consent, such as measures directing the sale, liquidation, or devolution of ownership in enemy property, or the cancelling of titles or securities.

4. All property, rights, and interests of German nationals within the territory of any Allied or Associated Power and the net proceeds of their sale, liquidation or other dealing therewith may be charged by that Allied or Associated Power in the first place with payment of amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of that Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights, and interests, including companies and associations in which they are interested in German territory, or debts owing to them by German nationals, and with payment of claims growing out of acts committed by the German Government or by any German authorities since July 31, 1914, and before that Allied or Associated Power entered into the war. The amount of such claims may be assessed by an arbitrator appointed by Gustave Ador, if he is willing, or if no such appointment is made by him by an arbitrator appointed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI. They may be charged in the second place with payment of the amounts due in respect of claims by the nationals of such Allied or Associated Power with regard to their property, rights, and interests in the territory of other enemy powers, or debts owing to them by nationals of such powers in so far as those claims or debts are otherwise unsatisfied.

5. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 297, where immediately before the outbreak of war a company incorporated in an Allied or Associated State had rights in common with a company controlled by it and incorporated in Germany to the use of trade-marks in third countries, or enjoyed the use in common with such company of unique means of reproduction of goods or articles for sale in third countries, the former company shall alone have the right to use these trade-marks in third countries to the exclusion of the German company, and these unique means of reproduction shall be handed over to the former company, notwithstanding any action taken under German war legislation with regard to the latter company or its business, industrial property or shares. Nevertheless, the former company, if requested, shall deliver to the latter company



Appendix (D)

Terms of the Rhineland Occupation

Powers of the High Commission

WHEN the Council of Four handed the final version of the Peace Treaty to the German delegation at Versailles on June 16, 1919, they also presented the text of an agreement defining the terms under which the allied armies would occupy the Rhine Provinces during the fifteen years that would elapse before the final indemnity payment. This document was in the nature of a detailed elaboration of Articles 428-432 of the Peace Treaty; it was signed by the Germans on June 28 and ratified on July 9 at the same time as the main document. The text is as follows:

Agreement between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, and France of the one part, and Germany of the other part, with regard to the military occupation of the territories of the Rhine.

The undersigned, acting under the powers conferred upon them by their respective Governments, have come to the following agreement as provided for in Article 432 of the Treaty of Peace of even date:

ARTICLE 1.—In accordance with Article 428 and the following articles of the treaty of even date, the armed forces of the allied and associated powers will continue in occupation of German territory (as such occupation is defined by Article 5 of the armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, as extended by Article 7 of the additional convention of January 16, 1919) as a guarantee of the execution by Germany of the treaty. No German troops, except prisoners of war in process of repatriation, shall be admitted to the occupied territories, even in transit, but police forces of a strength to be determined by the allied and associated powers may be maintained in these territories for the purpose of insuring order.

ARTICLE 2.—There shall be constituted a civilian body, styled the Interallied Rhineland High Commission and hereinafter called "The High Commission," which, except in so far as the treaty may otherwise provide, shall be the supreme representative of the allied and associated powers within the occupied territory. It shall consist of four members, representing Belgium, France, Great Britain, and the United States.

GERMAN COURTS TO SIT

ARTICLE 3.—(a) The High Commission shall have the power to issue ordinances so far as may be necessary for securing the maintenance, safety, and requirements of the allied and associated forces. Such ordinances shall be published under the authority of the

High Commission, and copies thereof shall be sent to each of the allied and associated Governments and also to the German Government. When so published they shall have the force of law and shall be recognized as such by all the allied military authorities and by the German civil authorities.

(b) The members of the High Commission shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

(c) The German courts shall continue to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction, subject to the exceptions contained in Paragraphs (d) and (e) below.

(d) The armed forces of the allied and associated powers and the persons accompanying them, to whom the general officers commanding the armies of occupation shall have issued a revokable pass, and any persons employed by or in the service of such troops, shall be exclusively subject to the military law and jurisdiction of such forces.

(e) Any person who commits any offense against the persons or property of the armed forces of allied and associated powers may be made amenable to the military jurisdiction of the said forces.

RIGHT OF ARREST

ARTICLE 4.—The German authorities, both in the occupied and in the unoccupied territories, shall, on the demand of any duly authorized military officer of the occupying forces, arrest and hand over to the nearest commander of the allied or associated troops any person charged with an offense which is amenable under Paragraph (d) or Paragraph (e) of Article 3, above, to the military jurisdiction of the allied or associated forces.

ARTICLE 5.—The civil administration of the provinces (provinzen), Government departments (regierungsbezirke), urban circles (stadtkreise), rural circles (landkreise), and communes (gemeinde) shall remain in the hands of the German authorities and the civil administration of these areas shall continue under German law and under the authority of the Central German Government, except in so far as it may be necessary for the High Commission, by ordinance under Article 3, to adapt that administration to the needs and circumstances of military occupation. It is understood that the German authorities shall be obliged, under penalty of removal, to conform to the ordinances issued in virtue of Article 3, above.

RIGHT TO REQUISITION

ARTICLE 6.—The right to requisition in kind and to demand services in the manner laid down in The Hague Convention of 1907 shall be exercised by the allied and associated armies of occupation. The charges for the requisitions effected in the zone of each

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COMMUNICATIONS

ARTICLE 10.—The personnel employed on all means of communication (railways, railroads, and tramways of all kinds, waterways—including the Rhine—roads and rivers) shall obey any orders given by or on behalf of the Commander in Chief of the allied and associated armies for military purposes. All the material and all the civil personnel necessary for the maintenance and working of all means of communication must be kept intact on all such means of communication in the occupied territory. The transport on the railways of allied troops or individual soldiers or officers on duty or furnished with a warrant will be effected without payment.

ARTICLE 11.—The armies of occupation may continue to use for military purposes all existing telegraphic and telephonic installations. The armies of occupation shall also have the right to continue to install and use military telegraph and telephone lines, wireless stations, and all other similar means of communication which may appear to them expedient for this purpose. Subject to the approval of the High Commission, they may enter upon and occupy any land, whether



TERMS OF THE RHINELAND OCCUPATION

essary, to declare a state of siege in any part of the territory or in the whole of it. Upon such declaration the military authorities shall have the powers provided in the German imperial law of May 30, 1892. In case of emergency, where public order is disturbed or

threatened in any district, the local military authorities shall have the power to take such temporary measures as may be necessary for restoring order. In such case the military authorities shall report the facts to the High Commission.

Protocol to the German Peace Treaty

A BRIEF protocol to the German Peace Treaty was signed and ratified by Germany on the same date as the treaty itself. When President Wilson sent this supplementary document to the United States Senate on Aug. 1 it was accompanied by a letter from Secretary Lansing and by a brief message, in which the President gave this explanation of its origin:

The protocol originated in a written interchange of views between the representatives of the allied and associated powers and the representatives of Germany, as a result of which the representatives of Germany requested that certain explanations of methods and facilities, which it was proposed should be accorded the German Government in the execution of the treaty, should be reduced to writing and signed by the powers signatory to the treaty so as to form a definite and binding memorandum.

The text of the protocol, which was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, is as follows:

With a view to indicating precisely the conditions in which certain provisions of the treaty of even date are to be carried out, it is agreed by the high contracting parties that:

1. A commission will be appointed by the principal allied and associated powers to supervise the destruction of the fortifications of Heligoland, in accordance with the treaty. This commission will be authorized to decide what portion of the works protecting the coast from sea ero-

sion is to be maintained and what portion must be destroyed.

2. Sums reimbursed by Germany to German nationals to indemnify them in respect of the interests which they may be found to possess in the railways and mines referred to in the second paragraph of Article 156 shall be credited to Germany against the sums due by way of reparation. [The paragraph referred to relates to the Tsing-Tao-Tsinanfu Railway and mines in China acquired by Japan under the Peace Treaty.]

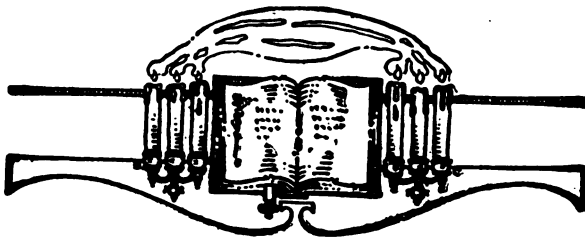
3. The list of persons to be handed over to the allied and associated Governments by Germany under the second paragraph of Article 228 shall be communicated to the German Government within a month from the coming into force of the treaty.

4. The reparation commission referred to in Article 240 and paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of Annex 4 cannot require trade secrets or other confidential information to be divulged.

5. From the signature of the treaty and within the ensuing four months Germany will be entitled to submit for examination by the allied and associated powers documents and proposals in order to expedite the work connected with reparation, and thus to shorten the investigation and accelerate the decisions.

6. Proceedings will be taken against persons who have committed punishable offenses in the liquidation of German property, and the allied and associated powers will welcome any information which the German Government can furnish on this subject.

Done at Versailles the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.



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don, or limitation of right of action, whether they began to run before or after the outbreak of war, shall be treated in the territory of the High Contracting Parties, so far as regards relations between enemies, as having been suspended for the duration of the war. They shall begin to run again at earliest three months after the coming into force of the present Treaty. This provision shall apply to the period prescribed for the presentation of interest or dividend coupons or for the presentation for repayment of securities drawn for repayment or repayable on any other ground.

(b) Where, on account of failure to perform any act or comply with any formality during the war, measures of execution have been taken in German territory to the prejudice of a national of an Allied or Associated Power, the claim of such national shall, if the matter does not fall within the competence of the courts of an Allied or Associated Power, be heard by the mixed arbitral tribunal provided for by Section VI.

(c) Upon the application of any interested person who is a national of an Allied or Associated Power, the mixed arbitral tribunal shall order the restoration of the rights which have been prejudiced by the measures of execution referred to in paragraph (b), wherever, having regard to the particular circumstances of the case, such restoration is equitable and possible.

If such restoration is inequitable or impossible the mixed arbitral tribunal may grant compensation to the prejudiced party to be paid by the German Government.

(d) Where a contract between enemies has been dissolved by reason either of failure on the part of either party to carry out its provisions or of the exercise of a right stipulated in the contract itself the party prejudiced may apply to the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal for relief. The tribunal will have the powers provided for in paragraph (c).

(e) The provisions of the preceding paragraphs of this article shall apply to the nationals of Allied and Associated Powers who have been prejudiced by reason of measures referred to above taken by Germany in invaded or occupied territory, if they have not been otherwise compensated.

(f) Germany shall compensate any third party who may be prejudiced by any restitution or restoration ordered by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal under the provisions of the preceding paragraphs of this Article.

(g) As regards negotiable instruments, the period of three months provided under paragraph (a) shall commence as from the date on which any exceptional regulations applied in the territories of the interested power with regard to negotiable instruments shall have definitely ceased to have force.

ARTICLE 301.—As between enemies nonnegotiable instrument made before the war shall be deemed to have become invalid by reason only of failure within the required time to present the instrument for acceptance or payment or to give notice of non-acceptance or non-payment to drawers or indorsers or to protest the instrument, nor by reason of failure to complete any formality during the war.

Where the period within which a negotiable instrument should have been presented for acceptance or for payment, or within which notice of non-acceptance or non-payment should have been given to the drawer or indorser, or within which the instrument should have been protested, has elapsed during the war, and the party who should have presented or protested the instrument or have given notice of non-acceptance or non-payment has failed to do so during the war, a period of not less than three months from the coming into force of the present treaty shall be allowed within which presentation,

notice of non-acceptance or non-payment or protest may be made.

ARTICLE 302.—Judgments given by the courts of an Allied or Associated Power in all cases which, under the present treaty, they are competent to decide, shall be recognized in Germany as final, and shall be enforced without it being necessary to have them declared executory.

If a judgment in respect of any dispute which may have arisen has been given during the war by a German court against a national of an Allied or Associated State in a case in which he was not able to make his defense, the allied and associated national who has suffered prejudice thereby shall be entitled to recover compensation, to be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal provided for in Section VI.

At the instance of the national of the Allied or Associated Power the compensation above mentioned may, upon order to that effect of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, be effected where it is possible by replacing the parties in the situation which they occupied before the judgment was given by the German court.

The above compensation may likewise be obtained before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal by the nationals of Allied or Associated Powers who have suffered prejudice by judicial measures taken in invaded or occupied territories, if they have not been otherwise compensated.

ARTICLE 303.—For the purpose of Sections III., IV., V., and VII., the expression "during the war" means for each Allied or Associated Power the period between the commencement of the state of war between that power and Germany and the coming into force of the present treaty.

ANNEX

I. General Provisions

1. Within the meaning of Articles 299, 300 and 301, the parties to a contract shall be regarded as enemies when trading between them shall have been prohibited by or otherwise became unlawful under laws, orders or regulations to which one of those parties was subject. They shall be deemed to have become enemies from the date when such trading was prohibited or otherwise became unlawful.

2. The following classes of contracts are excepted from dissolution by Article 299 and, without prejudice to the rights contained in article 297 (b) of Section IV., remain in force subject to the application of domestic laws, orders or regulations made during the war by the Allied and Associated Powers and subject to the terms of the contracts:

(a) Contracts having for their object the transfer of estates or of real or personal property where the property therein had passed or the object had been delivered before the parties became enemies;

(b) Leases and agreements for leases of land and houses;

(c) Contracts of mortgage, pledge, or lien;

(d) Concessions concerning mines, quarries or deposits;

(e) Contracts between individuals or companies and States, provinces, municipalities, or other similar juridical persons charged with administrative functions, and concessions granted by States, provinces, municipalities, or other similar juridical persons charged with administrative functions.

3. If the provisions of a contract are in part dissolved under Article 299, the remaining provisions of that contract shall, subject to the same application of domestic laws as is provided for in Paragraph 2, continue in force if they are severable, but where they are not severable the contract shall be deemed to have been dissolved in its entirety.

II. Provisions Relating to Certain Classes of Contracts

Stock Exchange and Commercial Exchange Contracts

4. (a) Rules made during the war by any recognized exchange or commercial association providing for the closure of contracts entered into before the war by an enemy are confirmed by the high contracting parties, as also any action taken thereunder, provided:—

(i.) That the contract was expressed to be made subject to the rules of the exchange or association in question;

(ii.) That the rules applied to all persons concerned;

(iii.) That the conditions attaching to the closure were fair and reasonable.

(b) The preceding paragraph shall not apply to rules made during the occupation by exchange or commercial associations in the districts occupied by the enemy.

(c) The closure of contracts relating to cotton "futures", which were closed as on the 31st July, 1914, under the decision of the Liverpool Cotton Association, is also confirmed.

Security

(5) The sale of a security held for an unpaid debt owing by an enemy shall be deemed to have been valid irrespective of notice to the owner if the creditor acted in good faith and with reasonable care and prudence, and no claim by the debtor on the ground of such sale shall be admitted.

This stipulation shall not apply to any sale of securities effected by an enemy during the occupation in regions invaded or occupied by the enemy.

Negotiable Instruments

6. As regards powers which adopt Section III. and the Annex thereto the pecuniary obligations existing between enemies and resulting from the issue of negotiable instruments shall be adjusted in conformity with the said Annex by the instrumentality of the Clearing Offices, which shall assume the rights of the holder as regards the various remedies open to him.

7. If a person has either before or during the war become liable upon a negotiable instrument in accordance with an undertaking given to him by a person who has subsequently become an enemy the latter shall remain liable to indemnify the former in respect of his liability, notwithstanding the outbreak of war.

III. Contracts of Insurance

8. Contracts of insurance entered into by any person with another person who subsequently became an enemy will be dealt with in accordance with the following paragraphs:

Fire Insurance

9. Contracts for the insurance of property against fire entered into by a person interested in such property with another person who subsequently became an enemy shall not be deemed to have been dissolved by the outbreak of war, or by the fact of the person becoming an enemy, or on account of the failure during the war and for a period of three months thereafter to perform his obligations under the contract, but they shall be dissolved at the date when the annual premium becomes payable for the first time after the expiration of a period of three months after the coming into force of the present treaty.

A settlement shall be effected of unpaid premiums which became due during the war, or of claims for losses which occurred during the war.

10. Where by administrative or legislative action an insurance against fire effected

before the war has been transferred during the war from the original to another insurer, the transfer will be recognized and the liability of the original insurer will be deemed to have ceased as from the date of the transfer. The original insurer will, however, be entitled to receive on demand full information as to the terms of the transfer, and if it should appear that these terms were not equitable they shall be amended so far as may be necessary to render them equitable.

Furthermore, the insured shall, subject to the concurrence of the original insurer, be entitled to retransfer the contract to the original insurer as from the date of the demand.

Life Insurance

11. Contracts of life insurance entered into between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy shall not be deemed to have been dissolved by the outbreak of war, or by the fact of the person becoming an enemy.

Any sum which during the war became due upon a contract deemed not to have been dissolved under the preceding provision shall be recoverable after the war with the addition of interest at five per cent per annum from the date of its becoming due up to the day of payment.

Where the contract has lapsed during the war owing to non-payment of premiums, or has become void from breach of the conditions of the contract, the assured or his representatives or the persons entitled shall have the right at any time within twelve months of the coming into force of the present treaty to claim from the insurer the surrender value of the policy at the date of its lapse or avoidance.

Where the contract has lapsed during the war owing to non-payment of premiums the payment of which has been prevented by the enforcement of measures of war, the assured or his representative or the persons entitled shall have the right to restore the contract on payment of the premiums with interest at five per cent. per annum within three months from the coming into effect of the present treaty.

12. Any Allied or Associated Power may within three months of the coming into force of the present treaty cancel all the contracts of insurance running between a German insurance company and its nationals under conditions which shall protect its nationals from any prejudice.

To this end the German insurance company will hand over to the allied or associated Government concerned, the proportion of its assets attributable to the policies so canceled and will be relieved from all liability in respect of such policies. The assets to be handed over shall be determined by an actuary appointed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal.

13. Where contracts of life insurance have been entered into by a local branch of an insurance company established in a country which subsequently became an enemy country, the contract shall, in the absence of any stipulation to the contrary in the contract itself, be governed by the local law, but the insurer shall be entitled to demand from the insured or his representatives the refund of sums paid on claims made or enforced under measures taken during the war, if the making or enforcement of such claims was not in accordance with the terms of the contract itself or was not consistent with the laws or treaties existing at the time when it was entered into.

14. In any case where by the law applicable to the contract the insurer remains bound by the contract notwithstanding the non-payment of premiums until notice is given to the insured of the termination of the contract, he shall be entitled where the giving of such notice was prevented by the

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war to recover the unpaid premiums with interest at five per cent. per annum from the insured.

15. Insurance contracts shall be considered as contracts of life assurance for the purpose of Paragraphs 11 to 14 when they depend on the probabilities of human life combined with the rate of interest for the calculation of the reciprocal engagements between the two parties.

Marine Insurance

16. Contracts of marine insurance including time policies and voyage policies entered into between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy, shall be deemed to have been dissolved on his becoming an enemy, except in cases where the risk undertaken in the contract had attached before he became an enemy.

Where the risk had not attached, money paid by way of premium or otherwise shall be recoverable from the insurer.

Where the risk had attached, effect shall be given to the contract notwithstanding the party becoming an enemy, and sums due under the contract either by way of premiums or in respect of losses shall be recoverable after the coming into force of the present treaty.

In the event of any agreement being come to for the payment of interest on sums due before the war to or by the nationals of States which have been at war and recovered after the war, such interest shall in the case of losses recoverable under contracts of marine insurance run from the expiration of a period of one year from the date of the loss.

17. No contract of marine insurance with an insured person who subsequently became an enemy shall be deemed to cover losses due to belligerent action by the power of which the insurer was a national or by the allies or associates of such power.

18. Where it is shown that a person who had before the war entered into a contract of marine insurance with an insurer who subsequently became an enemy entered after the outbreak of war into a new contract covering the same risk with an insurer who was not an enemy, the new contract shall be deemed to be substituted for the original contract as from the date when it was entered into, and the premiums payable shall be adjusted on the basis of the original insurer having remained liable on the contract only up till the time when the new contract was entered into.

Other Insurances

19. Contracts of insurance entered into before the war between an insurer and a person who subsequently became an enemy other than contracts dealt with in Paragraphs 9 to 18 shall be treated in all respects on the same footing as contracts of fire insurance between the same persons would be dealt with under the said paragraphs.

Re-insurance

20. All treaties of re-insurance with a person who became an enemy shall be regarded as having been abrogated by the person becoming an enemy, but without prejudice in the case of life or marine risks which had attached before the war to the right to recover payment after the war for sums due in respect of such risks.

Nevertheless, if, owing to invasion, it has been impossible for the re-insured to find another re-insurer, the treaty shall remain in force until three months after the coming into force of the present treaty.

Where a re-insurance treaty becomes void under this paragraph, there shall be an adjustment of accounts between the parties in respect of both of premiums paid and payable and of liabilities for losses in respect of life or marine risks which had attached before the war. In the case of risks other than those mentioned in Paragraphs 11 to 18 the adjustment of accounts shall be made as at

the date of the parties becoming enemies without regard to claims for losses which may have occurred since that date.

21. The provisions of the preceding paragraph will extend equally to re-insurances existing at the date of the parties becoming enemies of particular risks undertaken by the insurer in a contract of insurance against any risks other than life or marine risks.

22. Re-insurance of life risks effected by particular contracts and not under any general treaty remain in force.

The provisions of paragraph 12 apply to treaties of re-insurance of life insurance contracts in which enemy companies are the re-insurers.

23. In case of a re-insurance effected before the war of a contract of marine insurance the cession of a risk which had been ceded to the re-insurer shall, if it had attached before the outbreak of war, remain valid and effect be given to the contract notwithstanding the outbreak of war; sums due under the contract of re-insurance in respect either of premiums or of losses shall be recoverable after the war.

24. The provisions of paragraphs 17 and 18 and the last part of paragraph 16 shall apply to contracts for the re-insurance of marine risks.

SECTION VI.—Mixed Arbitral Tribunal

ARTICLE 304.—(a) Within three months from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, a Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall be established between each of the Allied and Associated Powers on the one hand and Germany on the other hand. Each such tribunal shall consist of three members. Each of the Governments concerned shall appoint one of these members. The President shall be chosen by agreement between the two Governments concerned.

In case of failure to reach agreement, the President of the tribunal and two other persons either of whom may in case of need take his place, shall be chosen by the Council of the League of Nations, or, until this is set up, by M. Gustave Ador if he is willing. These persons shall be nationals of Powers that have remained neutral during the war.

If any Government does not proceed within a period of one month in case there is a vacancy to appoint a member of the tribunal, such member shall be chosen by the other Government from the two persons mentioned above other than the President.

The decision of the majority of the members of the tribunal shall be the decision of the tribunal.

(b) The Mixed Arbitral Tribunals established pursuant to paragraph (a) shall decide all questions within their competence under Sections III., IV., V., and VII.

In addition, all questions, whatsoever their nature, relating to contracts concluded before the coming into force of the present treaty between nationals of the Allied and Associated Powers and German nationals shall be decided by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, always excepting questions which, under the laws of the Allied, Associated or neutral powers, are within the jurisdiction of the national courts of those powers. Such questions shall be decided by the national courts in question, to the exclusion of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal. The party who is a national of an Allied or Associated Power may nevertheless bring the case before the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal if this is not prohibited by the laws of his country.

(c) If the number of cases justifies it, additional members shall be appointed and each Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall sit in divisions. Each of these divisions will be constituted as above.

(d) Each Mixed Arbitral Tribunal will set-



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that the lives, property, honor, religion, and customs of the inhabitants should be respected and all their rights protected. He continued:

The situation with which the powers have now to deal is new, and experience has shown that new provisions are necessary. The territories now being transferred both to Poland and to other States inevitably include a large population speaking languages and belonging to races different from that of the people with whom they will be incorporated. Unfortunately, the races have been estranged by long years of bitter hostilities. It is believed that these populations will be more easily reconciled to their new position if they know that from the very beginning they have assured protection and adequate guarantees against any danger of unjust treatment or oppression. The very knowledge that these guarantees exist will, it is hoped, materially help the reconciliation which all desire, and will, indeed, do much to prevent the necessity of its enforcement.

Five.—To turn to the individual clauses of the present treaty, Article 2 guarantees to all inhabitants those elementary rights which are, as a matter of fact, secured in every civilized State. Clauses 3 to 6 are designed to insure that all the genuine residents in the territories now transferred to Polish sovereignty shall in fact be assured of the full privileges of citizenship. Articles 7 and 8, which are in accordance with precedent, provide against any discrimination against those Polish citizens who by their religion, their language, or by their race differ from the large mass of the Polish population. It is understood that, far from raising any objection to the manner of the articles, the Polish Government have already, of their own accord, declared their firm intention of basing their institutions on the cardinal principles enunciated therein.

PROTECTION FOR JEWS

The following articles are of a rather different nature, in that they provide special privileges to certain groups of these minorities: * * *

Six.—Clauses 10 and 12 deal specifically with the Jewish citizens of Poland. The information at the disposal of the principal allied and associated powers as to the existing relations between the Jews and the other Polish citizens has led them to the conclusion that, in view of the historical development of the Jewish question and the great animosity aroused by it, special protection is necessary for the Jews of Poland. These clauses have been limited to the minimum

which seems necessary under the circumstances of the present day, viz., the maintenance of Jewish schools and the protection of the Jews in the religious observance of their Sabbath.

It is believed that these stipulations will not create any obstacle to the political unity of Poland. They do not constitute any recognition of the Jews as a separate political community within the Polish State. The educational provisions contain nothing beyond what is in fact provided in the educational institutions of many highly organized modern States. There is nothing inconsistent with the sovereignty of the State in recognizing and supporting schools in which children shall be brought up in the religious influences to which they are accustomed in their home. Ample safeguards against any use of non-Polish language to encourage a spirit of national separation have been provided in the express acknowledgment that the provisions of this treaty do not prevent the Polish State from making the Polish language obligatory in all its schools and educational institutions.

In Part 7 of his letter Premier Clemenceau dealt with the economic clauses of the treaty, such as freedom of transit and Poland's adhesion to certain international conventions, and pointed out that the powers had not been actuated by any desire to secure special commercial advantages for themselves. He added:

In conclusion, I desire to express to you on behalf of the allied and associated powers the very sincere satisfaction which they feel at the re-establishment of Poland as an important State. They cordially welcome the Polish Nation on its re-entry into the family of nations. They recall the great services which the ancient Kingdom of Poland rendered to Europe both in public affairs and by its contributions to the progress of mankind, which is the common work of all civilized nations. They believe that the voice of Poland will add to the wisdom of their common deliberations in the cause of peace and harmony, that its influence will be used to further the spirit of liberty and justice, both in internal and external affairs, and that thereby it will help in the work of reconciliation between the nations which, with the conclusion of peace, will be the common task of humanity.

The text of the treaty itself, signed by Poland and the allied and associated powers on June 28, 1919, is given in full on the next four pages.

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reserves the right to treat as void and of no effect any transfer in whole or in part of or other dealing with rights of or in respect of industrial, literary or artistic property effected after Aug. 1, 1914, or in the future, which would have the result of defeating the objects of the provisions of this article.

The provisions of this article shall not apply to rights in industrial, literary or artistic property which have been dealt with in the liquidation of businesses or companies under war legislation by the Allied or Associated Powers, or which may be so dealt with by virtue of Article 297, paragraph (b).

ARTICLE 307.—A minimum of one year after the coming into force of the present treaty shall be accorded to the nationals of the high contracting parties, without extension fees or other penalty, in order to enable such persons to accomplish any act, fulfill any formality, pay any fees, and generally satisfy any obligation prescribed by the laws or regulations of the respective States relating to the obtaining, preserving, or opposing rights to, or in respect of, industrial property either acquired before the 1st of August, 1914, or which, except for the war, might have been acquired since that date as a result of an application made before the war or during its continuance, but nothing in this article shall give any right to reopen interference proceedings in the United States of America where a final hearing has taken place.

All rights in, or in respect of, such property which may have lapsed by reason of any failure to accomplish any act, fulfill any formality, or make any payment, shall revive, but subject in the case of patents and designs to the imposition of such conditions as each Allied or Associated Power may deem reasonably necessary for the protection of persons who have manufactured or made use of the subject matter of such property while the rights had lapsed. Further, where rights to patents or designs belonging to German nationals are revived under this article, they shall be subject in respect of the grant of licenses to the same provisions as would have been applicable to them during the war, as well as to all the provisions of the present treaty.

The period from the 1st August, 1914, until the coming into force of the present treaty shall be excluded in considering the time within which a patent should be worked or a trade mark or design used, and it is further agreed that no patent, registered trade mark or design in force on the 1st of August, 1914, shall be subject to revocation or cancellation by reason only of the failure to work such patent or use such trade mark or design for two years after the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 308.—The rights of priority, provided by Article IV of the International Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property of Paris, of the 20th March, 1883, revised at Washington in 1911, or by any other convention or statute, for the filing or registration of applications for patents or models of utility, and for the registration of trade marks, designs, and models which had not expired on the 1st August, 1914, and those which have arisen during the war, or would have arisen but for the war, shall be extended by each of the high contracting parties in favor of all nationals of the other high contracting parties for a period of six months after the coming into force of the present treaty.

Nevertheless, such extension shall in no way affect the right of any of the high contracting parties or of any person who before the coming into force of the present treaty was *bona fide* in possession of any rights of industrial property conflicting with rights applied for by another who claims rights of priority in respect of them, to exercise such rights by itself or himself per-

sonally, or by such agents or licensees as derived their rights from it or him before the coming into force of the present treaty; and such persons shall not be amenable to any action or other process of law in respect of infringement.

ARTICLE 309.—No action shall be brought and no claim made by persons residing or carrying on business within the territories of Germany on the one part and of the Allied or Associated Powers on the other, or persons who are nationals of such powers, respectively, or by any one deriving title during the war from such persons, by reason of any action which has taken place within the territory of the other party between the date of the declaration of war and that of the coming into force of the present treaty, which might constitute an infringement of the rights of industrial property or rights of literary and artistic property, either existing at any time during the war or revived under the provisions of Articles 307 and 308.

Equally, no action for infringement of industrial, literary or artistic property rights by such persons shall at any time be permissible in respect of the sale or offering for sale for a period of one year after the signature of the present treaty in the territories of the Allied or Associated Powers on the one hand or Germany on the other, of products or articles manufactured, or of literary or artistic works published, during the period between the declaration of war and the signature of the present treaty, or against those who have acquired and continue to use them. It is understood, nevertheless, that this provision shall not apply when the possessor of the rights was domiciled or had an industrial or commercial establishment in the districts occupied by Germany during the war.

This article shall not apply as between the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other.

ARTICLE 310.—Licenses in respect of industrial, literary, or artistic property concluded before the war between nationals of the Allied or Associated Powers or persons residing in their territory or carrying on business therein, on the one part, and German nationals, on the other part, shall be considered as canceled as from the date of the declaration of war between Germany and the Allied or Associated Powers. But, in any case, the former beneficiary of a contract of this kind shall have the right, within a period of six months after the coming into force of the present treaty, to demand from the proprietor of the rights the grant of a new license, the conditions of which, in default of agreement between the parties, shall be fixed by the duly qualified tribunal in the country under whose legislation the rights had been acquired, except in the case of licenses held in respect of rights acquired under German law. In such cases the conditions shall be fixed by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal referred to in Section VI. of this Part. The tribunal may, if necessary, fix also the amount which it may deem just should be paid by reason of the use of the rights during the war.

No license in respect of industrial, literary, or artistic property, granted under the special war legislation of any Allied or Associated Power, shall be affected by the continued existence of any license entered into before the war, but shall remain valid and of full effect, and a license so granted to the former beneficiary of a license entered into before the war shall be considered as substituted for such license.

Where sums have been paid during the war by virtue of a license or agreement concluded before the war in respect of rights of industrial property or for the reproduction or the representation of literary, dramatic, or artistic works, these sums shall be dealt with in the same manner as other debts or credits.

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of German nationals, as provided by the present treaty.

This Article shall not apply as between the United States of America on the one hand and Germany on the other.

ARTICLE 311.—The inhabitants of territories separated from Germany by virtue of the present treaty shall, notwithstanding this separation and the change of nationality consequent thereon, continue to enjoy in Germany all the rights in industrial, literary, and artistic property to which they were entitled under German legislation at the time of the separation.

Rights of industrial, literary and artistic property which are in force in the territories separated from Germany under the present treaty at the moment of the separation of these territories from Germany, or which will be re-established or restored in accordance with the provisions of Article 306 of the present treaty, shall be recognized by the State to which the said territory is transferred and shall remain in force in that territory for the same period of time given them under the German law.

SECTION VIII.—*Social and State Insurance in Ceded Territory*

ARTICLE 312.—Without prejudice to the provisions contained in other articles of the present treaty, the German Government undertakes to transfer to any power to which

German territory in Europe is ceded, and to any power administering former German territory as a mandatory under Article 22 of Part I., (League of Nations,) such portion of the reserves accumulated by the Government of the German Empire or of German States, or by public or private organizations under their control, as is attributable to the carrying on of social or State insurance in such territory.

The powers to which these funds are transferred must apply them to the performance of the obligations arising from such insurances.

The conditions of the transfer will be determined by special conventions to be concluded between the German Government and the Governments concerned.

In case these special conventions are not concluded in accordance with the above paragraph within three months after the coming into force of the present treaty, the conditions of transfer shall in each case be referred to a commission of five members, one of whom shall be appointed by the German Government, one by the other interested Government, and three by the governing body of the International Labor Office from the nationals of other States. This commission shall by majority vote within three months after appointment adopt recommendations for submission to the Council of the League of Nations, and the decisions of the council shall forthwith be accepted as final by Germany and the other Government concerned,

PART XI.—Aerial Navigation

ARTICLE 313.—The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in the territory and territorial waters of Germany, and shall enjoy the same privileges as German aircraft, particularly in case of distress by land or sea.

ARTICLE 314.—The aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall, while in transit to any foreign country whatever, enjoy the right of flying over the territory and territorial waters of Germany without landing, subject always to any regulations which may be made by Germany, and which shall be applicable equally to the aircraft of Germany and those of the Allied and Associated Countries.

ARTICLE 315.—All aerodromes in Germany open to national public traffic shall be open for the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers, and in any such aerodrome such aircraft shall be treated on a footing of equality with German aircraft as regards charges of every description, including charges for landing and accommodation.

ARTICLE 316.—Subject to the present provisions, the rights of passage, transit and landing, provided for in Articles 313, 314 and 315, are subject to the observance of such regulations as Germany may consider it necessary to enact, but such regulations

shall be applied without distinction to German aircraft and to those of Allied and Associated Countries.

ARTICLE 317.—Certificates of nationality, airworthiness, or competency, and licenses, issued or recognized as valid by any of the Allied or Associated Powers, shall be recognized in Germany as valid and as equivalent to the certificates and licenses issued by Germany.

ARTICLE 318.—As regards internal commercial air traffic, the aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall enjoy in Germany most favored nation treatment.

ARTICLE 319.—Germany undertakes to enforce the necessary measures to insure that all German aircraft flying over her territory shall comply with the rules as to lights and signals, rules of the air and rules for air traffic on and in the neighborhood of aerodromes, which have been laid down in the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 320.—The obligations imposed by the preceding provisions shall remain in force until the 1st January, 1923, unless before that date Germany shall have been admitted into the League of Nations or shall have been authorized, by consent of the Allied and Associated Powers, to adhere to the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between those powers.

PART XII.—Ports, Waterways and Railways

SECTION I.—*General Provisions*

ARTICLE 321.—Germany undertakes to grant freedom of transit through her territories on the routes most convenient for international transit, either by rail, navigable waterway, or canal, to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails

coming from or going to the territories of any of the Allied and Associated Powers, (whether contiguous or not;) for this purpose the crossing of territorial waters shall be allowed. Such persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails shall not be subjected to any transit duty or to any undue

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delays or restrictions, and shall be entitled in Germany to national treatment as regards charges, facilities, and all other matters.

Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other similar duties.

All charges imposed on transport in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic. No charge, facility, or restriction shall depend directly or indirectly on the ownership or on the nationality of the ship or other means of transport on which any part of the through journey has been, or is to be, accomplished.

ARTICLE 322.—Germany undertakes neither to impose nor to maintain any control over transmigration traffic through her territories beyond measures necessary to insure that passengers are bona fide in transit; nor to allow any shipping company or any other private body, corporation, or person interested in the traffic to take any part whatever in, or to exercise any direct or indirect influence over, any administrative service that may be necessary for this purpose.

ARTICLE 323.—Germany undertakes to make no discrimination or preference, direct or indirect, in the duties, charges, and prohibitions relating to importations into or exportations from her territories, or, subject to the special engagements contained in the present treaty, in the charges and conditions of transport of goods or persons entering or leaving her territories, based on the frontier crossed; or on the kind, ownership, or flag of the means of transport (including aircraft) employed; or on the original or immediate place of departure of the vessel, wagon, or aircraft or other means of transport employed, or its ultimate or intermediate destination; or on the route of or places of transshipment on the journey; or on whether any port through which the goods are imported or exported is a German port or a port belonging to any foreign country or on whether the goods are imported or exported by sea, by land, or by air.

Germany particularly undertakes not to establish against the ports and vessels of any of the Allied and Associated Powers any surtax or any direct or indirect bounty for export or import by German ports of vessels, or by those of another power, for example by means of combined tariffs. She further undertakes that persons or goods passing through a port or using a vessel of any of the Allied and Associated Powers shall not be subjected to any formality or delay whatever to which such persons or goods would not be subjected if they passed through a German port or a port of any other power, or used a German vessel or a vessel of any other power.

ARTICLE 324.—All necessary administrative and technical measures shall be taken to shorten, as much as possible, the transmission of goods across the German frontiers and to insure their forwarding and transport from such frontiers, irrespective of whether such goods are coming from or going to the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers or are in transit from or to those territories, under the same material conditions in such matters as rapidity of carriage and care en route as are enjoyed by other goods of the same kind carried on German territory under similar conditions of transport.

In particular, the transport of perishable goods shall be promptly and regularly carried out, and the customs formalities shall be effected in such a way as to allow the goods to be carried straight through by trains which make connection.

ARTICLE 325.—The seaports of the Allied and Associated Powers are entitled to all favors and to all reduced tariffs granted on German railways or navigable waterways for the benefit of German ports or of any port of another power.

ARTICLE 326.—Germany may not refuse to participate in the tariffs or combinations of

tariffs intended to secure for ports of any of the Allied and Associated Powers advantages similar to those granted by Germany to her own ports or the ports of any other power.

SECTION II.—Navigation

CHAPTER I.—FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION

ARTICLE 327.—The nationals of any of the Allied and Associated Powers as well as their vessels and property shall enjoy in all German ports and in the inland navigation routes of Germany, the same treatment in all respects as German nationals, vessels and property.

In particular the vessels of any one of the Allied or Associated Powers shall be entitled to transport goods of any description, and passengers, to or from any ports or places in German territory to which German vessels may have access, under conditions which shall not be more onerous than those applied in the case of national vessels; they shall be treated on a footing of equality with national vessels as regards port and harbor facilities and charges of every description, including facilities for stationing, loading and unloading, and duties and charges of tonnage, harbor, pilotage, light-house, quarantine, and all analogous duties and charges of whatsoever nature, levied in the name of or for the profit of the Government, public functionaries, private individuals, corporations or establishments of any kind.

In the event of Germany granting a preferential régime to any of the Allied or Associated Powers or to any other foreign power, this régime shall be extended immediately and unconditionally to all the Allied and Associated Powers.

There shall be no impediment to the movement of persons or vessels other than those arising from prescriptions concerning customs, police, sanitation, emigration and immigration and those relating to the import and export of prohibited goods. Such regulations must be reasonable and uniform and must not impede traffic unnecessarily.

CHAPTER II.—FREE ZONES IN PORTS

ARTICLE 328.—The free zones existing in German ports on the 1st August, 1914, shall be maintained. These free zones and any other free zones which may be established in German territory by the present treaty, shall be subject to the régime provided for in the following articles.

Goods entering or leaving a free zone shall not be subjected to any import or export duty, other than those provided for in Article 330.

Vessels and goods entering a free zone may be subjected to the charges established to cover expenses of administration, upkeep and improvement of the port, as well as to the charges for the use of various installations, provided that these charges shall be reasonable having regard to the expenditure incurred, and shall be levied in the conditions of equality provided for in Article 327.

Goods shall not be subjected to any other charge except a statistical duty which shall not exceed 1 per mille ad valorem, and which shall be devoted exclusively to defraying the expenses of compiling statements of the traffic in the port.

ARTICLE 329.—The facilities granted for the erection of warehouses, for packing and for unpacking goods, shall be in accordance with trade requirements for the time being. All goods allowed to be consumed in the free zone shall be exempt from duty, whether of excise or of any other description, apart



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the same conditions until the conclusion of a special bilateral treaty or agreement for that purpose with such allied or associated State.

Pending her adhesion to the other conventions specified in Annex I., Poland will secure to the nationals of the allied and associated powers the advantages to which they would be entitled under the said conventions.

Poland further agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to recognize and protect all rights in any industrial, literary, or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the allied and associated States now in force or which, but for the war, would have been in force in any part of her territories before their transfer to Poland. For such purposes they will accord the extensions of time agreed to in Articles 307 and 308 of the treaty with Germany.

ANNEX I.

TELEGRAPHIC AND RADIO-TELEGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

International Telegraphic Convention signed at St. Petersburg July 10-22, 1875.

Regulations and tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraph Conference signed at Lisbon June 11, 1908.

International Radio-Telegraphic Convention, July 5, 1912.

RAILWAY CONVENTIONS

Conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on Oct. 14, 1890, Sept. 20, 1893, July 16, 1895, and Sept. 19, 1906, and the current supplementary provisions made under those conventions.

Agreement on May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to custom inspections, and protocol of May 18, 1907.

Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardization of railways, as modified on May 18, 1907.

SANITARY CONVENTION

Convention of Dec. 3, 1903.

OTHER CONVENTIONS

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of night work for women.

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the white slave traffic.

Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.

International conventions of Paris of March

20, 1883, as revised at Washington in 1911, for the protection of industrial property.

International convention of Sept. 3, 1886, revised at Berlin on Nov. 13, 1908, and completed by the additional protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, for the protection of literary and artistic works.

ANNEX II.

Agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the prevention of false indications of origin on goods, revised at Washington in 1911, and agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the international registration of trade marks, revised at Washington in 1911.

ARTICLE 20.—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated States shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Germany.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given. In that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

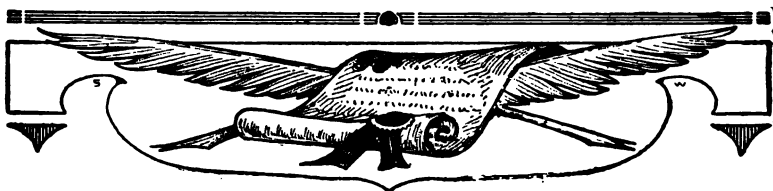
A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

ARTICLE 21.—Poland agrees to assume responsibility for such proportion of the Russian public debt and other Russian public liabilities of any kind as may be assigned to her under a special convention between the principal allied and associated powers on the one hand and Poland on the other, to be prepared by a commission appointed by the above States. In the event of the commission not arriving at an agreement, the point at issue shall be referred for immediate arbitration to the League of Nations.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Versailles, [June 28, 1919.] in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers.



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The number of the tugs and boats and the amount of the material so ceded, and their distribution, shall be determined by an arbitrator or arbitrators nominated by the United States of America, due regard being had to the legitimate needs of the parties concerned, and particularly to the shipping traffic during the five years preceding the war.

All craft so ceded shall be provided with their fittings and gear, shall be in a good state of repair and in condition to carry goods, and shall be selected from among those most recently built.

The cessions provided for in the present article shall entail a credit of which the total amount, settled in a lump sum by the arbitrator or arbitrators, shall not in any case exceed the value of the capital expended in the initial establishment of the material ceded, and shall be set off against the total sums due from Germany; in consequence, the indemnification of the proprietors shall be a matter for Germany to deal with.

(2) *Special Clauses Relating to the Elbe, the Oder, and the Niemen, (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen)*

ARTICLE 340.—The Elbe (Labe) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission which shall comprise:

- 4 representatives of the German States bordering on the river;
- 2 representatives of the Czechoslovak State;
- 1 representative of Great Britain;
- 1 representative of France;
- 1 representative of Italy;
- 1 representative of Belgium.

Whatever be the number of members present, each delegation shall have the right to record a number of votes equal to the number of representatives allotted to it.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present treaty, the decisions of the commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 341.—The Oder (Odra) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission, which shall comprise:

- 1 representative of Poland;
- 3 representatives of Prussia;
- 1 representative of the Czechoslovak State;
- 1 representative of Great Britain;
- 1 representative of France;
- 1 representative of Denmark;
- 1 representative of Sweden.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present treaty, the decisions of the commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 342.—On a request being made to the League of Nations by any riparian State, the Niemen (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen) shall be placed under the administration of an International Commission, which shall comprise one representative of each riparian State, and three representatives of other States specified by the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 343.—The International Commissions referred to in Articles 340 and 341 shall meet within three months of the date of the coming into force of the present treaty. The International Commission referred to in Article 342 shall meet within three months from the date of the request made by a riparian State. Each of these commissions shall proceed immediately to prepare a project for the revision of the existing international agreements and regulations, drawn up in conformity with the General Convention referred to in Article 338, should such convention have been already concluded. In the absence of such convention, the project for

revision shall be in conformity with the principles of Articles 332 to 337, above.

ARTICLE 344.—The projects referred to in the preceding article shall, *inter alia*:

(a) Designate the headquarters of the International Commission, and prescribe the manner in which its President is to be nominated;

(b) Specify the extent of the commission's powers, particularly in regard to the execution of works of maintenance, control, and improvement on the river system, the financial régime, the fixing and collection of charges, and regulations for navigation;

(c) Define the sections of the river or its tributaries to which the international régime shall be applied.

ARTICLE 345.—The international agreements and regulations at present governing the navigation of the Elbe, (Labe,) the Oder, (Odra,) and the Niemen (Russtrom-Memel-Niemen) shall be provisionally maintained in force until the ratification of the above-mentioned projects. Nevertheless, in all cases where such agreements and regulations in force are in conflict with the provisions of Articles 332 to 337 above, or of the General Convention to be concluded, the latter provisions shall prevail.

(3) *Special Clauses Relating to the Danube*

ARTICLE 346.—The European Commission of the Danube reassumes the powers it possessed before the war. Nevertheless, as a provisional measure, only representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania shall constitute this commission.

ARTICLE 347.—From the point where the competence of the European Commission ceases, the Danube system referred to in Article 331 shall be placed under the administration of an international commission composed as follows:

2 representatives of German riparian States;

1 representative of each other riparian State;

1 representative of each non-riparian State represented in the future on the European Commission of the Danube.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present treaty, the decisions of the commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 348.—The International Commission provided for in the preceding article shall meet as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present treaty, and shall undertake provisionally the administration of the river in conformity with the provisions of Articles 332 to 337, until such time as a definitive statute regarding the Danube is concluded by the powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers.

ARTICLE 349.—Germany agrees to accept the régime which shall be laid down for the Danube by a conference of the powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers, which shall meet within one year after the coming into force of the present treaty, and at which German representatives may be present.

ARTICLE 350.—The mandate given by Article 57 of the Treaty of Berlin of the 13th July, 1878, to Austria-Hungary, and transferred by her to Hungary, to carry out works at the Iron Gates, is abrogated. The commission intrusted with the administration of this part of the river shall lay down provisions for the settlement of accounts subject to the financial provisions of the present treaty. Charges which may be necessary shall in no case be levied by Hungary.

ARTICLE 351.—Should the Czechoslovak State, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, or Rumania, with the authorization of or under mandate from the International Commission, undertake maintenance, improvement, work,

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or other works on a part of the river system which forms a frontier, these States shall enjoy on the opposite bank, and also on the part of the bed which is outside their territory, all necessary facilities for the survey, execution, and maintenance of such works.

ARTICLE 352.—Germany shall be obliged to make to the European Commission of the Danube all restitutions, reparations, and indemnities for damages inflicted on the commission during the war.

ARTICLE 353.—Should a deep-draught Rhine-Danube navigable waterway be constructed, Germany undertakes to apply thereto the régime prescribed in Articles 332 to 335.

CHAPTER IV.—CLAUSES RELATING TO THE RHINE AND THE MOSELLE

ARTICLE 354.—As from the coming into force of the present treaty, the Convention of Mannheim of 17th October, 1868, together with the Final Protocol thereof, shall continue to govern navigation on the Rhine, subject to the conditions hereinafter laid down.

In the event of any provisions of the said Convention being in conflict with those laid down by the General Convention referred to in Article 338, (which shall apply to the Rhine,) the provisions of the General Convention shall prevail.

Within a maximum period of six months from the coming into force of the present treaty, the Central Commission referred to in Article 355 shall meet to draw up a project of revision of the Convention of Mannheim. This project shall be drawn up in harmony with the provisions of the General Convention referred to above, should this have been concluded by that time, and shall be submitted to the powers represented on the Central Commission. Germany hereby agrees to adhere to the project so drawn up.

Further, the modifications set out in the following articles shall immediately be made in the Convention of Mannheim.

The Allied and Associated Powers reserve to themselves the right to arrive at an understanding in this connection with Holland, and Germany hereby agrees to accede if required to any such understanding.

ARTICLE 355.—The Central Commission provided for in the Convention of Mannheim shall consist of nineteen members, viz.:

Two representatives of the Netherlands;
Two representatives of Switzerland;

Four representatives of German riparian States;

Four representatives of France, which in addition shall appoint the President of the Commission:

Two representatives of Great Britain;
Two representatives of Italy;
Two representatives of Belgium.

The headquarters of the Central Commission shall be at Strasbourg.

Whatever be the number of members present, each delegation shall have the right to record a number of votes equal to the number of representatives allotted to it.

If certain of these representatives cannot be appointed at the time of the coming into force of the present treaty, the decisions of the Commission shall nevertheless be valid.

ARTICLE 356.—Vessels of all nations, and their cargoes, shall have the same rights and privileges as those which are granted to vessels belonging to the Rhine navigation, and to their cargoes.

None of the provisions contained in Articles 15 to 20 and 26 of the above-mentioned Convention of Mannheim, in Article 4 of the Final Protocol thereof, or in later Conventions, shall impede the free navigation of vessels and crews of all nations on the Rhine and on waterways to which such Conventions apply, subject to compliance with the regulations concerning pilotage and other police

measures drawn up by the Central Commission.

The provisions of Article 22 of the Convention of Mannheim and of Article 5 of the Final Protocol thereof shall be applied only to vessels registered on the Rhine. The Central Commission shall decide on the steps to be taken to insure that other vessels satisfy the conditions of the general regulations applying to navigation on the Rhine.

ARTICLE 357.—Within a maximum period of three months from the date on which notification shall be given Germany shall cede to France tugs and vessels, from among those remaining registered in German Rhine ports after the deduction of those surrendered by way of restitution or reparation, or shares in German Rhine navigation companies.

When vessels and tugs are ceded, such vessels and tugs, together with their fittings and gear, shall be in good state of repair, shall be in condition to carry on commercial traffic on the Rhine, and shall be selected from among those most recently built.

The same procedure shall be followed in the matter of the cession by Germany to France of—

(1) the installations, berthing, and anchorage accommodation, platforms, docks, warehouses, plant, &c., which German subjects or German companies owned on the 1st August, 1914, in the port of Rotterdam, and

(2) the shares or interests which Germany or German nationals possessed in such installations at the same date.

The amount and specifications of such cessations shall be determined within one year of the coming into force of the present treaty by an arbitrator or arbitrators appointed by the United States of America, due regard being had to the legitimate needs of the parties concerned.

The cessations provided for in the present article shall entail a credit of which the total amount, settled in a lump sum by the arbitrator or arbitrators mentioned above, shall not in any case exceed the value of the capital expended in the initial establishment of the ceded material and installations, and shall be set off against the total sums due from Germany; in consequence, the indemnification of the proprietors shall be a matter for Germany to deal with.

ARTICLE 358.—Subject to the obligation to comply with the provisions of the Convention of Mannheim or of the convention which may be substituted therefor, and to the stipulations of the present treaty, France shall have on the whole course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of the French frontiers—

(a) the right to take water from the Rhine to feed navigation and irrigation canals (constructed or to be constructed) or for any other purpose, and to execute on the German bank all works necessary for the exercise of this right;

(b) the exclusive right to the power derived from works of regulation on the river, subject to the payment to Germany of the value of half the power actually produced, this payment, which will take into account the cost of the works necessary for producing the power, being made either in money or in power and in default of agreement being determined by arbitration. For this purpose France alone shall have the right to carry out in this part of the river all works of regulation (weirs or other works) which she may consider necessary for the production of power. Similarly, the right of taking water from the Rhine is accorded to Belgium to feed the Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway provided for below.

The exercise of the rights mentioned under (a) and (b) of the present article shall not interfere with navigability nor reduce the facilities for navigation, either in the bed of the Rhine or in the derivations which may be substituted therefor, nor shall it involve any increase in the tolls formerly levied un-

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der the convention in force. All proposed schemes shall be laid before the Central Commission in order that that commission may assure itself that these conditions are complied with.

To insure the proper and faithful execution of the provisions contained in (a) and (b) above, Germany:

(i) binds herself not to undertake or to allow the construction of any lateral canal or any derivation on the right bank of the river opposite the French frontiers;

(ii) recognizes the possession by France of the right of support on and the right of way over all lands situated on the right bank which may be required in order to survey, to build, and to operate weirs which France, with the consent of the Central Commission, may subsequently decide to establish. In accordance with such consent, France shall be entitled to decide upon and fix the limits of the necessary sites, and she shall be permitted to occupy such lands after a period of two months after simple notification, subject to the payment by her to Germany of indemnities of which the total amount shall be fixed by the Central Commission. Germany shall make it her business to indemnify the proprietors whose property will be burdened with such servitudes or permanently occupied by the works.

Should Switzerland so demand, and if the Central Commission approves, the same rights shall be accorded to Switzerland for the part of the river forming her frontier with other riparian States;

(iii) shall hand over to the French Government, during the month following the coming into force of the present treaty, all projects, designs, drafts of concessions and of specifications concerning the regulation of the Rhine for any purpose whatever which have been drawn up or received by the Governments of Alsace-Lorraine or of the Grand Duchy of Baden.

ARTICLE 359.—Subject to the preceding provisions, no works shall be carried out in the bed or on either bank of the Rhine where it forms the boundary of France and Germany without the previous approval of the Central Commission or of its agents.

ARTICLE 360.—France reserves the option of substituting herself as regards the rights and obligations resulting from agreements arrived at between the Government of Alsace-Lorraine and the Grand Duchy of Baden concerning the works to be carried out on the Rhine; she may also denounce such agreements within a term of five years dating from the coming into force of the present treaty.

France shall also have the option of causing works to be carried out which may be recognized as necessary by the Central Commission for the upkeep or improvement of the navigability of the Rhine above Mannheim.

ARTICLE 361.—Should Belgium, within a period of 25 years from the coming into force of the present treaty decide to create a deep-draught Rhine-Meuse navigable waterway, in the region of Ruhrort, Germany shall be bound to construct, in accordance with plans to be communicated to her by the Belgian Government, after agreement with the Central Commission, the portion of this navigable waterway situated within her territory.

The Belgian Government shall, for this purpose, have the right to carry out on the ground all necessary surveys.

Should Germany fail to carry out all or part of these works, the Central Commission shall be entitled to carry them out instead; and, for this purpose, the commission may decide upon and fix the limits of the necessary sites and occupy the ground after a period of two months after simple notification, subject to the payment of indemnities to be fixed by it and paid by Germany.

This navigable waterway shall be placed under the same administrative régime as the

Rhine itself, and the division of the cost of initial construction, including the above indemnities, among the States crossed thereby shall be made by the Central Commission.

ARTICLE 362.—Germany hereby agrees to offer no objection to any proposals of the Central Rhine Commission for extending its jurisdiction:

(1) to the Moselle below the Franco-Luxemburg frontier down to the Rhine, subject to the consent of Luxembourg;

(2) to the Rhine above Basle up to the Lake of Constance, subject to the consent of Switzerland;

(3) to the lateral canals and channels which may be established either to duplicate or to improve naturally navigable sections of the Rhine or the Moselle, or to connect two naturally navigable sections of these rivers, and also any other parts of the Rhine River system which may be covered by the General Convention provided for in Article 338 above.

CHAPTER V.—CLAUSES GIVING TO THE CZECHOSLOVAK STATE THE USE OF NORTHERN PORTS

ARTICLE 363.—In the ports of Hamburg and Stettin Germany shall lease to the Czechoslovak State, for a period of ninety-nine years, areas which shall be placed under the general régime of free zones and shall be used for the direct transit of goods coming from or going to that State.

ARTICLE 364.—The delimitation of these areas, and their equipment, their exploitation, and in general all conditions for their utilization, including the amount of the rental, shall be decided by a commission consisting of one delegate of Germany, one delegate of the Czechoslovak State and one delegate of Great Britain. These conditions shall be susceptible of revision every ten years in the same manner.

Germany declares in advance that she will adhere to the decisions so taken.

SECTION III.—Railways

CHAPTER I.—CLAUSES RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT

ARTICLE 365.—Goods coming from the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers, and going to Germany, or in transit through Germany from or to the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers, shall enjoy on the German railways as regards charges to be collected (rebates and drawbacks being taken into account) facilities, and all other matters, the most favorable treatment applied to goods of the same kind carried on any German lines, either in internal traffic, or for export, import or in transit, under similar conditions of transport, for example as regards length of route. The same rule shall be applied, on the request of one or more of the Allied and Associated Powers, to goods specially designated by such power or powers coming from Germany and going to their territories.

International tariffs established in accordance with the rates referred to in the preceding paragraph and involving through waybills shall be established when one of the Allied and Associated Powers shall require it from Germany.

ARTICLE 366.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall renew, in so far as concerns them and under the reserves indicated in the second paragraph of the present Article, the conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on the 14th of October, 1890, the 20th September, 1893, the 16th July, 1895, the 16th June, 1898, and the 19th September, 1906, regarding the transportation of goods by rail. If within five years from the date of the



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SHADED PORTIONS INDICATE TOTAL OF NEW TERRITORY CLAIMED BY RUMANIA. THE PEACE CONFERENCE SANCTIONED RUMANIA'S RIGHT TO THE DOBRUDJA AND PART OF THE BANAT. THE OTHER CLAIMS ARE STILL IN ABEYANCE

consists of a ridge of bare hills and plateaux, and barren, wind-swept downs, whereby the Danube is forced to make its great bend northward from Silistria, until it rounds the Dobrudja hills and breaks a marshy way to the Black Sea. Turco-Tatars roam these uplands with their flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of half-wild swine find pannage there. A few Bulgarian peasants tilled the scattered patches of fertile soil.

The region had no importance until the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. Then Russia took it from the Turks and thrust it upon Rumania, in enforced exchange for the fertile Rumanian province of Bessarabia, between the Dnieper and Pruth Rivers and the Black Sea. The Rumanians resented this robbery, and could see little use to be made of the barren Dobrudja, which was without any Rumanian population. In making the best of this bad bargain, however, Rumania, under the pressure of her expanding commerce after 1878, discovered that Dobrudja's principal harbor, Constanza, afforded a much-needed short-line com-

mercial outlet to the Black Sea. When Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, was connected by railroad with Constanza, the latter became a flourishing seaport, Rumania's chief economic outlet to the world.

The nearness of Constanza to the Bulgarian frontier, however, made Rumania dissatisfied with the situation, which exposed her seaport to capture in case of war. By her intervention in the second Baltic war of 1913, Rumania remedied this strategic defect by forcing Bulgaria to cede to her the Danube fortress of Silistria and a strip of territory extending southeast to the port of Baltchik, on the Black Sea. This cession of nearly 3,000 square miles put the Bulgarian frontier out of easy striking distance to Dobrudja, and made the Rumanian frontier a menace to the Bulgarian port of Varna. This infuriated Bulgaria, who promptly made use of the opportunity for revenge afforded her by the world war. In the Autumn of 1916, when Rumania entered the war on the Entente side, Bulgaria, as the ally of Germany,

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2. As a temporary measure, for the transportation of supplies for certain regions, as well as for the restoration, as rapidly as possible, of the normal conditions of transport, and for the organization of postal and telegraphic services.

SECTION IV.—*Disputes and Revision of Permanent Clauses*

ARTICLE 376.—Disputes which may arise between interested powers with regard to the interpretation and application of the preceding articles shall be settled as provided by the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 377.—At any time the League of Nations may recommend the revision of such of these Articles as relate to a permanent administrative régime.

ARTICLE 378.—The stipulations in Articles 321 to 330, 332, 365, and 367 to 369 shall be subject to revision by the Council of the League of Nations at any time after five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Failing such revision, no Allied or Associated Power can claim after the expiration of the above period of five years the benefit of any of the stipulations in the Articles enumerated above on behalf of any portion of its territories in which reciprocity is not accorded in respect of such stipulations. The period of five years during which reciprocity cannot be demanded may be prolonged by the Council of the League of Nations.

SECTION V.—*Special Provision*

ARTICLE 379.—Without prejudice to the special obligations imposed on her by the present treaty for the benefit of the Allied and Associated Powers, Germany undertakes to adhere to any general conventions regarding the international régime of transit, waterways, ports or railways which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers, with the approval of the League of Nations, within five years of the coming into force of the present treaty.

SECTION VI.—*Clauses Relating to the Kiel Canal*

ARTICLE 380.—The Kiel Canal and its approaches shall be maintained free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of entire equality.

ARTICLE 381.—The nationals, property,

and vessels of all powers shall, in respect to charges, facilities, and in all other respects, be treated on a footing of perfect equality in the use of the canal, no distinction being made to the detriment of nationals, property, and vessels of any power between them and the nationals, property, and vessels of Germany or of the most favored nations.

No impediment shall be placed on the movement of persons or vessels other than those arising out of police, customs, sanitary, emigration or immigration regulations, and those relating to the import or export of prohibited goods. Such regulations must be reasonable and uniform and must not unnecessarily impede traffic.

ARTICLE 382.—Only such charges may be levied on vessels using the canal or its approaches as are intended to cover in an equitable manner the cost of maintaining in a navigable condition, or if improving, the canal or its approaches, or to meet expenses incurred in the interests of navigation. The schedule of such charges shall be calculated on the basis of such expenses, and shall be posted up in the ports.

These charges shall be levied in such a manner as to render any detailed examination of cargoes unnecessary, except in the case of suspected fraud or contravention.

ARTICLE 383.—Goods in transit may be placed under seal or in the custody of customs agents; the loading and unloading of goods, and the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers, shall only take place in the ports specified by Germany.

ARTICLE 384.—No charge of any kind other than those provided for in the present treaty shall be levied along the course or at the approaches of the Kiel Canal.

ARTICLE 385.—Germany shall be bound to take suitable measures to remove any obstacle or danger to navigation, and to insure the maintenance of good conditions of navigation. She shall not undertake any works of a nature to impede navigation on the canal or its approaches.

ARTICLE 386.—In the event of violation of any of the conditions of Articles 380 to 386, or of disputes as to the interpretation of these articles, any interested power can appeal to the jurisdiction instituted for the purpose by the League of Nations.

In order to avoid reference of small questions to the League of Nations, Germany will establish a local authority at Kiel qualified to deal with disputes in the first instance and to give satisfaction so far as possible to complaints which may be presented through the consular representatives of the interested powers.

PART XIII.—Labor

SECTION I.—*Organization of Labor*

WHEREAS the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

And whereas conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulations of the hours of work, including the estab-

lishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labor supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease, and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of the children, young persons, and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education, and other measures:

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an ob-

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stacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

The high contracting parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:

CHAPTER I.—ORGANIZATION

ARTICLE 387.—A permanent organization is hereby established for the promotion of the objects set forth in the preamble.

The original members of the League of Nations shall be the original members of this organization, and hereafter membership of the League of Nations shall carry with it membership of the said organization.

ARTICLE 388.—The permanent organization shall consist of:

(i) a General Conference of Representatives of the Members, and,

(ii) an International Labor Office controlled by the governing body described in Article 393.

ARTICLE 389.—The meetings of the General Conference of Representatives of the Members shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. It shall be composed of four representatives of each of the members, of whom two shall be Government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the members.

Each delegate may be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. When questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman.

The members undertake to nominate non-Government delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of employers or workpeople, as the case may be, in their respective countries.

Advisers shall not speak except on a request made by the delegate whom they accompany and by special authorization of the President of the conference, and may not vote.

A delegate may by notice in writing addressed to the President appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and the adviser, while so acting, shall be allowed to speak and vote.

The names of the delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the International Labor Office by the Government of each of the members.

The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, refuse to admit any delegate or adviser whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with this article.

ARTICLE 390.—Every delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the conference.

If one of the members fails to nominate one of the non-Government delegates whom it is entitled to nominate, the other non-Government delegates shall be allowed to sit and speak at the conference, but not to vote.

If, in accordance with Article 389, the conference refuses admission to a delegate of one of the members, the provisions of

the present article shall apply as if that delegate had not been nominated.

ARTICLE 391.—The meetings of the conference shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, or at such other place as may be decided by the conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present.

ARTICLE 392.—The International Labor Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organization of the League.

ARTICLE 393.—The International Labor Office shall be under the control of a governing body consisting of twenty-four persons, appointed in accordance with the following provisions:

The governing body of the International Labor Office shall be constituted as follows:

Twelve persons representing the Governments;

Six persons elected by the delegates to the conference representing the employers;

Six persons elected by the delegates to the conference representing the workers.

Of the twelve persons representing the Governments, eight shall be nominated by the members which are of the chief industrial importance, and four shall be nominated by the members selected for the purpose by the Government delegates to the conference excluding the delegates of the eight members mentioned above.

Any question as to which are the members of the chief industrial importance shall be decided by the council of the League of Nations.

The period of office of the members of the governing body will be three years. The method of filling vacancies and other similar questions may be determined by the governing body, subject to the approval of the conference.

The governing body shall, from time to time, elect one of its members to act as its Chairman, shall regulate its own procedure, and shall fix its own times of meeting. A special meeting shall be held if a written request to that effect is made by at least ten members of the governing body.

ARTICLE 394.—There shall be a Director of the International Labor Office, who shall be appointed by the governing body, and, subject to the instructions of the Governing Body, shall be responsible for the efficient conduct of the International Labor Office and for such other duties as may be assigned to him.

The Director or his deputy shall attend all meetings of the governing body.

ARTICLE 395.—The staff of the International Labor Office shall be appointed by the Director, who shall, as far as is possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the Office, select persons of different nationalities. A certain number of these persons shall be women.

ARTICLE 396.—The functions of the International Labor Office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the conference.

It will prepare the agenda for the meetings of the conference.

It will carry out the duties required of it by the provisions of this part of the present treaty in connection with international disputes.

It will edit and publish in French and English, and in such other languages as the governing body may think desirable, a periodical paper dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

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Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this Article, it shall have such other powers and duties as may be assigned to it by the conference.

ARTICLE 397.—The Government departments of any of the members which deal with questions of industry and employment may communicate directly with the Director through the representative of their Government on the governing body of the International Labor Office, or, failing any such representative, through such other qualified official as the Government may nominate for the purpose.

ARTICLE 398.—The International Labor Office shall be entitled to the assistance of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in any matter in which it can be given.

ARTICLE 399.—Each of the members will pay the traveling and subsistence expenses of its delegates and their advisers and of its representatives attending the meetings of the conference or governing body, as the case may be.

All the other expenses of the International Labor Office and of the meetings of the conference or governing body shall be paid to the Director by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations out of the general funds of the League.

The Director shall be responsible to the Secretary-General of the League for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him in pursuance of this Article.

CHAPTER II.—PROCEDURE

ARTICLE 400.—The agenda of all meetings of the conference will be settled by the governing body, who shall consider any suggestion as to the agenda that may be made by the Government of any of the members or by any representative organization recognized for the purpose of Article 389.

ARTICLE 401.—The Director shall act as the Secretary of the Conference, and shall transmit the agenda so as to reach the members four months before the meeting of the conference, and, through them, the non-Government delegates when appointed.

ARTICLE 402.—Any of the Governments of the members may formally object to the inclusion of any item or items in the agenda. The grounds for such objection shall be set forth in a reasoned statement addressed to the Director, who shall circulate it to all the members of the permanent organization.

Items to which such objection has been made shall not, however, be excluded from the agenda if at the conference a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by delegates present is in favor of considering them.

If the conference decides (otherwise than under the preceding paragraph) by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present that any subject shall be considered by the conference, that subject shall be included in the agenda for the following meeting.

ARTICLE 403.—The conference shall regulate its own procedure, shall elect its own President, and may appoint committees to consider and report on any matter.

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this part of the present treaty, all matters shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes cast by the delegates present.

The voting is void unless the total number of votes cast is equal to half the number of the delegates attending the conference.

ARTICLE 404.—The conference may add to any committees which it appoints technical experts, who shall be assessors without power to vote.

ARTICLE 405.—When the conference has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the agenda, it will rest with the conference to determine whether these proposals should take the form: (a) of a recommendation to be submitted to the members for consideration with a view to

effect being given to it by national legislation or otherwise, or (b) of a draft international convention for ratification by the members.

In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of the recommendation or draft convention, as the case may be, by the conference.

In framing any recommendation or draft convention of general application the conference shall have due regard to those countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organization or other special circumstances make the industrial conditions substantially different and shall suggest the modifications, if any, which it considers may be required to meet the case of such countries.

A copy of the recommendation or draft convention shall be authenticated by the signature of the President of the conference and of the Director and shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. The Secretary-General will communicate a certified copy of the recommendation or draft convention to each of the members.

Each of the members undertakes that it will, within the period of one year at most from the closing of the session of the conference, or if it is impossible owing to exceptional circumstances to do so within the period of one year, then at the earliest practicable moment and in no case later than eighteen months from the closing of the session of the conference, bring the recommendation or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other action.

In the case of a recommendation the members will inform the Secretary-General of the action taken.

In the case of a draft convention, the member will, if it obtains the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, communicate the formal ratification of the convention to the Secretary-General and will take such action as may be necessary to make effective the provisions of such convention.

If on a recommendation no legislative or other action is taken to make a recommendation effective, or if the draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation shall rest upon the member.

In the case of a federal state, the power of which to enter into conventions on labor matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of that Government to treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this article with respect to recommendations shall apply in such case.

The above Article shall be interpreted in accordance with the following principle:

In no case shall any member be asked or required, as a result of the adoption of any recommendation or draft convention by the conference to lessen the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned.

ARTICLE 406.—Any convention so ratified shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, but shall only be binding upon the members which ratify it.

ARTICLE 407.—If any convention coming before the conference for final consideration fails to secure the support of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, it shall nevertheless be within the right of any of the members of the permanent organization to agree to such convention among themselves.

Any convention so agreed to shall be communicated by the Governments concerned to



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another State shall ipso facto become Rumanian nationals.

ARTICLE 7—Rumania undertakes to recognize as Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory, who do not possess another nationality.

ARTICLE 8—All Rumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Rumanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries. No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Rumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Rumanian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Rumanian nationals of non-Rumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 9—Rumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Rumanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 10—Rumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals of other than Rumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Rumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Rumanian Government from making the teaching of the Rumanian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

ARTICLE 11—Rumania agrees to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czechers in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters, subject to the control of the Rumanian State.

ARTICLE 12—Rumania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall

be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the council of the League of Nations.

Rumania agrees that any member of the council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Rumania further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Rumanian Government and any one of the principal allied and associated powers or any other power, a member of the council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. Rumania hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the permanent court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13—Rumania undertakes to make no treaty, convention or arrangement and to take no other action which will prevent her from joining in any general convention for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Rumania also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated powers any favors or privileges in customs matters which she may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which since August, 1914, the allied and associated powers have been at war, or to any State which in virtue of Article 222 of the treaty with Austria has special customs arrangements with such States.

ARTICLE 14—Pending the conclusion of the general convention referred to above, Rumania undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels or vessels of the most-favored nation the vessels of all the allied and associated powers which accord similar treatment to Rumanian vessels. As an exception from this provision, the right of Rumania or of any other allied or associated power to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 15—Pending the conclusion under the auspices of the League of Nations of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit,

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decision of the Permanent Court of International Justice is in favor of the defaulting Government, the other Governments shall forthwith discontinue the measures of an economic character that they have taken against the defaulting Government.

CHAPTER III.—GENERAL

ARTICLE 421.—The members engage to apply conventions which they have ratified in accordance with the provisions of this part of the present treaty to their colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing:

1. Except where owing to the local conditions the convention is inapplicable, or
2. Subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt the convention to local conditions.

And each of the members shall notify to the International Labor Office the action taken in respect of each of its colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing.

ARTICLE 422.—Amendments to this part of the present treaty which are adopted by the Conference by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Council of the League of Nations and by three-fourths of the members.

ARTICLE 423.—Any question or dispute relating to the interpretation of this part of the present treaty or of any subsequent convention concluded by the members in pursuance of the provisions of this part of the present treaty shall be referred for decision to the Permanent Court of International Justice.

CHAPTER IV.—TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

ARTICLE 424.—The first meeting of the Conference shall take place in October, 1919. The place and agenda for this meeting shall be as specified in the Annex hereto.

Arrangements for the convening and the organization of the first meeting of the Conference will be made by the Government designated for the purpose in the said Annex. That Government shall be assisted in the preparation of the documents for submission to the Conference by an International Committee constituted as provided in the said Annex.

The expenses of the first meeting and of all subsequent meetings held before the League of Nations has been able to establish a general fund, other than the expenses of delegates and their advisers, will be borne by the members in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE 425.—Until the League of Nations has been constituted all communications which under the provisions of the foregoing articles should be addressed to the Secretary-General of the League will be preserved by the Director of the International Labor Office, who will transmit them to the Secretary-General of the League.

ARTICLE 426.—Pending the creation of a Permanent Court of International Justice, disputes which in accordance with this part of the present treaty would be submitted to it for decision will be referred to a tribunal of three persons appointed by the Council of the League of Nations.

ANNEX

First Meeting of Annual Labor Conference, 1919

The place of meeting will be Washington. The Government of the United States of America is requested to convene the conference.

The International Organizing Committee

will consist of seven members, appointed by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and Switzerland. The committee may, if it thinks necessary, invite other members to appoint representatives.

Agenda:

1. Application of principle of the 8-hours day or of the 48-hours week.
2. Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.
3. Women's employment:
 - (a) Before and after childbirth, including the question of maternity benefit.
 - (b) During the night.
 - (c) In unhealthy processes.
4. Employment of children:
 - (a) Minimum age of employment.
 - (b) During the night.
 - (c) In unhealthy processes.
5. Extension and application of the International Conventions adopted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

SECTION II.—General Principles

ARTICLE 427.—The High Contracting Parties, recognizing that the well-being, physical, moral, and intellectual, of industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance, have framed, in order to further this great end, the permanent machinery provided for in Section I, and associated with that of the League of Nations.

They recognize that differences of climate, habits, and customs, of economic opportunity and industrial tradition, make strict uniformity in the conditions of labor difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labor should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance:

First—The guiding principle above enunciated that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

Third—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

Fourth—The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

Fifth—The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

Sixth—The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth—The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth—Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the

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High Contracting Parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations; and that, if adopted by the industrial communities who are mem-

bers of the League, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage earners of the world.

PART XIV.—Guarantees

SECTION I.—*Western Europe*

ARTICLE 428.—As a guarantee for the execution of the present treaty by Germany, the German territory situated to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for a period of fifteen years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

ARTICLE 429.—If the conditions of the present treaty are faithfully carried out by Germany, the occupation referred to in Article 428 will be successively restricted as follows:

(I) At the expiration of five years there will be evacuated:—the bridgehead of Cologne and the territories north of a line running along the Ruhr, then along the railway Jülich, Düren, Euskirchen, Rheinbach, thence along the road Rheinbach to Sinzig, and reaching the Rhine at the confluence with the Ahr; the roads, railways and places mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(II) At the expiration of ten years, there will be evacuated:—the bridgehead of Coblenz and the territories north of a line to be drawn from the intersection between the frontiers of Belgium, Germany and Holland, running about 4 kilometers south of Aix-la-Chapelle, then to and following the crest of Forst Gemünd, then east of the railway of the Urft Valley, then along Blankenheim, Valdorf, Dreis, Ulmen to and following the Moselle from Bremm to Nehren, then passing by Kappel and Simmern, then following the ridge of the heights between Simmern and the Rhine and reaching this river at Bacharach; all the places, valleys, roads and railways mentioned above being excluded from the area evacuated.

(III) At the expiration of fifteen years there will be evacuated:—the bridgehead of Mainz, the bridgehead of Kehl and the remainder of the German territory under occupation.

If at that date the guarantees against unprovoked aggression by Germany are not

considered sufficient by the Allied and Associated Governments the evacuation of the occupying troops may be delayed to the extent regarded as necessary for the purpose of obtaining the required guarantees.

ARTICLE 430.—In case either during the occupation or after the expiration of the fifteen years referred to above, the Reparation Commission finds that Germany refuses to observe the whole or part of her obligations under the present treaty with regard to reparation, the whole or part of the areas specified in Article 429 will be re-occupied immediately by the Allied and Associated forces.

ARTICLE 431.—If before the expiration of the period of fifteen years Germany complies with all the undertakings resulting from the present treaty, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

ARTICLE 432.—All matters relating to the occupation and not provided for by the present treaty shall be regulated by subsequent agreements, which Germany hereby undertakes to observe.

SECTION II.—*Eastern Europe*

ARTICLE 433.—As a guarantee for the execution of the provisions of the present treaty, by which Germany accepts definitely the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and of all treaties, conventions and agreements entered into by her with the Maximalist Government in Russia, and in order to insure the restoration of peace and good government in the Baltic Provinces and Lithuania, all German troops at present in the said territories shall return to within the frontiers of Germany as soon as the Governments of the principal Allied and Associated Powers shall think the moment suitable, having regard to the internal situation of these territories. These troops shall abstain from all requisitions and seizures and from any other coercive measures, with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany, and shall in no way interfere with such measures for national defense as may be adopted by the provisional Governments of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

No other German troops shall, pending the evacuation or after the evacuation is complete, be admitted to the said territories.

PART XV.—Miscellaneous Provisions

ARTICLE 434.—Germany undertakes to recognize the full force of the treaties of peace and additional conventions which may be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with the powers who fought on the side of Germany, and to recog-

nize whatever disposition may be made concerning the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, of the Kingdom of Bulgaria, and of the Ottoman Empire, and to recognize the new States within their frontiers as there laid down.

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ARTICLE 435.—The high contracting parties, while they recognize the guarantees stipulated by the treaties of 1815, and especially by the Act of 20th November, 1815, in favor of Switzerland, the said guarantees constituting international obligations for the maintenance of peace, declare nevertheless that the provisions of these treaties, conventions, declarations and other supplementary acts concerning the neutralized zone of Savoy, as laid down in paragraph 1 of Article 92 of the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna, and in paragraph 2 of Article 3 of the Treaty of Paris of 20th November, 1815, are no longer consistent with present conditions. For this reason the high contracting parties take note of the agreement reached between the French Government and the Swiss Government for the abrogation of the stipulations relating to this zone which are and remain abrogated.

The high contracting parties also agree that the stipulations of the treaties of 1815 and of the other supplementary acts concerning the free zones of Upper Savoy and the Gex district are no longer consistent with present conditions, and that it is for France and Switzerland to come to an agreement together with a view to settling between themselves the status of these territories under such conditions as shall be considered suitable by both countries.

ANNEX

1. The Swiss Federal Council has informed the French Government on the 5th May, 1919, that after examining the provisions of Article 435 in a like spirit of sincere friendship it has happily reached the conclusion that it was possible to acquiesce in it under the following conditions and reservations:

First—The neutralized zone of Haute-Savoie:

(a) It will be understood that as long as the Federal Chambers have not ratified the agreement come to between the two Governments concerning the abrogation of the stipulations in respect of the neutralized zone of Savoy nothing will be definitely settled, on one side or the other, in regard to this subject.

(b) The assent given by the Swiss Government to the abrogation of the above-mentioned stipulations presupposes, in conformity with the text adopted, the recognition of the guarantees formulated in favor of Switzerland by the treaties of 1815 and particularly by the declaration of 20th November, 1815.

(c) The agreement between the Governments of France and Switzerland for the abrogation of the above-mentioned stipulations will only be considered as valid if the treaty of peace contains this article in its present wording. In addition, the parties to the treaty of peace should endeavor to obtain the assent of the signatory powers of the treaties of 1815 and of the declaration of 20th November, 1815, which are not signatories of the present treaty of peace.

Second—Free zone of Haute-Savoie and the district of Gex.

(a) The Federal Council makes the most express reservations to the interpretation to be given to the statement mentioned in the last paragraph of the above article for insertion in the treaty of peace, which provides that "the stipulations of the treaties of 1815 and other supplementary acts concerning the free zones of Haute-Savoie and the Gex district are no longer consistent with the present conditions." The Federal Council would not wish that its acceptance of the above wording should lead to the conclusion that it would agree to the suppression of a system intended to give neighboring territory the benefit of a special régime which is appropriate to the geographical and economical situation and which has been well tested.

In the opinion of the Federal Council the question is not the modification of the customs system of the zones as set up by the treaties mentioned above, but only the regulation in a manner more appropriate to the economic conditions of the present day of the terms of the exchange of goods between the regions in question. The Federal Council has been led to make the preceding observations by the perusal of the draft convention concerning the future constitution of the zones, which was annexed to the note of April 26 from the French Government. While making the above reservations the Federal Council declares its readiness to examine in the most friendly spirit any proposals which the French Government may deem it convenient to make on the subject.

(b) It is conceded that the stipulations of the treaties of 1815 and other supplementary acts relative to the free zones will remain in force until a new arrangement is come to between France and Switzerland to regulate matters in this territory.

2. The French Government have addressed to the Swiss Government, on May 18, 1919, the following note in reply to the communication set out in the preceding paragraph:

In a note dated May 5 the Swiss Legation in Paris was good enough to inform the Government of the French Republic that the Federal Government adhered to the proposed article to be inserted in the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Governments and Germany.

The French Government have taken note with much pleasure of the agreement thus reached, and, at their request, the proposed article, which had been accepted by the Allied and Associated Governments, has been inserted under No. 435 in the peace conditions presented to the German plenipotentiaries.

The Swiss Government, in their note of May 5, on this subject, have expressed various views and reservations.

Concerning the observations relating to the free zones of Haute-Savoie and the Gex district, the French Government have the honor to observe that the provisions of the last paragraph of Article 435 are so clear that their purport cannot be misapprehended, especially where it implies that no other power but France and Switzerland will in future be interested in that question.



AUSTRIAN PEACE TREATY SIGNED

return for reciprocal obligations to supply certain raw material. Outstanding questions affecting nationals of Austria which require settlement between Austria and its inheriting neighbors are to be regulated by separate conventions, and these conventions are to be drawn up by a conference to which Austria will be admitted on a footing of equality with the other States concerned. * * *

In conclusion, the allied and associated powers wish to make it clear that the modifications which they have now made in the draft treaty are final. They wish further to state that if they have not replied specifically to all the points in the reply of the Austrian delegation, it is not because they have not taken them into careful consideration, nor must the absence of any reply be taken as acquiescence or in approval of these contentions, nor must the present reply be taken as authoritative interpretation of the text of the treaty.

The text of the treaty, which we send you today, following upon that of July 20 last, which had already undergone considerable changes since the original text of June 2, must be accepted or rejected in the exact terms in which it is now drafted. Consequently, the allied and associated powers require from the Austrian delegation within a period of five days, counting from the date of the present communication, a declaration informing them that they are prepared to sign this treaty as it now stands. So soon as their declaration reaches the allied and associated powers arrangements will be made for the immediate signature of peace at St. Germain-en-Laye.

In default of such declaration within the period above stipulated, the armistice concluded on Nov. 13, 1918, shall be considered as having terminated, and the allied and associated powers will take such steps as they may judge necessary to impose their conditions.

ONE TERRITORIAL MODIFICATION

The allied powers had studied the frontiers of the future Republic of Austria from a historical, geographical, ethnological, economic, and political point of view, and, with the exception of one point, no modification had been made in regard to frontiers.

In defining the boundary of Czechoslovakia they tried to assure this State a complete system of communications, and therefore departed from the historical frontier of the crown of Bohemia to assure west and east communications of Southern Moravia, and in the Gmund region to give Bohemia a junction of

the two large railroad lines supplying this province.

With respect to the frontiers between Austria and Hungary, the allied and associated powers desired to guarantee access to the sea for the Czechoslovak State and therefore provided that Pressburg should have its access to the sea assured by transit across Hungarian as well as Austrian territory.

Concessions were granted to Austria in connection with the Serb-Croat-Slovene State in so far that Radkersburg was given to the Austrians; also the basin of Marburg, in Styria, was attached to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, as previously determined. The period within which Austria is obliged to give favored-nation treatment in its commercial relations with the allied and associated powers is reduced by the treaty from five to three years.

AUSTRIA ACCEPTS TREATY

On his return to Vienna Dr. Renner presented the treaty to the Austrian Assembly. On Sept. 6 the Assembly, by a vote of 97 to 23, decided to accept and sign the treaty. It protested, however, against "the violation of Austria's right of free disposal of herself." The German nationalists voted against accepting the treaty, while some members of the South Tyrolese Party abstained from voting. The vote was taken after adoption, without dissent, of the Government's resolution of protest, presented by the Christian Socialist, Hauser, declaring that the territorial clauses of the treaty violated grossly the national claim to self-determination and the basis on which the armistice was concluded. The resolution read:

We raise once more our voices against a peace founded on brute force. As one man we decline the dividing up of our peoples into free and unfree, as is done by this peace. We further declare that the 4,000,000 Germans forced under foreign rule will for all time insist on self-determination as the only possible basis on which the modern State may be founded.

The resolution also declared that ultimate union with Germany was an absolute necessity and expressed the hope that when the hatred of the war died

Sinking of German Fleet at Scapa Flow

Burning of the French Flags

THE signing of the Peace Treaty was preceded by two German acts of bad faith—the sinking of the interned German fleet at Scapa Flow and the burning of certain French flags in Berlin. Both acts were in direct violation of the terms of the armistice which Germany had accepted.

On Saturday, June 21, just before the German Government decided to sign the treaty unconditionally, the crews of the German naval vessels interned at Scapa Flow sank all the big battleships and battle cruisers, except the Baden, with numerous smaller craft, while others went ashore in a half-sunken condition. The hoisting of a red flag at noon was the signal to scuttle the ships which had been formally surrendered to the allied nations and subsequently interned. The seacocks were opened, and, as the great vessels slowly sank, the crews took to small boats and rowed toward the neighboring islands. Some of the fleeing men were fired upon, and there were a few casualties. But most of the surrendered fleet was soon submerged beneath the waves.

This stroke was a complete surprise. The British Admiralty at first denied the report of the sinking, but later confirmed it, and issued an official statement indicating that the German Rear Admiral and most of the German crews had been taken into custody.

The German Admiral responsible for the sinking was von Reuter. When taken into custody he informed the British commander that, believing the armistice terminated, he had ordered the scuttling of the ships in pursuance of orders given early in the war by the former Emperor that no German man-of-war was to be surrendered. The news aroused general rejoicing among the Germans. Admiral Reinhardt Scheer, who had commanded the German High Sea Fleet during the war, officially announced his gratification.

It was stated on June 26 that the

Allies, after an official investigation, would exact reparation for the loss. The following letter was sent by Premier Clemenceau to the German peace delegation regarding both the ship and flag episodes:

June 25, 1919.

Mr. President: The terms of the armistice signed by Germany on Nov. 11, 1918, provided as follows:

"Article 23. The German surface warships which shall be specified by the Allies and the United States shall forthwith be disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports, or, failing them, in the allied ports designated by the Allies and the United States. They shall there remain under supervision by the Allies and the United States, only care and maintenance parties being left on board."

On June 21 the German warships which had been handed over to the allied and associated powers and were at anchor in the roadstead at Scapa Flow, with the German care and maintenance parties on board, as provided in the armistice, were sunk by these parties under the orders of the German Admiral in command. According to the information which has been collected and transmitted by the British Admiralty, the German Admiral in command of these parties of the German naval forces has alleged that he acted in the belief that the armistice expired on June 21 at midday, and consequently, in his opinion, the destruction in question was no violation of its terms.

In law, Germany, by signing the terms of Article 23, set out above, entered into an undertaking that the ships handed over by her should remain in the ports indicated by the allied and associated powers, and that care and maintenance parties should be left on board with such instructions and under such orders as would insure that the armistice should be observed.

The sinking of these ships, instead of their preservation, as had been provided for, and in breach of the undertaking embodied in Article 31 of the armistice against all acts of destruction, constituted at once a violation of the armistice, the destruction of the pledge handed over and an act of gross bad faith toward the allied and associated powers.

The Admiral in command of the care and maintenance parties belonging to the German naval forces has, while recognizing that the act was a breach of the armistice, attempted to justify it by alleg-

ing his belief that the armistice has come to an end.

This alleged justification is not well founded, as, under the communication addressed to the German delegation by the allied and associated powers on June 16, 1919, the armistice would only terminate on refusal to sign the peace, or, if no answer were returned, on June 23 at 7 o'clock. According to international law, as embodied particularly in Articles 40 and 41 of the regulations annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907, every serious violation of the armistice by one of the parties gives the other party the right to denounce it and even in case of urgency to recommence hostilities at once.

A violation of the terms of the armistice by individuals, acting on their own initiative, only confers the right of demanding the punishment of these offenders, and, if necessary, indemnity for the losses sustained. It will therefore be open to the allied and associated powers to bring before a military tribunal the persons responsible for these acts of destruction, so that the appropriate penalties may be imposed. Furthermore, the incident gives the allied and associated powers a right to reparation for the loss caused, and in consequence a right to proceed to such further measures as the said powers may deem appropriate.

Lastly, the sinking of the German fleet is not only a violation of the armistice, but can only be regarded by the allied and associated powers as a deliberate breach in advance of the conditions communicated to Germany and now accepted by her. Furthermore, the incident is not an isolated act. The burning or permission for the burning of the French flags which Germany was to restore constitutes another deliberate breach in advance of these same conditions.

A telegram came from Berlin on June 23 saying that the French flags captured by the Germans in 1870 had been burned in front of the statue of Frederick the Great in Unter den Linden. German officers and soldiers of the Guard Cavalry Division had entered the War Museum and taken out the flags, already packed to be delivered to the French under the terms of the treaty. A crowd carried them down Unter den Linden singing "Die Wacht am Rhein" and "Deutschland über Alles." They soaked the flags in gasoline and burned them, while thousands marched up and down the streets rejoicing. Among the banners destroyed was one captured from Napoleon I. in 1814. Peace Conference opinion, when the news reached Paris,

was unanimous in condemning this act as a violation of Article 245 of the Peace Treaty, which stipulated that these flags should be returned to France.

Of the two acts of destruction, the burning of the flags hit France the harder, for the sentimental interest which she had attached to the return of these standards was extreme. An article in the *Revue Bleue* for May told eloquently what the restoration of the flags of 1870 would have meant for France.

Neither of these acts had been conceived or countenanced by the German Government. Neither President Ebert nor Premier Bauer expressed any satisfaction on hearing of the sinking of the German warships, their general attitude being that it simply meant more for Germany to pay in reparations; and the burning of the French flags was wholly a matter of irresponsible private initiative. German crowds rejoiced over both occurrences, but Bauer declared that the German Government intended to execute the terms of the peace treaty as loyally as possible; this attitude, evinced in acts such as the removal of General von Hoffmann in the east for anti-ally activity, predisposed the conference favorably toward the Ebert Government.

Soon after the sinking of the ships Sir Horatio Bottomley intimated in the House of Commons that President Wilson or his representatives had been responsible for the disaster by insisting on an internment rather than on an absolute surrender policy. The American attitude that the German warships should be sunk instead of distributed had not been modified. On July 7 the Commission of Admirals appointed to decide on the disposition of the remaining warships in German ports announced that no recommendation was possible until certain matters of policy had been decided by the powers. Japan and the United States favored the breaking up or sinking of the remaining warships. Great Britain approved breaking them up. Italy agreed to their destruction provisionally, but in case of distribution insisted on her due share, and France desired their distribution. Some of the smaller powers, notably Poland, favored destruction.

Terms of the Rhineland Occupation

Powers of the High Commission

WHEN the Council of Four handed the final version of the Peace Treaty to the German delegation at Versailles on June 16, 1919, they also presented the text of an agreement defining the terms under which the allied armies would occupy the Rhine Provinces during the fifteen years that would elapse before the final indemnity payment. This document was in the nature of a detailed elaboration of Articles 428-432 of the Peace Treaty; it was signed by the Germans on June 28 and ratified on July 9 at the same time as the main document. The text is as follows:

Agreement between the United States of America, Belgium, the British Empire, and France of the one part, and Germany of the other part, with regard to the military occupation of the territories of the Rhine.

The undersigned, acting under the powers conferred upon them by their respective Governments, have come to the following agreement as provided for in Article 432 of the Treaty of Peace of even date:

ARTICLE 1.—In accordance with Article 428 and the following articles of the treaty of even date, the armed forces of the allied and associated powers will continue in occupation of German territory (as such occupation is defined by Article 5 of the armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, as extended by Article 7 of the additional convention of January 16, 1919) as a guarantee of the execution by Germany of the treaty. No German troops, except prisoners of war in process of repatriation, shall be admitted to the occupied territories, even in transit, but police forces of a strength to be determined by the allied and associated powers may be maintained in these territories for the purpose of insuring order.

ARTICLE 2.—There shall be constituted a civilian body, styled the Interallied Rhineland High Commission and hereinafter called "The High Commission," which, except in so far as the treaty may otherwise provide, shall be the supreme representative of the allied and associated powers within the occupied territory. It shall consist of four members, representing Belgium, France, Great Britain, and the United States.

GERMAN COURTS TO SIT

ARTICLE 3.—(a) The High Commission shall have the power to issue ordinances so far as may be necessary for securing the maintenance, safety, and requirements of the allied and associated forces. Such ordinances shall be published under the authority of the

High Commission, and copies thereof shall be sent to each of the allied and associated Governments and also to the German Government. When so published they shall have the force of law and shall be recognized as such by all the allied military authorities and by the German civil authorities.

(b) The members of the High Commission shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

(c) The German courts shall continue to exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction, subject to the exceptions contained in Paragraphs (d) and (e) below.

(d) The armed forces of the allied and associated powers and the persons accompanying them, to whom the general officers commanding the armies of occupation shall have issued a revokable pass, and any persons employed by or in the service of such troops, shall be exclusively subject to the military law and jurisdiction of such forces.

(e) Any person who commits any offense against the persons or property of the armed forces of allied and associated powers may be made amenable to the military jurisdiction of the said forces.

RIGHT OF ARREST

ARTICLE 4.—The German authorities, both in the occupied and in the unoccupied territories, shall, on the demand of any duly authorized military officer of the occupying forces, arrest and hand over to the nearest commander of the allied or associated troops any person charged with an offense which is amenable under Paragraph (d) or Paragraph (e) of Article 3, above, to the military jurisdiction of the allied or associated forces.

ARTICLE 5.—The civil administration of the provinces (provinzen), Government departments (regierungsbezirke), urban circles (stadtkreise), rural circles (landkreise), and communes (gemeinde) shall remain in the hands of the German authorities and the civil administration of these areas shall continue under German law and under the authority of the Central German Government, except in so far as it may be necessary for the High Commission, by ordinance under Article 3, to adapt that administration to the needs and circumstances of military occupation. It is understood that the German authorities shall be obliged, under penalty of removal, to conform to the ordinances issued in virtue of Article 3, above.

RIGHT TO REQUISITION

ARTICLE 6.—The right to requisition in kind and to demand services in the manner laid down in The Hague Convention of 1907 shall be exercised by the allied and associated armies of occupation. The charges for the requisitions effected in the zone of each

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allied and associated army and the estimate of damage caused by the troops of occupation shall be determined by local commissions composed in equal representation of German civilians, appointed by the German civilian authorities, and allied military officers, and presided over by some person appointed by the High Commission.

The German Government shall continue to be responsible for the cost of maintenance of the troops of occupation under the conditions fixed by the treaty. The German Government shall also be responsible for the costs and expenses of the High Commission and for its housing. Suitable premises for the housing of the High Commission shall be selected in consultation with the German Government.

ARTICLE 7.—The allied troops shall continue undisturbed in possession of any premises at present occupied by them, subject to the provisions of Article 8 (b), below.

ARTICLE 8.—(a) The German Government shall undertake, moreover, to place at the disposal of the allied and associated troops, and to maintain in good state of repair, all the military establishments required for the said troops with the necessary furniture, heating, and lighting, in accordance with the regulations concerning these matters in force in the various armies concerned. These shall include accommodation for officers and men, guardrooms, offices, administrative, regimental, and staff headquarters, workshops, storerooms, hospitals, laundries, regimental schools, riding schools, stables, training grounds, and rifle and artillery ranges, aviation grounds, grazing grounds, warehouses for supplies, and grounds for military manoeuvres, also theatre and cinema premises, and reasonable facilities for sport and for recreation grounds for the troops.

BILLETING EXCEPTIONAL

(b) Private soldiers and non-commissioned officers shall be accommodated in barracks, and shall not be billeted on the inhabitants except in cases of exceptional emergency. In the event of the existing military establishments being insufficient or not being considered suitable, the allied and associated troops may take possession of any other public or private establishment, with its personnel, suitable for those purposes, or, if there are no such suitable premises, they may require the construction of new barracks. Civilian and military officers and their families may be billeted on the inhabitants in accordance with the billeting regulations in force in each army.

ARTICLE 9.—No German direct taxes or duties will be payable by the High Commission, the allied armies, or their personnel. Food supplies, arms, clothing, equipment, and provisions of all kinds for the use of the allied and associated armies or addressed to the military authorities or to the High Commission or to canteens and officers' messes shall be transported free of charge and free of all import duties of any kind.

COMMUNICATIONS

ARTICLE 10.—The personnel employed on all means of communication (railways, railroads, and tramways of all kinds, waterways—including the Rhine—roads and rivers) shall obey any orders given by or on behalf of the Commander in Chief of the allied and associated armies for military purposes. All the material and all the civil personnel necessary for the maintenance and working of all means of communication must be kept intact on all such means of communication in the occupied territory. The transport on the railways of allied troops or individual soldiers or officers on duty or furnished with a warrant will be effected without payment.

ARTICLE 11.—The armies of occupation may continue to use for military purposes all existing telegraphic and telephonic installations. The armies of occupation shall also have the right to continue to install and use military telegraph and telephone lines, wireless stations, and all other similar means of communication which may appear to them expedient for this purpose. Subject to the approval of the High Commission, they may enter upon and occupy any land, whether public or private. The personnel of the public telegraph and telephone services shall continue to obey the orders of the Commander in Chief of the allied and associated armies given for military purposes. Allied and associated telegrams and messages of an official nature shall be entitled to priority over all other communications, and shall be dispatched free of charge. The allied and associated military authorities shall have the right to supervise the order in which such communications are transmitted. No wireless telegraphy installations shall be allowed to be erected by the authorities or by the inhabitants of the occupied territory without previous authorization by the allied and associated military authorities.

POSTAL SERVICE

ARTICLE 12.—The personnel of the postal service shall obey any orders given by or on behalf of the Commander in Chief of the allied armies for military purposes. The public postal service shall continue to be carried out by the German authorities, but this shall not in any way affect the retention of the military postal services organized by the armies of occupation, who shall have the right to use all existing postal routes for military requirements. The said armies shall have the right to run postal wagons with all necessary personnel on all existing postal routes. The German Government shall transmit free of charge and without examination letters and parcels which may be intrusted to its post offices by or for the armies of occupation or by or for the High Commission, and shall be responsible for the value of any letters or parcels lost.

ARTICLE 13.—The High Commission shall have the power, wherever they think it nec-

TERMS OF THE RHINELAND OCCUPATION

essary, to declare a state of siege in any part of the territory or in the whole of it. Upon such declaration the military authorities shall have the powers provided in the German imperial law of May 30, 1892. In case of emergency, where public order is disturbed or

threatened in any district, the local military authorities shall have the power to take such temporary measures as may be necessary for restoring order. In such case the military authorities shall report the facts to the High Commission.

Protocol to the German Peace Treaty

A BRIEF protocol to the German Peace Treaty was signed and ratified by Germany on the same date as the treaty itself. When President Wilson sent this supplementary document to the United States Senate on Aug. 1 it was accompanied by a letter from Secretary Lansing and by a brief message, in which the President gave this explanation of its origin:

The protocol originated in a written interchange of views between the representatives of the allied and associated powers and the representatives of Germany, as a result of which the representatives of Germany requested that certain explanations of methods and facilities, which it was proposed should be accorded the German Government in the execution of the treaty, should be reduced to writing and signed by the powers signatory to the treaty so as to form a definite and binding memorandum.

The text of the protocol, which was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, is as follows:

With a view to indicating precisely the conditions in which certain provisions of the treaty of even date are to be carried out, it is agreed by the high contracting parties that:

1. A commission will be appointed by the principal allied and associated powers to supervise the destruction of the fortifications of Heligoland, in accordance with the treaty. This commission will be authorized to decide what portion of the works protecting the coast from sea ero-

sion is to be maintained and what portion must be destroyed.

2. Sums reimbursed by Germany to German nationals to indemnify them in respect of the interests which they may be found to possess in the railways and mines referred to in the second paragraph of Article 156 shall be credited to Germany against the sums due by way of reparation. [The paragraph referred to relates to the Tsing-Tao-Tsinanfu Railway and mines in China acquired by Japan under the Peace Treaty.]

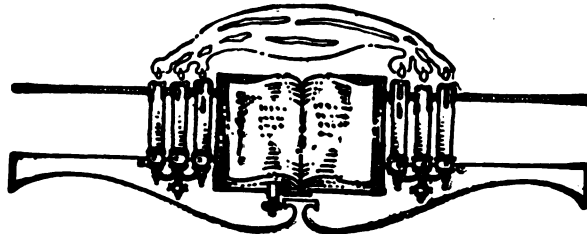
3. The list of persons to be handed over to the allied and associated Governments by Germany under the second paragraph of Article 228 shall be communicated to the German Government within a month from the coming into force of the treaty.

4. The reparation commission referred to in Article 240 and paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of Annex 4 cannot require trade secrets or other confidential information to be divulged.

5. From the signature of the treaty and within the ensuing four months Germany will be entitled to submit for examination by the allied and associated powers documents and proposals in order to expedite the work connected with reparation, and thus to shorten the investigation and accelerate the decisions.

6. Proceedings will be taken against persons who have committed punishable offenses in the liquidation of German property, and the allied and associated powers will welcome any information which the German Government can furnish on this subject.

Done at Versailles the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.



Germany's Ratification of the Treaty

Bill Passed By the National Assembly at Weimar on July 9 After a Brief Debate

THE German National Assembly ratified the Peace Treaty by a vote of 208 to 115 on July 9; 99 Deputies did not vote. The text of the ratification resolution consisted of two clauses, reading as follows:

The peace treaty between Germany and the allied and associated powers, signed on June 28, 1919, and the protocol belonging thereto, as well as the agreement relative to the occupation of the Rhineland, signed the same day, are agreed to.

This law comes into force on the day of its promulgation.

Most of the Ministers were present at the meeting of the National Assembly, and there was a full attendance of Deputies. Dr. Hermann Müller, the Foreign Minister, in introducing the Government bills, explained that the hastening of the ratification order would bring about the lifting of the blockade. "We are about to enter upon a forty years' march through a desert," he said. "I can find no other term for the path of suffering which fulfillment of the treaty prescribes for us."

Dr. Peter Spahn, leader of the Catholic Centre Party, said: "We agreed to the treaty, under hard compulsion, to save ourselves from anarchy and to preserve the Fatherland from internal ruin."

Herr Kreizig, Socialist; Professor Schücking, Democrat; Dr. Traub, National Party, and Herr Kahl, People's Party, all spoke, violently protesting against the injustice of the treaty, the impossibility of its fulfillment, and declaring that the day of Germany's liberation would come.

At the opening of the session the Conservatives introduced a resolution which would make ratification dependent upon the judgment of recognized authorities on international law as to whether the proposed international court could institute trial and could, with retroactive jurisdiction and authority, impose penalties which have not heretofore been prescribed in international law. The

resolution was aimed at the enforcement of Articles 227 to 230, inclusive, of the Peace Treaty (providing for the trial of the former Emperor and of other Germans accused of causing the war or of violations of the rules of war). It also provided for the establishment of a neutral court to pass upon the question of responsibility for the conflict.

The bill ratifying the treaty passed the first reading, and then a recess was taken to give the parties an opportunity to discuss the resolution. After fifteen minutes the Assembly reconvened, and Dr. Schiffer, National Liberal leader and former Minister of Finance, stated that he regretted the introduction of the resolution, as it would only serve to confuse the situation. A Clerical speaker said that the time for reservations had passed. The Conservatives defended the resolution, but it was decisively beaten.

The treaty bill was then taken up and quickly passed second and third readings, with the opposition coming from Democrats, National Liberals, and Conservatives. Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former Minister of Finance; Friedrich von Payer, former Imperial Vice Chancellor, and a few other Democrats voted for ratification.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS DELIVERED

The official documents verifying the ratification reached the French Foreign Office on July 11.

The German ratification document consisted of the text of the Peace Treaty, the annexes and the convention dealing with the occupation of the Rhineland. The ratification concluded with the following paragraph:

Having been approved by the legislative body of the German Empire, and having been submitted to me, I declare that I ratify the treaty, protocol, and convention, and I promise to fulfill and insure the execution of their clauses.

(Signed) EBERT.

President of the German Empire.
Berlin, 9th of July, 1919.

The Polish Treaty

Covenant That Assures Liberty to Minorities in Poland— M. Clemenceau's Letter

WHEN the principal allied and associated powers signed the German Peace Treaty on June 28, 1919, they also signed another important pact to which the Polish delegates had just affixed their signatures. This treaty with Poland was the first of a series of formal agreements binding the new States of Eastern Europe to maintain the institutions of modern political freedom under the aegis of the League of Nations. Under the treaty Poland agreed to protect minorities against discrimination, to assume payment of such a share of the Russian debt as should be assigned to her by the Interallied Commission, and to support important international postal, railway, telegraphic, and other conventions incidental to the establishment of a national standing.

A statement issued at Paris on June 30 by Louis Marshall, President of the Combined Jewish Committees of the World, contained this comment on the treaty:

"Nothing thus far accomplished by the Peace Conference exceeds in importance the Polish treaty signed at Versailles, which is the first of a series of conventions with the new States of Eastern Europe to protect all racial, religious, and linguistic minorities. It is literally a charter of liberty and the final act of emancipation of those who for centuries have been bereft of elemental human rights. Had nothing else been achieved in Paris than the pronouncement that henceforth the rights of minorities are to be respected and safeguarded, this act of righteousness alone would have evidenced a memorable advance in the onward march of civilization. It enshrines in the law of nations the eternal principles of human liberty that constitute the distinctive features of the American Constitution."

EXPLANATORY LETTER

In transmitting this document to the Polish Government on June 24 Premier Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, addressed a long letter to Premier Paderewski at Warsaw setting forth the reasons for the various conditions laid down in it. The letter began as follows:

On behalf of the Supreme Council of the principal allied and associated powers, I have the honor of communicating to you herewith, in its final form, the text of the treaty which, in accordance with Article 93 of the treaty of peace with Germany, Poland will be asked to sign on the occasion of the confirmation of her recognition as an independent State and of the transference to her of the territories included in the former German Empire which are assigned to her by the said treaty.

The principal provisions were communicated to the Polish delegation in Paris in May last and were subsequently communicated direct to the Polish Government through the French Minister at Warsaw. The council since has had the advantage of the suggestions which you were good enough to convey in the memorandum of June 16, and as the result of a study of the suggestion modifications have been introduced in the text of the treaty. The council believes that it will be found that, by the modification, the principal points to which attention was drawn in your memorandum have, in so far as they relate to specific provisions of the treaty, been adequately covered.

In formally communicating to you the final decision of the principal allied and associated powers in this matter I should desire to take this opportunity of explaining in a more formal manner than has hitherto been employed the conditions by which the principal allied and associated powers have been guided in dealing with the question.

Guiding Principles

One.—In the first place, I would point out that the treaty does not constitute any fresh departure. It has for long been the established procedure of the public law of Europe that when a State is created, or even when large accessions of territory are made to an established State, the joint and formal recognition by the great powers should be accompanied by the requirement that such State

should, in the form of a binding international convention, undertake to comply with certain principles of government. This principle, for which there are numerous other precedents, received the explicit sanction when, at the last great assembly of European powers—the Congress of Berlin—the sovereignty and independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were recognized. It is desirable to recall the words used on this occasion by the British, French, Italian and German plenipotentiaries, as recorded in the protocol of June 28, 1878.

Premier Clemenceau here quoted from Lord Salisbury, William Henry Waddington, French plenipotentiary at the Berlin Congress; Prince Bismarck, Count de Launay, Italian plenipotentiary, and Count Andrassy of Austria-Hungary, who made declarations on the occasion in question emphasizing the necessity of establishing the principle of religious liberty. Premier Clemenceau then resumed:

Two.—The principal allied and associated powers are of the opinion that they would be false to the responsibility which rests upon them if on this occasion they departed from what has become an established tradition. In this connection I must also recall to your consideration the fact that it is through the endeavors and sacrifices of the powers in whose name I am addressing you that the Polish Nation owes the recovery of its independence. It is by their decision that sovereignty is being re-established over the territories in question, and that the inhabitants of these territories are being incorporated in the Polish Nation. It is on the support which these powers will afford to the League of Nations that the future Poland will, to a large extent, depend for the secure possession of these territories.

There rests, therefore, upon these powers an obligation which they cannot evade to secure in the most permanent and solemn form guarantees for certain essential rights which will afford to the inhabitants the necessary protection, whatever changes may take place in the internal constitution of the Polish State.

It is in accordance with this obligation that Clause 93 was inserted in the treaty of peace with Germany. This clause relates only to Poland, but a similar clause applies the same principles to Czechoslovakia, and other clauses have been inserted in the treaty of peace with Austria, and will be inserted in those with Hungary and Bulgaria, under which similar obligations will be undertaken by other States which, under those treaties, receive large accessions of territory.

The consideration of these facts would be sufficient to show that by the requirement addressed to Poland at the time when it is receiving in the most solemn manner the joint

recognition of the re-establishment of its sovereignty and independence, and when large accessions of territory are being assigned to it, no doubt is thrown upon the sincerity of the desire of the Polish Government and the Polish Nation to maintain the general principles of justice and liberty. Any such doubt would be far from the intention of the principal allied and associated powers.

Three.—It is indeed true that the new treaty differs in form from earlier conventions dealing with similar matters. The change of form is a necessary consequence and an essential part of the new system of international relations which is now being built up by the establishment of the League of Nations. Under the older system the guarantee for the execution of similar provisions was vested in the great powers. Experience has shown that this was in practice ineffective, and it was also open to the criticism that it might give to the great powers, either individually or in combination, a right to interfere in the internal constitution of the States affected, which could be used for political purposes.

Under the new system the guarantee is intrusted to the League of Nations. The clauses dealing with this guarantee have been carefully drafted, so as to make it clear that Poland will not be in any way under the tutelage of those powers who are signatory to the treaty.

I should desire, moreover, to point out to you that provision has been inserted in the treaty by which disputes arising out of its provisions may be brought before the court of the League of Nations. In this way differences which might arise will be removed from the political sphere and placed in the hands of a judicial court, and it is hoped that thereby an impartial decision will be facilitated, while at the same time any danger of political interferences by the powers in the internal affairs of Poland will be avoided.

Four.—The particular provisions to which Poland and the other States will be asked to adhere differ to some extent from those which were imposed on the new States at the Congress of Berlin. But the obligations imposed upon new States seeking recognition have at all times varied with the particular circumstances.

NEW PROVISIONS NECESSARY

Premier Clemenceau here pointed out that obligations with regard to the Belgian provinces were undertaken by the Netherlands in 1814, when those provinces were annexed; that when the Kingdom of Greece was established it was determined that its Government could be both monarchical and constitutional, and that Greece, when she annexed Thessaly, accepted a stipulation

THE POLISH TREATY

that the lives, property, honor, religion, and customs of the inhabitants should be respected and all their rights protected. He continued:

The situation with which the powers have now to deal is new, and experience has shown that new provisions are necessary. The territories now being transferred both to Poland and to other States inevitably include a large population speaking languages and belonging to races different from that of the people with whom they will be incorporated. Unfortunately, the races have been estranged by long years of bitter hostilities. It is believed that these populations will be more easily reconciled to their new position if they know that from the very beginning they have assured protection and adequate guarantees against any danger of unjust treatment or oppression. The very knowledge that these guarantees exist will, it is hoped, materially help the reconciliation which all desire, and will, indeed, do much to prevent the necessity of its enforcement.

Five.—To turn to the individual clauses of the present treaty, Article 2 guarantees to all inhabitants those elementary rights which are, as a matter of fact, secured in every civilized State. Clauses 3 to 6 are designed to insure that all the genuine residents in the territories now transferred to Polish sovereignty shall in fact be assured of the full privileges of citizenship. Articles 7 and 8, which are in accordance with precedent, provide against any discrimination against those Polish citizens who by their religion, their language, or by their race differ from the large mass of the Polish population. It is understood that, far from raising any objection to the manner of the articles, the Polish Government have already, of their own accord, declared their firm intention of basing their institutions on the cardinal principles enunciated therein.

PROTECTION FOR JEWS

The following articles are of a rather different nature, in that they provide special privileges to certain groups of these minorities: * * *

Six.—Clauses 10 and 12 deal specifically with the Jewish citizens of Poland. The information at the disposal of the principal allied and associated powers as to the existing relations between the Jews and the other Polish citizens has led them to the conclusion that, in view of the historical development of the Jewish question and the great animosity aroused by it, special protection is necessary for the Jews of Poland. These clauses have been limited to the minimum

which seems necessary under the circumstances of the present day, viz., the maintenance of Jewish schools and the protection of the Jews in the religious observance of their Sabbath.

It is believed that these stipulations will not create any obstacle to the political unity of Poland. They do not constitute any recognition of the Jews as a separate political community within the Polish State. The educational provisions contain nothing beyond what is in fact provided in the educational institutions of many highly organized modern States. There is nothing inconsistent with the sovereignty of the State in recognizing and supporting schools in which children shall be brought up in the religious influences to which they are accustomed in their home. Ample safeguards against any use of non-Polish language to encourage a spirit of national separation have been provided in the express acknowledgment that the provisions of this treaty do not prevent the Polish State from making the Polish language obligatory in all its schools and educational institutions.

In Part 7 of his letter Premier Clemenceau dealt with the economic clauses of the treaty, such as freedom of transit and Poland's adhesion to certain international conventions, and pointed out that the powers had not been actuated by any desire to secure special commercial advantages for themselves. He added:

In conclusion, I desire to express to you on behalf of the allied and associated powers the very sincere satisfaction which they feel at the re-establishment of Poland as an important State. They cordially welcome the Polish Nation on its re-entry into the family of nations. They recall the great services which the ancient Kingdom of Poland rendered to Europe both in public affairs and by its contributions to the progress of mankind, which is the common work of all civilized nations. They believe that the voice of Poland will add to the wisdom of their common deliberations in the cause of peace and harmony, that its influence will be used to further the spirit of liberty and justice, both in internal and external affairs, and that thereby it will help in the work of reconciliation between the nations which, with the conclusion of peace, will be the common task of humanity.

The text of the treaty itself, signed by Poland and the allied and associated powers on June 28, 1919, is given in full on the next four pages.

Text of Treaty Signed by Poland

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, the principal allied and associated powers, on the one hand; and Poland, on the other hand:

Whereas, The allied and associated powers have, by the success of their arms, restored to the Polish Nation the independence of which it had been unjustly deprived; and

Whereas, By the proclamation of March 30, 1917, the Government of Russia assented to the re-establishment of an independent Polish State; and

Whereas, The Polish State, which now, in fact, exercises sovereignty over those portions of the former Russian Empire which are inhabited by a majority of Poles, has already been recognized as a sovereign and important State by the principal allied and associated powers; and

Whereas, Under the treaty of peace concluded with Germany by the allied and associated powers, a treaty of which Poland is a signatory, certain portions of the former German Empire will be incorporated in the territory of Poland; and

Whereas, Under the terms of the said treaty of peace, the boundaries of Poland not already laid down are to be subsequently determined by the principal allied and associated powers;

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, on the one hand, confirming their recognition of the Polish State, constituted within the said limits as a sovereign and independent member of the family of nations and being anxious to insure the execution of the provisions of Article 93 of the said treaty of peace with Germany;

Poland, on the other hand, desiring to conform her institutions to the principles of liberty and justice, and to give a sure guarantee to the inhabitants of the territory over which she assumed sovereignty; for this purpose the following representatives of the high contracting parties:

The President of the United States of America; his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India; the President of the French Republic; his Majesty the King of Italy; his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and the President of the Polish Republic, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1.—Poland undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 and 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental law, and that no law, regulation, or

official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2.—Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection to life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.

All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

ARTICLE 3.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals ipso facto Hungarian or Russian nationals habitually resident, at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Poland under the treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, respectively, but subject to any provisions in the said treaties relating to persons who became resident in such territory after a specified date.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over 12 years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to option must, except where it is otherwise provided in the treaty of peace with Germany, transfer within the succeeding twelve months their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Polish territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals, ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality, persons of German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationality who were born in the said territory of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Polish authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Polish nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Polish nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

ARTICLE 5.—Poland undertakes to put no

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hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, to choose whether or not they will acquire Polish nationality.

ARTICLE 6.—All persons born in Polish territory who are not born nationals of another State shall ipso facto become Polish nationals.

ARTICLE 7.—All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion.

Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 8.—Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 9.—Poland will provide, in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Polish Government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budgets, for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

The provisions of this article shall apply to Polish citizens of German speech only in that part of Poland which was German territory on Aug. 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 10.—Educational committees ap-

pointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organization and management of these schools.

The provision of Article 9 concerning the use of language in schools shall apply to these schools.

ARTICLE 11.—Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath. This provision, however, shall not exempt Jews from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Polish citizens for the necessary purposes of military service, national defense, or the preservation of public order.

Poland declares her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday, nor will registration for electoral or other purposes be compelled to be performed on a Saturday.

ARTICLE 12.—Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern, and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Poland agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Poland further agrees that any difference of opinion as to question of law or fact arising out of these articles, between the Polish Government and any of the principal allied and associated powers, or any other power a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Polish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereof demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13.—Each of the principal allied and associated powers, on the one part, and Poland on the other shall be at liberty to appoint diplomatic representatives to reside in their respective capitals, as well as Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, to reside in the towns and ports of their respective territories.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, however, shall not enter upon their duties until they have been admitted in the usual manner by the Government in the territory of which they are stationed.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents shall enjoy all the facilities, privileges, exemptions, and immunities of every kind which are or shall be granted to Consular officers of the most favored nation.

ARTICLE 14.—Pending the establishment of a permanent tariff by the Polish Government, goods originating in the allied and associated States shall not be subject to any higher duties on importation into Poland than the most favorable rates of duty applicable to goods of the same kind under either the German, Austro-Hungarian, or Russian customs tariffs on July 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 15.—Poland undertakes to make no treaty, convention, or arrangement, and to take no other action, which will prevent her from joining in any general agreement for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Poland also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated States any favors or privileges in customs matters which they may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which, since August, 1914, the Allies have been at war, or to any State which may have concluded with Austria special customs arrangements as provided for in the treaty of peace to be concluded with Austria.

ARTICLE 16.—Pending the conclusion of the general agreement referred to above, Poland undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels, or vessels of the most favored nation, the vessels of all the allied and associated States which accord similar treatment to Polish vessels.

By way of exception from this provision, the right of Poland or any other allied or associated State to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 17.—Pending the conclusion, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit of persons, goods, vessels, carriages,

wagons, and mails in transit to or from any allied or associated State over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails respectively of Polish or of any other more favored nationality, origin, importation, or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Poland on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties. Tariffs for transit traffic across Poland and tariffs between Poland and any allied or associated power, involving through tickets or waybills, shall be established at the request of that allied or associated power.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic, and telephonic services.

It is agreed that no allied or associated power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded with respect to the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, Poland shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months' notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate obligations of this article.

ARTICLE 18.—Pending the conclusion of a general convention on the international régime of waterways, Poland undertakes to apply to the river system of the Vistula (including the Bug and the Narost) the régime applicable to international waterways set out in Articles 332 to 337 of the treaty of peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 19.—Poland undertakes to adhere, within twelve months of the coming into force of the present treaty, to the international conventions specified in Annex I.

Poland undertakes to adhere to any new convention, concluded with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations within five years of the coming into force of the present treaty, to replace any of the international instruments specified in Annex I.

The Polish Government undertakes within twelve months to notify the Secretary General of the League of Nations whether or not Poland desires to adhere to either or both of the international conventions specified in Annex II.

Until Poland has adhered to the two conventions last specified in Annex I, she agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to protect by effective measures the industrial, literary, and artistic property of nationals of the allied and associated States. In the case of any allied or associated State not adhering to the said conventions, Poland agrees to continue to afford such effective protection on

THE POLISH TREATY

the same conditions until the conclusion of a special bilateral treaty or agreement for that purpose with such allied or associated State.

Pending her adhesion to the other conventions specified in Annex I, Poland will secure to the nationals of the allied and associated powers the advantages to which they would be entitled under the said conventions.

Poland further agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to recognize and protect all rights in any industrial, literary, or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the allied and associated States now in force or which, but for the war, would have been in force in any part of her territories before their transfer to Poland. For such purposes they will accord the extensions of time agreed to in Articles 307 and 308 of the treaty with Germany.

ANNEX I.

TELEGRAPHIC AND RADIO-TELEGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

International Telegraphic Convention signed at St. Petersburg July 10-22, 1875.

Regulations and tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraph Conference signed at Lisbon June 11, 1908.

International Radio-Telegraphic Convention, July 5, 1912.

RAILWAY CONVENTIONS

Conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on Oct. 14, 1890, Sept. 20, 1893, July 16, 1895, and Sept. 19, 1906, and the current supplementary provisions made under those conventions.

Agreement on May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to custom inspections, and protocol of May 18, 1907.

Agreement of May 15, 1886, regarding the technical standardization of railways, as modified on May 18, 1907.

SANITARY CONVENTION

Convention of Dec. 3, 1903.

OTHER CONVENTIONS

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of night work for women.

Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

Conventions of May 18, 1904, and May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of the white slave traffic.

Convention of May 4, 1910, regarding the suppression of obscene publications.

International conventions of Paris of March

20, 1883, as revised at Washington in 1911, for the protection of industrial property.

International convention of Sept. 3, 1886, revised at Berlin on Nov. 13, 1908, and completed by the additional protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, for the protection of literary and artistic works.

ANNEX II.

Agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the prevention of false indications of origin on goods, revised at Washington in 1911, and agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the international registration of trade marks, revised at Washington in 1911.

ARTICLE 20.—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated States shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Germany.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given. In that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

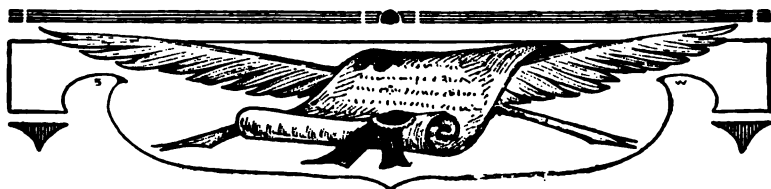
A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

ARTICLE 21.—Poland agrees to assume responsibility for such proportion of the Russian public debt and other Russian public liabilities of any kind as may be assigned to her under a special convention between the principal allied and associated powers on the one hand and Poland on the other, to be prepared by a commission appointed by the above States. In the event of the commission not arriving at an agreement, the point at issue shall be referred for immediate arbitration to the League of Nations.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Versailles, [June 28, 1919,] in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers.





Governments affirm, and Austria accepts, the responsibility of Austria and her allies for causing the loss and damage to which the allied and associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Austria-Hungary and her allies.

Article 178.—The allied and associated Governments recognize that the resources of Austria are not adequate, after taking into account the permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present treaty, to make complete reparation for such loss and damage.

The allied and associated Governments, however, require and Austria undertakes that she will make compensation as herein-after determined for damage done to the civilian population of the allied and associated powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an allied and associated power against Austria by the said aggression by land, by sea, and from the air, and in general damage as defined in Annex 1 hereto.

Article 179.—The amount of such damage for which compensation is to be made by Austria shall be determined by an inter-allied commission to be called the Reparation Commission and constituted in the form and with the powers set forth hereunder and in annexed Nos. II.-V. inclusive hereto. The commission is the same as that provided for under Article 233 of the treaty with Germany, subject to any modifications resulting from the present treaty. The commission shall constitute a section to consider the special questions raised by the application of the present treaty. This section shall have consultative power only, except in cases in which the commission shall delegate to it such powers as may be deemed convenient.

The Reparation Commission shall consider the claims and give to the Austrian Government a just opportunity to be heard.

The commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging by Austria within thirty years dating from May 1, 1921, that part of the debt which shall have been assigned to her, after the commission has decided whether Germany is in a position to pay the balance of the total amount of claims presented by Germany and her allies and approved by the commission. If, however, within the period mentioned Austria fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may within the discretion of the commission be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the allied and associated Governments acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this part of the present treaty shall determine.

MODIFICATION POSSIBLE

Article 180.—The Reparation Commis-

sion shall after May 1, 1921, from time to time consider the resources and capacity of Austria and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date and to modify the form of payments, such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 179, but not to cancel any part except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented on the commission.

Article 181.—Austria shall pay in the course of the years 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921 in such installments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may lay down, a reasonable sum which shall be determined by the commission.

Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the armistice of Nov. 3, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the principal allied and associated powers essential to enable Austria to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of said Government, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned toward the liquidation of the amount due for reparation.

ANNEXES

Annex No. 1 to the reparation articles schedules in detail the damages which may be claimed of Austria for injuries to persons or property resulting from acts of war, including naval and military pensions paid by the Allies, and also including repayments of levies or fines on civilian populations.

Annex No. 2 sets forth the organization of the Reparation Commission, its procedure in assessing damage payments by Austria and the financial arrangements Austria is required to make to secure to the Allies the discharge of its obligations.

Annex No. 3 provides for the replacement by Austria "ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war," and the Austrian Government cedes to the Allies the property in all merchant ships and fishing boats "belonging to nationals of the former Austrian Empire."

Under Annex No. 4 Austria undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of invaded allied territory.

In partial reparation Austria is re-

Rumania and "Greater Rumania"

Survey of Regions Claimed by the Bucharest Government— How Much the Peace Conference Has Granted

BY the Rumanian elections of November, 1919, the old Kingdom of Rumania brought under one Liberal (de facto) Government Ministerial and Parliamentary representation both its antebellum territory and the territory of the "Reunion." On Nov. 21 the Grand Parliament of "Greater Rumania" was convoked to sanction the reunion of Bessarabia, Bukowina, Transylvania, the Banat of Temesvár, Oltenia, Maramuresh, Ardjai, Crish and Dobrudja, all countries which the Rumanians of the old kingdom overran after the armistice and wrested from Russia, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. In all these regions, except Dobrudja, Rumania had pluralities of irredentist Rumanian population, which, on the coming of the troops from the mother country, revolted against their several masters and threw in their lot with the old kingdom. Thus Rumania seemed to realize her wildest dreams of national unification, which raised her, in population, area, and natural resources, to the rank of a great power.

Of course there was national jubilation on the part of those of Rumanian race, but by this action Rumania came into disagreement with the allied and associated powers, with whom, however, the Rumanians continued in alliance with the conciliatory attitude which they still maintain. The Supreme Council ordered the Rumanians out of Hungary when they were in Budapest levying indemnities for the damage done when the Austrians and Germans overran old Rumania during the war. The Rumanians obeyed this order to the extent of leaving the Hungarian capital and withdrawing their troops beyond the Theiss, but they retained their hold on Transylvania, a few Hungarian counties west of Transylvania and north of the Banat, and the eastern part of the latter.

The Peace Conference refused to sanction their annexation of Torontal, the

westernmost of the three counties of the Banat. The Entente powers have since sanctioned the Rumanian possession of Dobrudja, but have not yet acted on the question of her retaining the rest of her "Reunion" territories. The uncertainties arising out of this situation are bitterly complained of by the Rumanians, who attribute to it the slowness of their economic recovery, the suspension of many of their industries, and their inability to put into execution their proposed agrarian and other internal reforms. Bolshevism was repudiated at the November elections.

BANAT OF TEMESVAR

The Banat of Temesvár (pronounced Temeshvár) is a district in the southeast of Hungary, consisting of the three counties on the Danube, Krasso-Szörény, Temes, and Torontal. The latter county is bounded on the west by the Theiss River. Because of the 183,000 unredeemed Serbs in Torontal, the Entente proposes to award this county to Serbia. The Rumanians complain bitterly of this, citing their waived claim to that part of the Timok Valley in Serbia which is mostly Rumanian in population.

The term banat (Hungarian *Bánzá*) means generally a frontier province corresponding to the German *Mark*, and the old English March (cf. the Marches of Wales). This was governed by a *ban*, the Hungarian equivalent of the German *markgraf* and the old English Lord Marcher. The other banats which existed in Hungary until swept away by the Turkish wars were those of Slavonia, Bosnia, and Croatia. But when the word Banat is used without qualification it always indicates the Banat of Temesvár, which strangely came by this title after the peace of Passarowitz (1718), though it was never governed by a *ban*. The area is 11,260 square miles. It is bounded on the south by the Danube, on the

west by the Theiss, on the north by the Maros Rivers, and on the east by the Transylvanian Alps. It is mountainous in the east and southeast, while in the north, west, and southwest it is flat and in some places marshy.

The climate is generally healthy, except in the marshy parts. It is well watered and one of the most fertile farming districts of former Hungary, producing great quantities of wheat, oats, rye, barley, maize, flax, hemp, and tobacco. The products of its vineyards are of excellent quality. It is a good game country and the rivers swarm with fish. In the mountains the mineral wealth is great, including coal, iron, copper, tin, lead, and zinc. Even in the Roman period it was famous for its mineral springs, especially the sulphur springs at Mehadia, then known as the baths of Hercules (*Thermae Herculis*). In 1900 the Banat had a population of 1,431,329. According to nationality there were 578,789 Rumanians, 362,487 Germans, 351,938 Serbians, and 170,124 Magyars. The chief city is Temesvár, in the north-central part on the Alte Bega River, which had in 1900 a population of 53,033. Other cities of importance are Versecz (25,199), Lugos (16,126), Nagybeczkerek (26,407), Nagyikinda (24,843), and Panczova (19,044).

HISTORY OF THE BANAT

The Turks conquered the Banat in 1552, and ruled it as a province until 1716, when they were driven out by Prince Eugene of Savoy. After the peace of Passarovitz, two years later, it received the title of Banat, and remained under a military administration until 1751, when Maria Theresa gave it a civil administration. When the Turks were driven out the district was found to be nearly depopulated, having become a desolate wilderness of heath, forest and marsh. Rumanians poured in great numbers into this region, settling the Hungarian plain almost as far westward, in some places, as the Theiss. Count Claudius Mercy (1666-1734), who was appointed Governor of the Banat in 1720, took numerous measures for its regeneration, draining the marshes near

the Theiss and the Danube, and building canals and roads at great cost of labor. German artisans, Serbs, Magyars, and other settlers were attracted to the district, and trade and agriculture were encouraged. Maria Theresa further developed the Count's measures, colonizing the crownland with German peasants and founding many villages, besides encouraging the exploitation of the mineral resources. In 1779 the Banat was again incorporated with Hungary. After the revolution of 1848-49 the Banat and another country (*Bacz*) were separated from Hungary, and the Banat was made a distinctive Austrian crownland, but was again incorporated with Hungary in 1860. The City of Temesvár became a town in the thirteenth century, but was destroyed by the Tartars in 1242. It fell into the hands of the Turks in 1552, from whom Prince Eugene delivered it in 1716. In 1849 it successfully warded off the attack of Veczy and his Hungarian insurgents. On Aug. 9, 1849, the Austrians under Haynau defeated the Hungarians under Bem and Dembinski, near Temesvár. In the city stands a Gothic column forty feet high, by Max, erected to these defenders of 1849. The city consists of an outer town and an interesting inner town, or "fortress." Among the notable structures are the commander's palace, an immense barracks, the Greek Bishop's palace, a Catholic cathedral built by Maria Theresa, a Greek Catholic cathedral, and an arsenal housed in the castle built by Hunyady in 1442. The population is mainly German Catholic.

Up to the outbreak of the World War the Rumanians of the Banat belonged mainly to the peasant, town proletariat, and other lower classes, and were in a backward condition, culturally and socially. The ruling and business classes and the intellectual classes were Germans and Magyars, who regarded the Rumanians with haughty contempt.

THE DOBRUDJA

The peninsula projection of the Bulgarian uplands, thrusting northward between the Danube River on the west and the Black Sea on the east, known as the Dobrudja, is of little intrinsic value. It

RUMANIA AND "GREATER RUMANIA"



SHADED PORTIONS INDICATE TOTAL OF NEW TERRITORY CLAIMED BY RUMANIA. THE PEACE CONFERENCE SANCTIONED RUMANIA'S RIGHT TO THE DOBRUDJA AND PART OF THE BANAT. THE OTHER CLAIMS ARE STILL IN ABEYANCE

consists of a ridge of bare hills and plateaux, and barren, wind-swept downs, whereby the Danube is forced to make its great bend northward from Silistria, until it rounds the Dobrudja hills and breaks a marshy way to the Black Sea. Turco-Tatars roam these uplands with their flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of half-wild swine find pannage there. A few Bulgarian peasants tilled the scattered patches of fertile soil.

The region had no importance until the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. Then Russia took it from the Turks and thrust it upon Rumania, in enforced exchange for the fertile Rumanian province of Bessarabia, between the Dnieper and Pruth Rivers and the Black Sea. The Rumanians resented this robbery, and could see little use to be made of the barren Dobrudja, which was without any Rumanian population. In making the best of this bad bargain, however, Rumania, under the pressure of her expanding commerce after 1878, discovered that Dobrudja's principal harbor, Constanza, afforded a much-needed short-line com-

mercial outlet to the Black Sea. When Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, was connected by railroad with Constanza, the latter became a flourishing seaport, Rumania's chief economic outlet to the world.

The nearness of Constanza to the Bulgarian frontier, however, made Rumania dissatisfied with the situation, which exposed her seaport to capture in case of war. By her intervention in the second Baltic war of 1913, Rumania remedied this strategic defect by forcing Bulgaria to cede to her the Danube fortress of Silistria and a strip of territory extending southeast to the port of Baltchik, on the Black Sea. This cession of nearly 3,000 square miles put the Bulgarian frontier out of easy striking distance to Dobrudja, and made the Rumanian frontier a menace to the Bulgarian port of Varna. This infuriated Bulgaria, who promptly made use of the opportunity for revenge afforded her by the world war. In the Autumn of 1916, when Rumania entered the war on the Entente side, Bulgaria, as the ally of Germany,

overran Dobrudja. This Bulgaria held until Rumania struck back after the armistice was signed, and by this coup brought the Dobrudja again under her own sovereignty.

ORIGIN OF THE RUMANIANS

Speaking a language more like the ancient Latin than any other living tongue, looking like Southern Italians, though separated from the nearest Italic population by hundreds of miles of territory peopled by stocks utterly alien, the Rumanians form a racial cultural puzzle. Ethnologists accept as probable the picturesque tradition of the Rumanians, who believe themselves to be descendants of the Roman colonists planted in this part of the lower Danube, known as the ancient Dacia, in the second century A. D. When the irruption of barbarian hordes compelled Rome to abandon Dacia, at the end of the third century, a portion of the Romanized Dacians are supposed to have taken refuge in the Carpathian fastnesses of the present Transylvania, there preserving the Latin language and traditions. Historical certainty of their movements dates from the early Middle Ages, when the modern Rumanians descended from the Transylvanian Mountains into those wide plains north of the Danube which now make up the antebellum Kingdom of Rumania. They moved under pressure from the west by the warlike Magyars (of Finnish stock), who had settled the great plains of Hungary, and a branch of the Magyars, called the Czechlers, had become dominant in Transylvania.

In the lower Danubian plains the Rumanian colonists gradually formed themselves into two States, Wallachia in the south, and Moldavia, including the recent Russian province of Bessarabia, in the north. These Rumanian principalities underwent many devastations from the Turks, who, after their conquest of the Balkan Peninsula in the fifteenth century, compelled Wallachia and Moldavia to accept a status of autonomous vassalage to the Ottoman Empire. As the Turkish power declined in the early nineteenth century, the principalities, being

the natural high road from Russia to the Balkans, suffered much from the passing to and fro of the Russian armies invading the Balkans.

But in this period the Rumanians awoke to full racial consciousness, threw off the Turkish suzerainty, and in 1859, notwithstanding Russian opposition, Wallachia and Moldavia united, forming the independent Kingdom of Rumania though real independence of Turkey was not obtainable until the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. Though Rumania rendered valuable assistance to Russia against the Turks, Russia regarded Rumania as a stumbling block to her ambitions in the Balkans and in Constantinople. Russia considered her seizure of Bessarabia as a preliminary step to her intended annexation of all Rumania. when the time should be ripe.

PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY

That tract of country between the Dnieper and Pruth Rivers and the Black Sea, a goodly continuation of the Russian "black earth" belt so famous for its fertility, has for centuries been overwhelmingly Rumanian in population, as have Transylvania, Southern Bukowina, and the eastern plains of Hungary.

The racial solidarity secured by the recent formation of the kingdom of Greater Rumania would seem on the face of it to go a long way toward solution of the Balkan questions by removing the age-long Balkan curse of irredentism. What casts the shadow of doubt on this solution is the characteristic incompetence, politically and economically speaking, of the Rumanian race. The Rumanians have never been noted for ethical energy of character, for business or industrial efficiency, or for political organization and responsibility. They are a temperamental, easy-going, light-hearted, thriftless people, fond of music and of the gayeties of life, and have shown bigoted hostility to the superior thrift of the Armenians, Jews and Greeks, who control the retail business of Rumania; they have imposed ironclad legal handicaps upon these aliens, including a law forbidding their ownership

of land. From habit and the natural fertility of their soil they are good farmers and graziers; also, they are good horsemen and good individual fighters. But all the industrial and large business life of their country has been carried on by German, Russian and other foreign capital.

The oil and other mineral wealth of Rumania and Transylvania are great, as well as that of the Banat—coal, iron, tin, zinc, copper, lead, mercury, sulphur and arsenic. The gold mines of Rumania and Transylvania are the richest in Europe. Rumania is a successful stock-raising

country also. Greater Rumania is potentially a great power in the hands of a people who may not know how to use it without danger to neighboring countries. Transylvania and the Banat are removed as a natural bulwark from the Hungarians, a fact that causes dangerous rancor. The loss of Bessarabia causes much bitterness in the Ukraine.

Rumania delivered the Jews from all legal and political disabilities by a decree in June, 1919, and was compelled, after long hesitation, to agree to the treaty protecting minorities.

The Rumanian Minorities Treaty

Text of Rumania's Pact With the Allies Guaranteeing Liberty to All Classes of Citizens

WHEN the Allies gave national independence to Poland, Czechoslovakia and other new countries, and when they practically re-created Rumania with enlarged boundaries that included Transylvania and a part of the Banat of Temesvar, they exacted as the price of this service a promise that these countries would give all the privileges of individual freedom to every citizen within their boundaries, regardless of race, religion or language.

The promise took the form of a treaty with the Allies, which bound the new States to maintain the institutions of modern political liberty under the aegis of the League of Nations. Poland signed such a treaty when she signed the peace with Germany, and Rumania was told that she must subscribe to a similar one before she could be allowed to sign the Austrian peace of St. Germain. When the Austrian Treaty was signed by the other powers in September, however, Rumania held back, both because she refused to guarantee the rights of minorities and because she was still defying the Allies by keeping troops in Hungary.

For three months Rumania maintained this recalcitrant attitude; finally, on Dec. 9, 1919, after receiving an ultimatum from the Paris Peace Conference, the Rumanian delegate, General Coanda, affixed his name to the minorities treaty and to that of St. Germain.

The full text of the Rumanian instrument promising equal rights to Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Saxon, Czechler and Rumanian is as follows:

TEXT OF THE TREATY

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, the principal allied and associated powers, on the one hand, and Rumania on the other hand:

Whereas Under treaties to which the principal allied and associated powers are parties large accessions of territory are being and will be made to the Kingdom of Rumania, and

Whereas Rumania desires of her own free will to give full guarantees of liberty and justice to all inhabitants both of the old Kingdom of Rumania and of the territory added thereto, to whatever race, language or religion they may belong;

Have, after examining the question together agreed to conclude the present treaty, and for this purpose have appointed as their

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plenipotentiaries the following, reserving the right of substituting others to sign the treaty:

The President of the United States of America:

The Hon. Frank Lyon Polk, Under Secretary of State; the Hon. Henry White, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris; General Tasker H. Bliss, Military Representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India:

Sir Eyre Crowe, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., Minister Plenipotentiary, Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and for the Dominion of Canada: The Hon. Sir George Halsey Perley, K. C. M. G., High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; for the Commonwealth of Australia: The Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, High Commissioner for Australia in the United Kingdom; for the Dominion of New Zealand: The Hon. Sir Thomas Mackenzie, K. C. M. G., High Commissioner for New Zealand in the United Kingdom; for the Union of South Africa: Reginald Andrew Blankenberg, O. B. E., Acting High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in the United Kingdom; for India: Sir Eyre Crowe, K. C. B., K. C. M. G.;

The President of the French Republic: M. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War; Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Louis-Lucien Klotz, Minister of Finance; André Tardieu, Minister for the Liberated Regions; Jules Cambon, Ambassador of France;

His Majesty the King of Italy: Sir Giacomo de Martino, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan: K. Matsui, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;

His Majesty the King of Rumania: General Constantin Coanda, Corps Commander, A. D. C. to the King, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

Who have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1—Rumania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2—Rumania undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Rumania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Rumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.

ARTICLE 3—Subject to the special provisions of the treaties mentioned below, Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty within the whole territory of Rumania, including the extensions made by the treaties of peace with Austria and Hungary, or any other extensions which may hereafter be made, if such persons are not at that date nationals of a foreign State other than Austria or Hungary.

Nevertheless, Austrian and Hungarian nationals who are over 18 years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Rumanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4—Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality persons of Austrian or Hungarian nationality who were born in the territory transferred to Rumania by the treaties of peace with Austria and Hungary, or subsequently transferred to her, of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Rumanian authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Rumanian nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Rumanian nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

ARTICLE 5—Rumania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with Austria or Hungary, to choose whether or not they will acquire Rumanian nationality.

ARTICLE 6—All persons born in Rumanian territory who are not born nationals of

THE RUMANIAN MINORITIES TREATY

another State shall ipso facto become Rumanian nationals.

ARTICLE 7—Rumania undertakes to recognize as Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory, who do not possess another nationality.

ARTICLE 8—All Rumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Rumanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Rumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Rumanian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Rumanian nationals of non-Rumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 9—Rumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Rumanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 10—Rumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals of other than Rumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Rumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Rumanian Government from making the teaching of the Rumanian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

ARTICLE 11—Rumania agrees to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czechers in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters, subject to the control of the Rumanian State.

ARTICLE 12—Rumania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall

be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the council of the League of Nations.

Rumania agrees that any member of the council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Rumania further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Rumanian Government and any one of the principal allied and associated powers or any other power, a member of the council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. Rumania hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the permanent court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13—Rumania undertakes to make no treaty, convention or arrangement and to take no other action which will prevent her from joining in any general convention for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Rumania also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated powers any favors or privileges in customs matters which she may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which since August, 1914, the allied and associated powers have been at war, or to any State which in virtue of Article 222 of the treaty with Austria has special customs arrangements with such States.

ARTICLE 14—Pending the conclusion of the general convention referred to above, Rumania undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels or vessels of the most-favored nation the vessels of all the allied and associated powers which accord similar treatment to Rumanian vessels. As an exception from this provision, the right of Rumania or of any other allied or associated power to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 15—Pending the conclusion under the auspices of the League of Nations of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit,

Text of Treaty Signed by Poland

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, the principal allied and associated powers, on the one hand; and Poland, on the other hand:

Whereas, The allied and associated powers have, by the success of their arms, restored to the Polish Nation the independence of which it had been unjustly deprived; and

Whereas, By the proclamation of March 30, 1917, the Government of Russia assented to the re-establishment of an independent Polish State; and

Whereas, The Polish State, which now, in fact, exercises sovereignty over those portions of the former Russian Empire which are inhabited by a majority of Poles, has already been recognized as a sovereign and important State by the principal allied and associated powers; and

Whereas, Under the treaty of peace concluded with Germany by the allied and associated powers, a treaty of which Poland is a signatory, certain portions of the former German Empire will be incorporated in the territory of Poland; and

Whereas, Under the terms of the said treaty of peace, the boundaries of Poland not already laid down are to be subsequently determined by the principal allied and associated powers;

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, on the one hand, confirming their recognition of the Polish State, constituted within the said limits as a sovereign and independent member of the family of nations and being anxious to insure the execution of the provisions of Article 93 of the said treaty of peace with Germany;

Poland, on the other hand, desiring to conform her institutions to the principles of liberty and justice, and to give a sure guarantee to the inhabitants of the territory over which she assumed sovereignty; for this purpose the following representatives of the high contracting parties:

The President of the United States of America; his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India; the President of the French Republic; his Majesty the King of Italy; his Majesty the Emperor of Japan, and the President of the Polish Republic, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1.—Poland undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 and 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental law, and that no law, regulation, or

official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2.—Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection to life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.

All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

ARTICLE 3.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals ipso facto Hungarian or Russian nationals habitually resident, at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty, in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Poland under the treaties with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, respectively, but subject to any provisions in the said treaties relating to persons who became resident in such territory after a specified date.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over 12 years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to option must, except where it is otherwise provided in the treaty of peace with Germany, transfer within the succeeding twelve months their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Polish territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals, ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality, persons of German, Austrian, Hungarian, or Russian nationality who were born in the said territory of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Polish authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Polish nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Polish nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

ARTICLE 5.—Poland undertakes to put no

THE POLISH TREATY

hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with Germany, Austria, Hungary, or Russia, to choose whether or not they will acquire Polish nationality.

ARTICLE 6.—All persons born in Polish territory who are not born nationals of another State shall ipso facto become Polish nationals.

ARTICLE 7.—All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion.

Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 8.—Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 9.—Poland will provide, in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools instruction shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Polish Government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budgets, for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

The provisions of this article shall apply to Polish citizens of German speech only in that part of Poland which was German territory on Aug. 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 10.—Educational committees ap-

pointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organization and management of these schools.

The provision of Article 9 concerning the use of language in schools shall apply to these schools.

ARTICLE 11.—Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath. This provision, however, shall not exempt Jews from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Polish citizens for the necessary purposes of military service, national defense, or the preservation of public order.

Poland declares her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday, nor will registration for electoral or other purposes be compelled to be performed on a Saturday.

ARTICLE 12.—Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern, and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Poland agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Poland further agrees that any difference of opinion as to question of law or fact arising out of these articles, between the Polish Government and any of the principal allied and associated powers, or any other power a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Polish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereof demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13.—Each of the principal allied and associated powers, on the one part, and Poland on the other shall be at liberty to appoint diplomatic representatives to reside in their respective capitals, as well as Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, to reside in the towns and ports of their respective territories.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, however, shall not enter upon their duties until they have been admitted in the usual manner by the Government in the territory of which they are stationed.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents shall enjoy all the facilities, privileges, exemptions, and immunities of every kind which are or shall be granted to Consular officers of the most favored nation.

ARTICLE 14.—Pending the establishment of a permanent tariff by the Polish Government, goods originating in the allied and associated States shall not be subject to any higher duties on importation into Poland than the most favorable rates of duty applicable to goods of the same kind under either the German, Austro-Hungarian, or Russian customs tariffs on July 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 15.—Poland undertakes to make no treaty, convention, or arrangement, and to take no other action, which will prevent her from joining in any general agreement for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Poland also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated States any favors or privileges in customs matters which they may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which, since August, 1914, the Allies have been at war, or to any State which may have concluded with Austria special customs arrangements as provided for in the treaty of peace to be concluded with Austria.

ARTICLE 16.—Pending the conclusion of the general agreement referred to above, Poland undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels, or vessels of the most favored nation, the vessels of all the allied and associated States which accord similar treatment to Polish vessels.

By way of exception from this provision, the right of Poland or any other allied or associated State to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 17.—Pending the conclusion, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit, Poland undertakes to accord freedom of transit of persons, goods, vessels, carriages,

wagons, and mails in transit to or from any allied or associated State over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails respectively of Polish or of any other more favored nationality, origin, importation, or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Poland on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties. Tariffs for transit traffic across Poland and tariffs between Poland and any allied or associated power, involving through tickets or waybills, shall be established at the request of that allied or associated power.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic, and telephonic services.

It is agreed that no allied or associated power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded with respect to the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, Poland shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months' notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate obligations of this article.

ARTICLE 18.—Pending the conclusion of a general convention on the international régime of waterways, Poland undertakes to apply to the river system of the Vistula (including the Bug and the Narew) the régime applicable to international waterways set out in Articles 332 to 337 of the treaty of peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 19.—Poland undertakes to adhere, within twelve months of the coming into force of the present treaty, to the international conventions specified in Annex I.

Poland undertakes to adhere to any new convention, concluded with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations within five years of the coming into force of the present treaty, to replace any of the international instruments specified in Annex I.

The Polish Government undertakes within twelve months to notify the Secretary General of the League of Nations whether or not Poland desires to adhere to either or both of the international conventions specified in Annex II.

Until Poland has adhered to the two conventions last specified in Annex I, she agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to protect by effective measures the industrial, literary, and artistic property of nationals of the allied and associated States. In the case of any allied or associated State not adhering to the said conventions, Poland agrees to continue to afford such effective protection on

THE POLISH TREATY

the same conditions until the conclusion of a special bilateral treaty or agreement for that purpose with such allied or associated State.

Pending her adhesion to the other conventions specified in Annex I., Poland will secure to the nationals of the allied and associated powers the advantages to which they would be entitled under the said conventions.

Poland further agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to recognize and protect all rights in any industrial, literary, or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the allied and associated States now in force or which, but for the war, would have been in force in any part of her territories before their transfer to Poland. For such purposes they will accord the extensions of time agreed to in Articles 307 and 308 of the treaty with Germany.

ANNEX I.

TELEGRAPHIC AND RADIO-TELEGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

International Telegraphic Convention signed at St. Petersburg July 10-22, 1875.

Regulations and tariffs drawn up by the International Telegraph Conference signed at Lisbon June 11, 1908.

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Conventions and arrangements signed at Berne on Oct. 14, 1890, Sept. 20, 1893, July 16, 1895, and Sept. 19, 1906, and the current supplementary provisions made under those conventions.

Agreement on May 15, 1886, regarding the sealing of railway trucks subject to custom inspections, and protocol of May 18, 1907.

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Convention of Sept. 26, 1906, for the suppression of night work for women.

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International conventions of Paris of March

20, 1883, as revised at Washington in 1911, for the protection of industrial property.

International convention of Sept. 5, 1886, revised at Berlin on Nov. 13, 1908, and completed by the additional protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, for the protection of literary and artistic works.

ANNEX II.

Agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the prevention of false indications of origin on goods, revised at Washington in 1911, and agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the international registration of trade marks, revised at Washington in 1911.

ARTICLE 20.—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated States shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Germany.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given. In that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

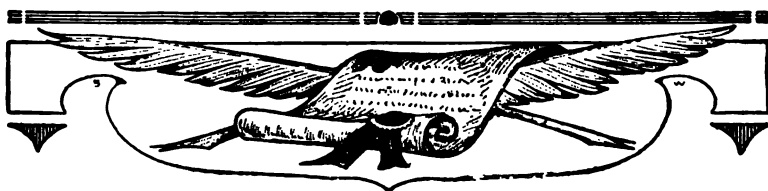
A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

ARTICLE 21.—Poland agrees to assume responsibility for such proportion of the Russian public debt and other Russian public liabilities of any kind as may be assigned to her under a special convention between the principal allied and associated powers on the one hand and Poland on the other, to be prepared by a commission appointed by the above States. In the event of the commission not arriving at an agreement, the point at issue shall be referred for immediate arbitration to the League of Nations.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Versailles, [June 28, 1919.] in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers.



CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13.—Each of the principal allied and associated powers, on the one part, and Poland on the other shall be at liberty to appoint diplomatic representatives to reside in their respective capitals, as well as Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, to reside in the towns and ports of their respective territories.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents, however, shall not enter upon their duties until they have been admitted in the usual manner by the Government in the territory of which they are stationed.

Consul Generals, Consuls, Vice Consuls, and Consular Agents shall enjoy all the facilities, privileges, exemptions, and immunities of every kind which are or shall be granted to Consular officers of the most favored nation.

ARTICLE 14.—Pending the establishment of a permanent tariff by the Polish Government, goods originating in the allied and associated States shall not be subject to any higher duties on importation into Poland than the most favorable rates of duty applicable to goods of the same kind under either the German, Austro-Hungarian, or Russian customs tariffs on July 1, 1914.

ARTICLE 15.—Poland undertakes to make no treaty, convention, or arrangement, and to take no other action, which will prevent her from joining in any general agreement for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Poland also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated States any favors or privileges in customs matters which they may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which, since August, 1914, the Allies have been at war, or to any State which may have concluded with Austria special customs arrangements as provided for in the treaty of peace to be concluded with Austria.

ARTICLE 16.—Pending the conclusion of the general agreement referred to above, Poland undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels, or vessels of the most favored nation, the vessels of all the allied and associated States which accord similar treatment to Polish vessels.

By way of exception from this provision, the right of Poland or any other allied or associated State to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

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wagons, and mails in transit to or from any allied or associated State over Polish territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons, and mails respectively of Polish or of any other more favored nationality, origin, importation, or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Poland on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable, having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties. Tariffs for transit traffic across Poland and tariffs between Poland and any allied or associated power, involving through tickets or waybills, shall be established at the request of that allied or associated power.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic, and telephonic services.

It is agreed that no allied or associated power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded with respect to the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of the present treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, Poland shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months' notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate obligations of this article.

ARTICLE 18.—Pending the conclusion of a general convention on the international régime of waterways, Poland undertakes to apply to the river system of the Vistula (including the Bug and the Narew) the régime applicable to international waterways set out in Articles 332 to 337 of the treaty of peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 19.—Poland undertakes to adhere, within twelve months of the coming into force of the present treaty, to the international conventions specified in Annex I.

Poland undertakes to adhere to any new convention, concluded with the approval of the Council of the League of Nations within five years of the coming into force of the present treaty, to replace any of the international instruments specified in Annex I.

The Polish Government undertakes within twelve months to notify the Secretary General of the League of Nations whether or not Poland desires to adhere to either or both of the international conventions specified in Annex II.

Until Poland has adhered to the two conventions last specified in Annex I, she agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to protect by effective measures the industrial, literary, and artistic property of nationals of the allied and associated States. In the case of any allied or associated State not adhering to the said conventions, Poland agrees to continue to afford such effective protection on

THE POLISH TREATY

the same conditions until the conclusion of a special bilateral treaty or agreement for that purpose with such allied or associated State.

Pending her adhesion to the other conventions specified in Annex I, Poland will secure to the nationals of the allied and associated powers the advantages to which they would be entitled under the said conventions.

Poland further agrees, on condition of reciprocity, to recognize and protect all rights in any industrial, literary, or artistic property belonging to the nationals of the allied and associated States now in force or which, but for the war, would have been in force in any part of her territories before their transfer to Poland. For such purposes they will accord the extensions of time agreed to in Articles 307 and 308 of the treaty with Germany.

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20, 1883, as revised at Washington in 1911, for the protection of industrial property.

International convention of Sept. 9, 1886, revised at Berlin on Nov. 13, 1908, and completed by the additional protocol signed at Berne on March 20, 1914, for the protection of literary and artistic works.

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Agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the prevention of false indications of origin on goods, revised at Washington in 1911, and agreement of Madrid of April 14, 1891, for the international registration of trade marks, revised at Washington in 1911.

ARTICLE 20.—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated States shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, of which the French and English texts are both authentic, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Germany.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given. In that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

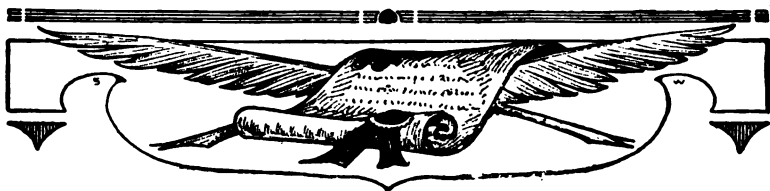
A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up.

The French Government will transmit to all the signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

ARTICLE 21.—Poland agrees to assume responsibility for such proportion of the Russian public debt and other Russian public liabilities of any kind as may be assigned to her under a special convention between the principal allied and associated powers on the one hand and Poland on the other, to be prepared by a commission appointed by the above States. In the event of the commission not arriving at an agreement, the point at issue shall be referred for immediate arbitration to the League of Nations.

In faith whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty.

Done at Versailles, [June 28, 1919.] in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers.



THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

plenipotentiaries the following, reserving the right of substituting others to sign the treaty:

The President of the United States of America:

The Hon. Frank Lyon Polk, Under Secretary of State; the Hon. Henry White, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris; General Tasker H. Bliss, Military Representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India:

Sir Eyre Crowe, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., Minister Plenipotentiary, Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and for the Dominion of Canada: The Hon. Sir George Halsey Perley, K. C. M. G., High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; for the Commonwealth of Australia: The Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, High Commissioner for Australia in the United Kingdom; for the Dominion of New Zealand: The Hon. Sir Thomas Mackenzie, K. C. M. G., High Commissioner for New Zealand in the United Kingdom; for the Union of South Africa: Reginald Andrew Blankenberg, O. B. E., Acting High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in the United Kingdom; for India: Sir Eyre Crowe, K. C. B., K. C. M. G.;

The President of the French Republic: M. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War; Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Louis-Lucien Klotz, Minister of Finance; André Tardieu, Minister for the Liberated Regions; Jules Cambon, Ambassador of France;

His Majesty the King of Italy: Sir Giacomo de Martino, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan: K. Matsui, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;

His Majesty the King of Rumania: General Constantin Coanda, Corps Commander, A. D. C. to the King, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

Who have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1—Rumania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2—Rumania undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Rumania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Rumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.

ARTICLE 3—Subject to the special provisions of the treaties mentioned below, Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty within the whole territory of Rumania, including the extensions made by the treaties of peace with Austria and Hungary, or any other extensions which may hereafter be made, if such persons are not at that date nationals of a foreign State other than Austria or Hungary.

Nevertheless, Austrian and Hungarian nationals who are over 18 years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Rumanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4—Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality persons of Austrian or Hungarian nationality who were born in the territory transferred to Rumania by the treaties of peace with Austria and Hungary, or subsequently transferred to her, of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Rumanian authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Rumanian nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Rumanian nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

ARTICLE 5—Rumania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with Austria or Hungary, to choose whether or not they will acquire Rumanian nationality.

ARTICLE 6—All persons born in Rumanian territory who are not born nationals of

THE RUMANIAN MINORITIES TREATY

another State shall ipso facto become Rumanian nationals.

ARTICLE 7—Rumania undertakes to recognize as Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory, who do not possess another nationality.

ARTICLE 8—All Rumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Rumanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Rumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Rumanian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Rumanian nationals of non-Rumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 9—Rumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Rumanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 10—Rumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals of other than Rumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Rumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Rumanian Government from making the teaching of the Rumanian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

ARTICLE 11—Rumania agrees to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czechs in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters, subject to the control of the Rumanian State.

ARTICLE 12—Rumania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall

be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the council of the League of Nations.

Rumania agrees that any member of the council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Rumania further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Rumanian Government and any one of the principal allied and associated powers or any other power, a member of the council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. Rumania hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the permanent court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13—Rumania undertakes to make no treaty, convention or arrangement and to take no other action which will prevent her from joining in any general convention for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Rumania also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated powers any favors or privileges in customs matters which she may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which since August, 1914, the allied and associated powers have been at war, or to any State which in virtue of Article 222 of the treaty with Austria has special customs arrangements with such States.

ARTICLE 14—Pending the conclusion of the general convention referred to above, Rumania undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels or vessels of the most-favored nation the vessels of all the allied and associated powers which accord similar treatment to Rumanian vessels. As an exception from this provision, the right of Rumania or of any other allied or associated power to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 15—Pending the conclusion under the auspices of the League of Nations of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit,

THE NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

Rumania undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails in transit to or from any allied or associated State over Rumanian territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails respectively of Rumanian or of any other more-favored nationality, origin, importation or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Rumania on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties.

Tariffs for transit across Rumania and tariffs between Rumania and any allied or associated power involving through tickets or waybills shall be established at the request of the allied or associated power concerned.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic, and telephonic services.

Provided that no allied or associated power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded in respect of the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of this treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, Rumania shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months' notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate the obligations of the present article.

ARTICLE 16—Pending the conclusion of a general convention on the international régime of waterways, Rumania undertakes to apply to such portions of the river system of the Pruth as may lie within, or form the boundary of, her territory, the régime set out in the first paragraph of Article 332 and in Articles 333 to 338 of the treaty of peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 17—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated powers shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, in French, in English and in Italian, of which in case of divergence the French text shall prevail, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Austria.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up. The French Government will transmit to all signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

Done at Paris, the ninth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers. Plenipotentiaries who in consequence of their temporary absence from Paris have not signed the present treaty may do so up to Dec. 20, 1919.

In faith whereof the hereinafter-named plenipotentiaries, whose powers have been found in good and due form, have signed the present treaty.

(Signed)

FRANK L. POLK,
HENRY WHITE,
TASKER H. BLISS,
EYRE A. CROWE,
GEORGE H. PERLEY,
ANDREW FISHER,
THOMAS MACKENZIE,
R. A. BLANKENBERG,
EYRE A. CROWE,
G. CLEMENCEAU,
S. PICHON,
L. L. KLOTZ,
ANDRE TARDIEU,
JULES CAMBON,
G. DE MARTINO,
K. MATSUI,
GEN. C. COANDA.



Austrian Peace Treaty Signed

Ceremony at St. Germain That Ended the War With Austria,
Sept. 10, 1919—The Final Negotiations—Cover-
ing Letter and Protocols

THE treaty of peace with Austria, destined to be known in history as the Treaty of St. Germain, was signed in the Paris suburb of St. Germain-en-Laye, Sept. 10, 1919, after four months of negotiation and interchange of notes. Dr. Karl Renner, Austrian Chancellor, who had conducted the negotiations throughout, signed the treaty after having done all in his power to modify the original terms laid down by the Allies.

The Austrian counterproposals had been submitted to the allied mission on Aug. 6, and the Supreme Council at Paris, after a brief vacation, had set to work to draft a decisive reply. When the Austrian Chancellor returned to St. Germain after a brief absence in Vienna he was informed by the allied powers, in reference to the term "German Austria" in his recent notes, that the new State must be called "The Republic of Austria."

On Aug. 19 the Supreme Council received through Paris representatives of the Austrian Province of Vorarlberg a telegram protesting against the action of Austria in preventing Vorarlberg from laying its claims before the conference. The telegram denied the right of Austria to represent Vorarlberg, and announced that through a plebiscite taken on Aug. 10 the inhabitants of the province had decided overwhelmingly in favor of union with Switzerland.

The Austrian delegation informed the Supreme Council on Aug. 20 that it would be necessary to take the completed text of the treaty to Vienna and

to submit it to the Assembly for approval before the delegates could sign it. On the date mentioned the Supreme Council appointed a committee with the special duty of answering the Austrian note concerning Austrian interests outside Europe. The American member of the committee was Mr. Dreisel. The Chairman was Jean Gout, representing France.

The council concluded its consideration of the treaty on Aug. 30, and approved the covering letter to accompany it. The complete revised text of the treaty terms was handed to the Austrian plenipotentiaries at St. Germain on Tuesday, Sept. 2. Five days only were given for Austria to accept or reject the treaty as it stood, though an intimation was given that an extension of time might be granted if Austria requested it. Chancellor Renner at once left for Vienna bearing the revised text and letter.

DRAFT OF COVERING LETTER

The treaty was presented to the Austrian delegates by Paul Dutasta, Secretary of the Peace Conference, in French, English, and Italian texts. He also handed them the allied reply to the counterproposals, with the covering letter, which was in part as follows:

The people of Austria, together with their neighbors, the people of Hungary, bear in a peculiar degree responsibility for the calamities which have befallen Europe during the last five years. The war was precipitated by an ultimatum presented to Serbia by the Govern-

ment at Vienna and requiring acceptance within forty-eight hours of a series of demands which amounted to the destruction of the independence of a neighboring sovereign State. The Royal Government of Serbia accepted within the prescribed time all the demands except those which involved the virtual surrender of its independence.

Yet the then Austro-Hungarian Government, refusing all offers of a conference of conciliation on the basis of that reply, immediately opened hostilities against Serbia, thereby deliberately setting light to a train which led directly to a universal war.

It is now evident that this ultimatum was no more than an insincere excuse for beginning a war for which the late autocratic Government at Vienna, in close association with the rulers of Germany, had long prepared and for which it considered the time had arrived. The presence of Austrian guns at the siege of Liège and Namur is further proof, if proof were required, of the intimate association of the Government of Vienna with the Government of Berlin in its plot against public law and the liberties of Europe. • • •

In the opinion • • • of the allied and associated powers it is impossible to admit the plea of the Austrian delegation that the people of Austria do not share the responsibility of the Government which provoked the war, or that they are to escape the duty of making reparation to the utmost of their capacity to those whom they and the Government they sustained have so grievously wronged. The principles upon which the draft treaty is based must therefore stand.

REAPING AS THEY SOWED

The Austrian delegation have further protested against the arrangements under the treaty governing their relations with the new States formed out of the late Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The allied and associated powers feel bound to point out that the disabilities from which Austria will suffer will rise, not from the provisions of the treaty, but mainly from the policy of ascendancy which its people have pursued in the past. Had the policy of Austria-Hungary been one of liberty and justice to all its peoples, the upper Danube States might have remained in friendly economic and political unity. As it was, the policy of ascendancy produced one of the cruelest tragedies of the late war, when millions of the subject peoples of Austria-Hungary were driven, under pain of death, to fight against their will in an army which was being used to perpetuate their own servitude as well as to compass the destruction of liberty in Europe.

Many of these peoples protested against

the war, and for their protests suffered confiscation, imprisonment, or death. Many more, who were captured or escaped, joined the armies of the Allies and played their part in the war of liberation. But they are now, one and all, determined, and rightly determined, to set themselves up as independent States. They will trust Vienna no more. The policy of ascendancy has borne its inevitable fruit in the fact of partition, and it is this partition which lies at the root of Austria's troubles today.

Vienna was made the economic and political centre of the empire. Everything was artificially concentrated there. Outlying districts and railways were starved in order that the capital might thrive. The break-up of Austria-Hungary, cutting these centralized economic filaments in two, can hardly fail to inflict the severest blows upon the State of Austria and its capital. But the dissolution of the monarchy with its consequences is the direct outcome of that fatal policy of domination for which the people of Austria are themselves principally to blame.

The allied and associated powers, however, have no wish to add to the hardships of Austria's position. On the contrary, they are anxious to do all in their power to assist her people to accommodate themselves to their new position and to recover their prosperity, provided always that it is not at the expense of the new States formed out of the late empire.

ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS GRANTED

The break-up of the monarchy has given rise to many difficult problems in the relations between the new States, which, under the treaty, are its heirs. It has been recognized as reasonable that the relations between the citizens of the succeeding States should be regulated in certain respects differently from the relations between the citizens of Austria and those of the other allied and associated powers, and, in view of the observations of the Austrian delegation, the allied and associated powers, while adhering to the general lines of the treaty, have made considerable modification in its economic provisions. The property of Austrian nationals in territories ceded to the allied powers is to be restored to its owners free from any measures of liquidation or bans forbidden since the armistice, and is guaranteed similar freedom from seizure or liquidation in the future. Contracts between Austrian nationals and persons who acquire, under the treaty, an allied nationality are maintained without option of cancellation.

Provision is made to insure Austria supplies of coal from Czechoslovakia and Poland, upon which she is dependent, in

AUSTRIAN PEACE TREATY SIGNED

return for reciprocal obligations to supply certain raw material. Outstanding questions affecting nationals of Austria which require settlement between Austria and its inheriting neighbors are to be regulated by separate conventions, and these conventions are to be drawn up by a conference to which Austria will be admitted on a footing of equality with the other States concerned. * * *

In conclusion, the allied and associated powers wish to make it clear that the modifications which they have now made in the draft treaty are final. They wish further to state that if they have not replied specifically to all the points in the reply of the Austrian delegation, it is not because they have not taken them into careful consideration, nor must the absence of any reply be taken as acquiescence or in approval of these contentions, nor must the present reply be taken as authoritative interpretation of the text of the treaty.

The text of the treaty, which we send you today, following upon that of July 20 last, which had already undergone considerable changes since the original text of June 2, must be accepted or rejected in the exact terms in which it is now drafted. Consequently, the allied and associated powers require from the Austrian delegation within a period of five days, counting from the date of the present communication, a declaration informing them that they are prepared to sign this treaty as it now stands. So soon as their declaration reaches the allied and associated powers arrangements will be made for the immediate signature of peace at St. Germain-en-Laye.

In default of such declaration within the period above stipulated, the armistice concluded on Nov. 13, 1918, shall be considered as having terminated, and the allied and associated powers will take such steps as they may judge necessary to impose their conditions.

ONE TERRITORIAL MODIFICATION

The allied powers had studied the frontiers of the future Republic of Austria from a historical, geographical, ethnological, economic, and political point of view, and, with the exception of one point, no modification had been made in regard to frontiers.

In defining the boundary of Czechoslovakia they tried to assure this State a complete system of communications, and therefore departed from the historical frontier of the crown of Bohemia to assure west and east communications of Southern Moravia, and in the Gmund region to give Bohemia a junction of

the two large railroad lines supplying this province.

With respect to the frontiers between Austria and Hungary, the allied and associated powers desired to guarantee access to the sea for the Czechoslovak State and therefore provided that Pressburg should have its access to the sea assured by transit across Hungarian as well as Austrian territory.

Concessions were granted to Austria in connection with the Serb-Croat-Slovene State in so far that Radkersburg was given to the Austrians; also the basin of Marburg, in Styria, was attached to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, as previously determined. The period within which Austria is obliged to give favored-nation treatment in its commercial relations with the allied and associated powers is reduced by the treaty from five to three years.

AUSTRIA ACCEPTS TREATY

On his return to Vienna Dr. Renner presented the treaty to the Austrian Assembly. On Sept. 6 the Assembly, by a vote of 97 to 23, decided to accept and sign the treaty. It protested, however, against "the violation of Austria's right of free disposal of herself." The German nationalists voted against accepting the treaty, while some members of the South Tyrolese Party abstained from voting. The vote was taken after adoption, without dissent, of the Government's resolution of protest, presented by the Christian Socialist, Hauser, declaring that the territorial clauses of the treaty violated grossly the national claim to self-determination and the basis on which the armistice was concluded. The resolution read:

We raise once more our voices against a peace founded on brute force. As one man we decline the dividing up of our peoples into free and unfree, as is done by this peace. We further declare that the 4,000,000 Germans forced under foreign rule will for all time insist on self-determination as the only possible basis on which the modern State may be founded.

The resolution also declared that ultimate union with Germany was an absolute necessity and expressed the hope that when the hatred of the war died

down this union would be consummated. It ended by placing responsibility for steeping Europe in revolution and confusion on the shoulders of the Entente and looked to the League of Nations to repair the wrong done.

Notification that Austria had accepted the treaty was made to the Peace Conference on Sept. 7 in a letter signed by Peter Eichhoff, one of the members of the Austrian delegation. He announced that the National Assembly had authorized Chancellor Renner, already on his return trip to Paris, to sign the treaty for Austria. Two documents were attached to the letter. The first, dated Sept. 6, said that the National Assembly had declared that Austria must bow before necessity. The second was a protest to the Assembly by representatives of countries detached by the treaty from Austria—Bohemians, Germans, Tyroleans, Carinthians, and others.

PROTEST FROM HUNGARY

A protest from another source came from Berlin on Sept. 6, in the form of a wireless announcing that Count Sigray, Commissary for Western Hungary, had informed the Commissary for Oedenberg, near the border of Lower Austria, in view of reported territorial clauses of the Austrian treaty giving Austria the Oedenberg region on ethnological grounds, its population being largely German, that the Hungarian Government did not recognize these clauses as having any validity with regard to Hungary, and that the Government would meet with armed force any attempt to occupy Western Hungary. The strict closing of the frontier had been ordered to prevent the Austrians from entering the territory involved.

The peace terms of the allied powers were printed in the Vienna newspapers on Wednesday, Sept. 3, accompanied by editorial expressions of protest and despair. The Arbeiter Zeitung characterized the terms as "bitter, spiteful, and unjust." It added: "The Entente is using its power in the most shameful manner to ill-treat and outrage a defenseless people with a peace based on might." The Tageblatt said: "In vain do we search for a sign of justice, regard

for our utter incapacity to fulfill, or consideration for the principles of self-determination for peoples." It added that the Reparations Commission must begin its work by constituting itself a revision commission.

PREPARING FOR THE CEREMONY

Hurried arrangements, meanwhile, were being made in Paris for the signing of the treaty. The ceremony at St. Germain was deliberately planned to be much less formal than in the case of the German treaty at Versailles, because of the unstable condition of the Vienna Government, which made the speedy signing of peace imperative. The Stone Age Hall, where the first draft of the treaty with Austria was presented, was chosen again for the ceremony of signing.

On Sept. 9, the day before the date set for the signing, the Rumanian delegation to the Peace Conference announced officially that it would not sign the treaty. In answer to a Rumanian note stating that the Rumanians would sign the treaty only with reservations, A. J. Balfour of the British delegation had drawn up and dispatched a letter for the council declaring that Rumania's signature would not be accepted unless given unreservedly. In reply to this letter Nicholas Misu, head of the Rumanian delegation, handed to the council a letter saying that Rumania was unable to sign the treaty. The two principal reasons were: First, that Article 60 of the treaty tied Rumania's hands commercially and economically at a time when she required absolute freedom of action to accomplish reconstruction; and, second, that guarantees to minorities imposed by an outside power would take away Rumania's sovereignty over territories newly annexed from the former Austrian Empire.

The delegates of the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia, for similar reasons, announced that they would not sign without receiving special authorization from Belgrade. Both Rumania and Yugoslavia were given until Saturday, Sept. 13, to make known their definite intentions.

At St. Germain, in the hall of the old chateau which is now a public museum

YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY



ULA, WITH KIAO-CHAU AND OTHER CHINESE REGIONS
HELD BY JAPAN



THE SHANTUNG CONTROVERSY

that China should agree to whatever arrangement Japan and Germany came to regarding German rights in Shantung. The Chinese Government, compelled by the threat of war, consented to this. The treaty and various notes of 1915 were the result. In return for the Chinese promise and certain railroad rights Japan pledged herself to return Kiaochow under certain conditions, which need not be noted, except that Japan would keep an exclusive concession at a place which she would designate.

At the beginning of 1919, Mr. Wu continued, a commission was sent to Paris to ask that the German rights in Shantung be given to China, for reasons both moral and legal. He commented that China was the first of the neutral powers to respond to the United States note asking neutrals to show "worldwide disapproval of the German actions" and that China was the first of the neutrals to follow the United States and break relations with Germany, finally declaring war upon that power.

Mr. Wu added that the report that Japan did not want more than 200 square miles of Shantung territory "sounded well," but called attention to the alleged fact that in the Far East "political rights follow economic privileges." This, he said, was illustrated by the 1897-98 fight by the great powers for railway and economic privileges and by the Japanese domination of South Manchuria.

In conclusion Mr. Wu said that Japan got from the Paris settlement a concession which amounts to a lease of Tsingtao and the railroad from Tsingtao to Tsinan-fu, and that Japan had more than Germany, because here were three or more concessions she had secured.

PROTEST TO BE CONTINUED

In an interview granted by Mr. Wu on the same date he said, in part:

With respect to Shantung our advice to the Government and the people of China will be to maintain their attitude of protest against the decision of the Peace Conference, which refused to give back Shantung to China. Not only did the decision go against us, but when the gates wanted to sign under the terms they refused to permit even the twenty-one nations to sign. We said that they had no right to do so. The League of Nations, and

continue before the League of Nations the work begun at Paris. Japan and China are neighbors, and are placed there by nature. We cannot move away as you move a house. But we do want to be free of aggression on the part of any and every body, whether our neighbors or not.

Japan has had some rather imperialistic Governments. I say this not on my own authority, but I am quoting what the Japanese themselves admit. Under these imperialistic Governments China has been the principal one to suffer. If what Japan has done in the past is any gauge of what it is going to do in the future, there is plenty of ground for the apprehension of the Chinese people. We only hope that those in power in Japan will bring about a radical change of policy from that of their previous Governments. We are not against the Japanese people. We are simply against the Japanese policy as it has hitherto been shown in dealings with China. China asked the impartial tribunal of the world assembled at Paris to declare null and void the treaties made between Japan and China following the submission of the twenty-one demands of Japan. The Peace Conference having failed to do this, China will remain firm and consistent in her policy on the treaties and the disposition of Shantung.

Regarding China's demand that the Sino-Japanese treaties of 1915 be nullified, Mr. Wu said their recognition was a sanction of imperialism, and would be sure to result in further conflicts which would again set the world on fire. How, he asked, could there be permanent peace when 400,000,000 inhabitants of China were arrayed against injustice?

Similarly predicting the outbreak of another war on analogous grounds, Dr. Chien Hsu, Minister of Justice of the Constitutional Government of Canton, and formerly one of the peace delegates, speaking in New York on July 26, denounced Japan as the new Germany of the East, and appealed to the United States for assistance in China's fight against Japanese aggression.

The Chinese Parliament on Aug. 8 passed a resolution authorizing the President of that republic to issue a mandate declaring that a state of war had ceased to exist between China and Germany. Publication of the mandate was delayed, however, pending discussion with German representatives. The result would amount to

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STATEMENT

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he was willing to let the challenge come. All China's claims regarding Shantung and regarding the treaties of 1915, based on the famous twenty-one demands, were laid before the United States Senate by Senator Spencer of Missouri on July 25. These claims, embodied in a White Book, were presented to the Peace Conference in April, 1919. China's charges of imperialistic aims and coercion on the part of Japan were thus read into the record and became public in the United States. With the demand for abrogation of the 1915 treaties was included a history of the twenty-one demands, which, the document declared, proved that Japan's dominant aim in the war was the strengthening of her position in Eastern Asia by all means within her power.

Senator Borah, one of the chief opponents of the treaty, acting on a rumor that certain members of the American peace delegation at Paris had made a formal protest on the Shantung settle-



THE SHANTUNG CONTROVERSY

President on Aug. 8 in a letter in which he said:

In reply to this request, let me say that General Bliss did write me a letter in which he took very strong grounds against the proposed Shantung settlement, and that his objections were concurred in by the Secretary of State and Henry White. But the letter cannot properly be described as a protest against the final Shantung decision, because it was written before that decision had been arrived at and in response to my request that my colleagues on the commission apprise me of their judgment in the matter. The final decision was very materially qualified by the policy which Japan undertook to pursue with regard to the return of the Shantung Peninsula in full sovereignty to China.

I would have no hesitation in sending the Senate a copy of General Bliss's letter were it not for the fact that it contains references to other Governments, which it was perfectly proper for General Bliss to make in a confidential communication to me, but which I am sure General Bliss would not wish to have repeated outside our personal and intimate exchange of views.

I have received no written protest from any officials connected with or attached to the American Peace Commission with regard to this matter.

Secretary Lansing, in answering questions before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Aug. 11, stated that Japan's secret treaties with Great Britain, France and Italy regarding the disposition of captured German territory in China and the Pacific Ocean were unknown to President Wilson and himself at the time of the Lansing-Ishii agreement, in which the United States recognized that Japan had special interests in China. The diplomatic representatives of all the powers concerned had concealed the existence of the treaties. Mr. Lansing said that his first knowledge of these secret agreements came early in February, 1919, when they were transmitted to the State Department by the American Peace Commission in Paris.

JAPANESE REPLY

Before all the mass of protest on the part of China and her defenders the Japanese did not remain silent. Japanese delegates to the Peace Conference, returning to Japan via the United States, defended the Shantung settlement. Katsumi Debuchi, Chargé d'Affaires of the

Japanese Embassy in Washington, conferred toward the end of July with Breckenridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, on this question, and presented the difficulties, from Japan's standpoint, of making a declaration about the return to China of Shantung before Germany turned over to Japan the title to the former German rights in the province. The time limit for this transference was three months.

On Aug. 1, Dr. Toyokichi Iyenaga, lecturer at Columbia University at the outbreak of the war and now Director of the East and West Bureau in New York City, disclaimed Japan's intention to seize Shantung Province permanently. Japan had given her pledge to return Kiao-Chau and was ready to renew it, but no definite steps, he declared, could be taken until China signed the treaty. The secret treaties were explained by him on the ground that Japan had lost the fruits of her victory in the costly war with China through the machinations of certain European powers; to prevent a repetition of such loss in the future she had negotiated the agreements referred to to support her claims at the peace table. The excitement over Shantung, he declared, was unjustified. Kiao-Chau had an area of only 200 square miles, and its possession infringed in no way on Chinese sovereignty over Shantung Province. As to the Tsing-tao-Tsinanfu railway, it would be run under the joint management of Japan and China, and the road would be guarded by China's police. Japanese troops in Shantung Province would be withdrawn. A Japanese settlement and an international settlement like that of Shanghai would be established in Tsing-tao. He added:

The one and sole weakness in the Shantung decision, I will admit, is the appearance, though unavoidable, that the Allies have given the award to Japan at the expense of a friendly nation, and that Japan becomes heir to the German leasehold and rights extorted from China on the barest of pretenses.

The Japanese peace delegates in Paris showed willingness on July 31 to discuss the Shantung settlement. China, they declared, would be satisfied after the ratification of the Peace Treaty by

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to claim any rights which affect the ter-
ritorial sovereignty of China in the Prov-
ince of Shantung. The significance of the
clause appearing in Baron Makino's
statement of May 5, that the policy of
Japan is to hand back the Shantung
Peninsula in full sovereignty to China,
retaining only the economic privileges
granted to Germany, must be clear to all.

Upon arrangement being arrived at be-
tween Japan and China for the restitu-
tion of Kiao-Chau, the Japanese troops
at present guarding that territory and
the Kiao-Chau-Tsinanfu Railway will be
completely withdrawn.

The Kiao-Chau-Tsinanfu Railway is in-
tended to be operated as a joint Sino-
Japanese enterprise without any dis-
crimination in treatment against the peo-
ple of any nation.

The Japanese Government has, more-
over, under contemplation proposals for
the re-establishment in Tsing-tao of a gen-
eral foreign settlement, instead of the
exclusive Japanese settlement which by
the agreement of 1915 with China they
are entitled to claim.

The announcement that Japan con-
templated the establishment of a gen-
eral foreign settlement at Tsing-tao in
place of the exclusive Japanese settle-



THE SHANTUNG CONTROVERSY

Viscount Chinda, in reply to a question put by myself, declared that:

"The policy of Japan is to hand back the Shantung Peninsula in full sovereignty to China, retaining only the economic privileges granted to Germany and the right to establish a settlement under the usual conditions at Tsing-tao.

"The owners of the railway will use special police only to insure security for traffic. They will be used for no other purpose.

"The police force will be composed of Chinese, and such Japanese instructors, as the Directors of the railway may select will be appointed by the Chinese Government."

No reference was made to this policy being in any way dependent upon the execution of the agreement of 1915 to which Viscount Uchida appears to have referred. Indeed, I felt it my duty to

say that nothing that I agreed to must be construed as an acquiescence on the part of the Government of the United States in the policy of the notes exchanged between China and Japan in 1915 and 1918, and reference was made in the discussion to the enforcement of the agreement of 1915 and 1918 only in case China failed to co-operate fully in carrying out the policy outlined in the statement of Baron Makino and Viscount Chinda.

"I have, of course, no doubt that Viscount Uchida had been apprised of all the particulars of the discussion in Paris, and I am not making this statement with the idea of correcting him, but only to throw a fuller light of clarification upon a situation which ought to be relieved of every shadow of obscurity or misapprehension.

WOODROW WILSON.

The Passing of Anti-British Prejudice

By OWEN WISTER

In an article on "Our Fourth of July," contributed to the American number of The London Times, July 4, 1919, Owen Wister, the American novelist, said:

To fathers and grandfathers all over our States the names Concord, Bunker Hill, and Valley Forge mean resistance to the tyrannical enemy of liberty, England. England is still that to our schoolboys of today, though not to so many. A movement to correct the school books has been started and will go on. It will be thwarted in every way possible by certain of your enemies. These will busily remind you that you burned our capital in the next war we had; that you let loose the Alabama upon us during our civil war; they will never mention the good turns you have done us. They would spoil, if they could, the better understanding that so many of us are striving for. They would pry us apart, if they could. They will fail. Our dead over whom you strewed flowers on May 30 will help us living to defeat them.

Could I name all the matters wherein we have varied much or little from you since that original Fourth of July, 143 years ago, a teeming page would be compiled. In truth, a whole book devoted to these differences, with the history of such divergence, would have that same light-throwing quality which is pos-

sessed by any great dictionary giving the evolution and successive uses of words. * * *

This whole mass of divergence is as dross, weighed against the golden nugget of similarity; our indetical attitude toward life. We alone have it in common. Nobody else on this planet shares it with us. Our Constitution was the achievement of minds sprung as directly from the British constructive genius as Minerva from the brain of Jove—and far more veraciously. Without your common law our law had not existed. Upon your notion of the home our social fabric rests. Climate—or something—has made many of us more volatile, more loquacious than you; but when there is something doing we can focus to a silence remarkably like yours. We, too, have a pagan stoicism, and Christianity has bred in us the same sense of pity for the weak and sick, understood by none others of mankind. Above all else—to be the captains of our souls. This uttermost thing we got from you. This war, especially the great year 1918, has added considerably to the number of British who say, "Yankees are not half bad when you know them"; and to the number of Yanks who say, "I've met a whole lot of British who hate the same things I do." May their tribe increase!

of the German Republic

of the New Basic Law of the Nation, as adopted by the National Assembly at Weimar

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ARTICLE 6.—The Government has the ex-
clusive right of legislation over:

1. Foreign relations.
2. Colonial matters.
3. State property, right of changing resi-
dence, immigration and emigration, and ex-
tradition.
4. Military organization.
5. Coinage.
6. Customs, including the unification of
customs and trade districts and the free cir-
culation of wares.
7. Posts, telegraphs, and telephones.

ARTICLE 7.—The Government has right
of legislation over:

1. Civil law.
2. Criminal law.
3. Judicial proceedings, including the exe-
cution of penalties and co-operation be-

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New elections shall occur at latest on the
sixtieth day after such dissolution.

ARTICLE 26.—The Reichstag shall choose
its President, as well as his representative,
and its secretary. It shall determine its own
order of business.

ARTICLE 27.—Between two adjournments
or election periods the President and his re-
presentative of the last session shall continue
all necessary business.

ARTICLE 28.—The President shall exercise
the power of law and police duty in the
Reichstag building. The management of the
House is subject to him; he shall have power
over the incomes and disbursements of the
House, in accordance with the standard of
Government economy, and shall represent the
Government in all legal business and litiga-
tion arising in his administration.

ARTICLE 29.—The Reichstag's proceedings
will be public. At the request of fifty mem-
bers the public may be excluded on a two-
thirds majority vote.

ARTICLE 30.—Truthful reports of the pro-
ceedings in open sessions of the Reichstag, of
a Provincial Parliament or of their commit-
tees shall carry no responsibility.

ARTICLE 31.—A Court of Election Control
shall be formed in the Reichstag. This court



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to interpret the views of their State Governments regarding the object of discussion.

At their request the representatives of the State Government must receive a hearing during the discussion, and the representatives of the National Government must be heard also outside the order of the day.

They shall, however, be subject to the control of the Chairman in matters of order.

ARTICLE 34.—The Reichstag has the right and, at the request of one-fifth of its members, the duty of appointing committees of investigation. These committees in open session shall bring to light the evidence which they, or the members proffering the request, shall consider required. Publicity may be excluded by the committee of investigation by a two-thirds majority vote. The Committee on Rules shall regulate the proceedings of the committee and determine the number of its members.

The judicial and administrative officials shall comply with requests made by these committees for information evidence, and the records of these officials shall on request be laid before them. The prescriptions of the penal code shall have application to the investigations of these committees and of the officials by them petitioned, but the secrecy of letter and parcel post, telegraph, and telephone services shall be undisturbed.

ARTICLE 35.—The Reichstag shall appoint a standing committee for outside matters, whose activity shall exist also outside the session and after the close of the election period until the reconvention of the new Reichstag. The sittings of this committee shall not be public, unless the committee by a two-thirds majority vote decides for publicity.

The Reichstag further shall appoint a standing committee to maintain the rights of the popular representatives as against the Government Administration outside of session and after the close of the election period.

These committees shall have the rights of investigating committees.

ARTICLE 36.—No member of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament shall at any time, because of his vote or because of any opinions expressed in the fulfillment of his duty, be judicially or officially prosecuted or in any way be held for responsibility outside the Assembly.

ARTICLE 37.—No member of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament shall, without approval of the house to which the delegate belongs, be subjected to investigation or arrest during the session on account of any action involving penalty, unless the member is arrested in the act, or, at latest, on the following day.

The same approval is required in the case of every other limitation of personal freedom which hinders the fulfillment of the delegate's legislative duties.

Every criminal proceeding against a mem-

ber of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament and every arrest or other limitation of his personal freedom shall, at the demand of the house to which the delegate belongs, be revoked for the period of the session.

ARTICLE 38.—The members of the Reichstag and the Provincial Parliaments are empowered to refuse evidence concerning persons who have given them information in their capacity as delegates, or to whom, in the fulfillment of their duties as delegates, they have given such information, as well as to testify concerning such information. In regard also to the seizure of documents their position shall be the same as that of all persons who by law are given the right of refusal of evidence.

A search or seizure may be undertaken in the precincts of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament only with the consent of the President.

ARTICLE 39.—Officials and members of the army need no leave to fulfill their office as members of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament.

If they become candidates for a seat in these bodies the necessary leave shall be granted them to prepare for their election.

ARTICLE 40.—The members of the Reichstag shall have the right of free transport over all German railway lines, and also compensation as prescribed by a national law.

THE NATIONAL PRESIDENT AND THE GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE 41.—The President of the Republic shall be chosen by the whole German people. Every German who has completed his thirty-fifth year is qualified for election. Further details are determined by a national law.

ARTICLE 42.—The National President, on assuming his office before the Reichstag, shall take the following oath:

I swear to consecrate all my energy to the welfare of the German people, to increase its advantages, to avert its injury, to preserve the Constitution and the laws of the nation, to fulfill my duties conscientiously, and to deal justly with all.

The addition of a religious declaration shall be permissible.

ARTICLE 43.—The duration of the President's tenure of office shall be seven years. Re-election shall be permissible.

Before the expiration of his term the President may be deposed by a referendum, at the request of the Reichstag. The decision of the Reichstag shall require a two-thirds majority vote. Through such decision the President shall be prohibited from further exercise of his office. Rejection of his deposition by a referendum shall count as a new election and entail the dissolution of the Reichstag.

The National President shall not be su-

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apply in case of a premature vacancy of the
Presidency until the new elections are com-
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ARTICLE 52.—The administration of the
Government shall consist of the National
Chancellor and the Government Ministers.

ARTICLE 53.—The Chancellor, and at his
suggestion the Ministers of the Government,
shall be appointed and dismissed by the
President of the republic.

ARTICLE 54.—The Chancellor and the
Government Ministers shall require the con-
fidence of the Reichstag for the fulfillment
of their office. Any of them must withdraw
in the event that the Reichstag by explicit
resolution withholds its confidence.

ARTICLE 55.—The Chancellor shall pre-
side in the Government Administration and
shall conduct its affairs in accordance with
an order of business, which shall be deter-
mined by the Administration and approved
by the President of the Republic.

ARTICLE 56.—The Prime Minister shall
determine the line of policy and shall assume
responsibility therefor to the Reichstag.
Within this line each and every Government



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smallest State will be estimated as equal to a full million. No State shall be represented by more than two-fifths of all votes.

German-Austria, after its union with the German Nation, shall receive the right of participation in the National Council with the number of votes corresponding to its population. Until that time the representatives of German-Austria shall have a deliberative voice.

The number of votes shall be newly determined through the National Council after every general census.

ARTICLE 62.—In committees formed by the National Council from its own members, no State shall have more than one voice.

ARTICLE 63.—The States shall be represented in the National Council through members of their respective Governments. But half of the Prussian votes will be disposed of according to a State law, by the Prussian Provincial Administrations.

The States shall have the right to send as many representatives to the National Council as they have votes.

ARTICLE 64.—The Government Administration shall be bound to summon the National Council at the demand of one-third of its members.

ARTICLE 65.—The Presidency of the National Council and of its committees shall be filled by a member of the Government Administration. The members of the Government Administration shall have the right, and, on demand, the duty, to participate in the dealings of the National Council and its committees. During its sittings they shall, if they so desire, be given a hearing at any time.

ARTICLE 66.—The Government Administration, as well as every member of the State Council, are authorized to make proposals in the National Council. The National Council shall regulate the conduct of its proceedings through an order of business. The plenary sessions of the National Council shall be public. According to the order of business, the public may be excluded for special objects of discussion. A simple majority of the voters shall be decisive in voting.

ARTICLE 67.—The National Council shall be kept informed by the National Ministries of the conduct of national business. The proper committees of the National Council shall be summoned by the National Ministries for deliberations over important subjects.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

ARTICLE 68.—Projects of legislation shall be introduced by the Government or from the body of the Reichstag. The laws of the nation shall be determined by the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 69.—The introduction of legislative projects by the Government Administration shall require the assent of the National Council. In the event that the Gov-

ernment Administration and the National Council shall not agree, the Government Administration may nevertheless introduce the project, but shall be bound to record the dissent of the National Council.

In case the National Council approve a project of legislation and the Government Administration disapprove it, the latter shall introduce the project in the Reichstag with an exposition of its own standpoint.

ARTICLE 70.—The National President shall make a compilation of all laws created according to the Constitution and within one month publish it in the Government Legislative Record.

ARTICLE 71.—All Government laws shall come into force, unless otherwise specified, on the fourteenth day following the date of the issue of the Government Legislative Record in the nation's capital.

ARTICLE 72.—The publication of a Government law may be deferred for two months, if so demanded by one-third of the Reichstag. Laws which the Reichstag and the National Council declare as urgent may be published by the President of the republic without regard to such demand.

ARTICLE 73.—A law approved by the Reichstag must be referred to the people before its publication if the President of the Republic so decrees within a month. A law whose publication is deferred at the demand of at least one-third of the Reichstag must be laid before the people for decision, if one-twentieth of qualified voters make such proposal.

A referendum shall further be resorted to if one-tenth of qualified voters express the desire that a project of law shall be proposed. A fully elaborated project of law must be the basis of such desire. The Government must lay this project of law before the Reichstag and explain its own stand regarding it. The referendum shall not occur if the desired project of law is accepted by the Reichstag without alteration. Only the President of the Republic may call a referendum for matters concerning the budget, tax laws, and salary payments. A national law shall regulate the procedure to be followed in a referendum or a project of law desired by the people.

ARTICLE 74.—The National Council shall have the right of veto against laws approved by the Reichstag. This veto must be entered before the Reichstag by the Government within two weeks after ratification, and within two further weeks at the latest must be circumstantiated.

In the event of such veto the law shall be laid before the Reichstag for a second decision. If the Reichstag and the National Council do not agree, the President of the Republic may within three months refer the subject of dispute to a referendum. In case the President does not avail himself of this right, the law will be considered not to have been passed. If the Reichstag rejects the

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and trade territory surrounded by a common customs boundary. This customs boundary shall be identical with the frontier boundary. On the coast the shore line of the mainland and of the islands belonging to the national territory constitute the customs boundary. Exceptions may be determined for the customs line running along the seacoast and other waters. Foreign territories or parts of territories may be annexed to the customs territory by national treaties or agreements.

Parts of the customs territory may be excluded on special request. In the case of free ports this exclusion may occur only through a law altering the Constitution. Customs districts excluded may be annexed to a foreign customs district through national treaties or agreements.

All natural products, as well as arts and crafts products, may in the free intercourse of the nation be transported into, out of, or across the boundaries of the various States and communities. Exceptions may be permitted by a Government law.

ARTICLE 88.—Customs and excise of articles of consumption shall be administered through Government officials. Measures shall be provided for the administration of Government taxes through Government of-



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shall in the following fiscal year, to cover the responsibility of the administration, submit an account of reckoning to the National Council and to the Reichstag. The auditing of this account shall be regulated by national law.

ARTICLE 87.—In the matter of credit, moneys shall be procured only in case of extraordinary need and regularly only for expenses connected with promotion. Such procuring of moneys, as well as the assumption by the Government of a security obligation, may occur on the strength of a Government law.

ARTICLE 88.—The post and telegraph services, together with the telephone service, concern the nation exclusively. The postage stamp symbols shall be the same for the whole nation.

The Government Administration shall, with the consent of the National Council, issue decrees laying down principles and duties in the use of means of communication. With the consent of the National Council it may extend this authority to the Postmaster General.

The Government Administration, with the consent of the State Council, shall appoint a supplementary council for advisory co-operation in postal, telegraph, telephone communications, and the regulation of prices.

Only the Government shall conclude treaties dealing with communications with foreign countries.

ARTICLE 89.—It is the nation's duty to take over railroads serving general traffic, with all their property, and to manage them as a unified system of communication.

ARTICLE 90.—With the taking over of the railroads the Government shall also take over the right of property alienation and the supreme State rights relating to railway organization. The National Supreme Court shall decide the scope of such rights in case of disputes.

ARTICLE 91.—The Government Administration, with the consent of the State Council, shall issue decrees regulating the construction, the management, and the traffic of railways. With the consent of the National Council it may extend this authority to the proper Government Minister.

ARTICLE 92.—The Government railways, irrespective of their budget and their accounts in the general budget and general accounts of the nation, shall be administered as an independent economic undertaking, which shall defray its own expenses, including interest and cancellation of the railway debt, and shall set aside a railway sinking fund. The amount of the cancellation and of the sinking fund, as well as the objects for which money shall be applied, shall be regulated by special laws.

ARTICLE 93.—Acting for the Government railways, with the consent of the National Council, the Government Administration shall appoint supplementary councils for ad-

visory co-operation in matters of railway traffic and transportation charges.

ARTICLE 94.—In the event that the Government has taken over into its administration the railways of a certain district which serve general transport needs, within that district new railways serving such general transportation needs may be built only by the Government or by its consent. In case such construction of new railways, or alterations of existing railway organizations, concern the sphere of authority of the State police, the Railway Administration, before decision, must grant a hearing to the State officials.

In case the Government has not yet taken over the railways, it may administer on its own account railways considered essential for general transportation, or for national defense, by virtue of Government laws and despite the opposition of the States which they traverse, yet without infringing sovereign State rights, or it may give over construction rights to another, if necessary, also according to right of alienation.

Every Railway Administration must consent to connection with other railway lines at the latter's expense.

ARTICLE 95.—Railways for general traffic not administered by the Government are subject to the supervision of the Government.

The railways thus subjected to Government supervision are to be controlled and equipped according to the same principles, to be determined by the Government. They shall be maintained in safe condition and to be extended as necessity demands. Transportation of persons and goods shall, as need arises, be provided for and equipment furnished.

In the supervision of the cost of transportation, the supervisors shall work toward a uniform and a low railway rate.

ARTICLE 96.—All railways, including those not serving general traffic needs, must comply with the demands of the Government for use of the railways for the purpose of national defense.

ARTICLE 97.—It is the duty of the Government to take over for administration all waterways serving general communications. After such taking over, such waterways serving general communications may be applied or extended only by the Government or with its consent. In administering, extending, or reconstructing such waterways the needs of agriculture and irrigation shall be preserved in co-operation with the States affected. The claims of the latter shall also be regarded.

Every administration of waterways must agree to amalgamation with other inner waterways at the cost of the undertakers. The same obligation exists for the construction of a connecting way between inner waterways and railways.

In taking over the waterways the Government shall assume the right of alienation and

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ARTICLE 104.—Judges administering regular justice shall be appointed for life. They may be permanently or temporarily removed from office, or transferred to another office, or retired against their will, only by virtue of judicial decision and for the grounds and in the forms provided by law. The law code may fix age limitations, on reaching which Judges may be retired. The temporary relief from office consequent on law is not affected by this article.

In case of a change in the organization of the courts or their jurisdiction districts the administration of justice in the provinces may decree transfer against desire to another court or removals from office, but only under allowances of full salary.

These provisions have no application to commercial Judges, rural Justices, and jurymen.

ARTICLE 105.—Extraordinary courts are illegal. No one shall be removed from the jurisdiction of his legal Judge. Provisions made by law for martial courts and military courts are not affected hereby. Military courts of honor are suspended.

ARTICLE 106.—Military justice is to be



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tion, the right to acquire real estate and to pursue every means of livelihood. Limitations require the issuance of a Government decree.

ARTICLE 112.—Every German has the right to emigrate to countries outside Germany. Emigration may be limited only by national law. All citizens of the nation have right of protection by the Government both within and without the national boundaries as against foreign countries. No German may be delivered over to a foreign Government for prosecution or punishment.

ARTICLE 113.—Those elements of the nation speaking a foreign language may not be impaired judicially or administratively in their free and popular development, especially in the use of their mother tongue for instruction, or in matters of internal administration and the administration of justice.

ARTICLE 114.—Freedom of the person cannot be impaired. An impairment or withdrawal of personal liberty through public power is admissible only as prescribed by law. Persons, whose freedom is taken from them, are to be informed at latest on the following day by what official and on what grounds their liberty was taken from them, and they shall immediately receive an opportunity to present objections against this loss of freedom.

ARTICLE 115.—The home of every German is his place of refuge and cannot be violated. Exceptions are admissible only as prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 116.—No action can be penalized, if penalty is provided by law, before the action has been committed.

ARTICLE 117.—Secrecy of letters and of postal, telegraph and telephone services cannot be impaired. Exceptions may be admissible only as prescribed by national law.

ARTICLE 118.—Every German has the right within the limits of the general laws to express his opinion by word, in writing, printing, by picture, or in any other way. No connection with his labor or employment shall hinder him in the exercise of this right, and no one may injure him if he makes use of this right.

No censorship exists, though different provisions may be passed by law in the case of moving pictures. Legal measures are also permissible for combating obscene and indecent literature, as well as for the protection of youth at public plays and spectacles.

THE SOCIAL LIFE

ARTICLE 119.—Marriage, as the foundation of family life and of the maintenance and increasing of the nation, is under the particular protection of the Constitution. It is based upon the equal rights of both sexes. The maintaining of the purity, the health, and the social advancement of the family is the task of the State and the communities. Families with numerous children have a

claim for compensating care. Motherhood has a claim upon the protection and care of the State.

ARTICLE 120.—The education of offspring to physical, mental, and social efficiency is the highest duty and natural right of parents, whose activities are watched over by the political community.

ARTICLE 121.—Illegitimate children are to be provided by legislation with the same conditions for their physical, mental, and social development as those of legitimate children.

ARTICLE 122.—Youth is to be protected against exploitation, as well as against a lack of moral, mental, or physical guarantees. The State and the communities are to take the necessary steps to this end. Compulsory measures for welfare can be ordered only on the basis of the law.

ARTICLE 123.—All Germans have the right to gather in meetings peaceably and unarmed without announcement or particular permission. Meetings in the open may be made liable to previous announcement by a national law and, in the presence of immediate danger to the public order, may be forbidden.

ARTICLE 124.—All Germans have the right to form societies or associations for purposes not contrary to the penal law. This right cannot be limited through preventive measures. The same provisions apply to religious societies and unions.

Every association has the right to acquire legal character in accordance with the civil law. No society may be refused this right because it pursues a political, social-political, or religious object.

ARTICLE 125.—Liberty of the suffrage and its secrecy are guaranteed. Details will be laid down by the election laws.

ARTICLE 126.—Every German has the right to appeal to the competent authorities or to the representatives of the people with written requests or grievances. This right may be exercised by individuals as well as by several persons together.

ARTICLE 127.—Communities and community associations have the right of self-administration within the limits of the law.

ARTICLE 128.—All citizens of the State, without distinction, are to be admitted to public office according to the provisions of the law and their abilities. All exceptional regulations against female officials and employes are set aside. The principles of official relations are to be regulated by a national law.

ARTICLE 129.—The employment of State officials is for life, in so far as it is not provided differently by law. Pension-salaries and pensions for relatives and dependents are regulated by law. The legally acquired rights of the officials are inviolable. The legal way is open to officials for their property claims. The officials can be suspended, either temporarily or definitely, or trans-

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affiliation to a religious society in so far as
rights and duties depend thereon, or in case
a lawfully organized census demands such
information.

No one is to be forced to participate in
church duties or church festivities, or to
take part in religious exercises, or be com-
pelled to give a religious oath.

ARTICLE 137.—No State Church is recog-
nized. Freedom of organization for religious
purposes is assured. The union of religious
societies within the nation is not restricted.
Every religious society regulates and admin-
isters its affairs independently within the
limits of the law. It appoints its officers
without the co-operation of the State or the
municipality. Religious societies acquire le-
gality according to the prescriptions of the
civic laws. The religious societies remain
organizations of public law, in so far as they
were such before. To other religious socie-
ties at their request the same rights are to
be accorded, if by their constitution and the
number of their members they give the guar-
antee of permanency. An amalgamation into
a federation of a number of such public re-
ligious societies makes of such federation
a public corporation.

Religious societies, which are recognized
public corporations, are entitled, on the
basis of the civic tax lists, to raise taxes



CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

protection and takes part in their promotion.

ARTICLE 143.—The education of the young is to be provided for through public institutions. In their establishment the nation, States, and communities work together.

The instruction of teachers is to be regulated on a uniform basis for the nation according to the generally recognized principles of higher education.

The teachers in the public schools have the rights and duties of State officials.

ARTICLE 144.—The entire school system is under the supervision of the State; it can accord participation therein to the communities. The school supervision will be exercised by technically trained central officials.

ARTICLE 145.—There shall be general compulsory attendance at school. This duty will be principally attended to by the popular school with at least eight years of instruction, and the following continuation schools up to the completion of the eighteenth year. Instruction books and other apparatus in the popular and continuation schools are free.

ARTICLE 146.—The public school system is to be organically constructed. Upon a basic school for every one is erected the intermediate and high school system. For this superstructure the rule for guidance is the multiplicity of life's callings, and the acceptance of a child in a particular school depends upon his qualifications and inclinations, not upon the economic and social position or the religion of his parents.

Nevertheless, within the communities, upon the proposal of those entitled to instruction, there shall be erected popular schools of their faith or view of the universe, in so far as this does not interfere with a regulated conduct of the schools in the sense of Paragraph 1. Details will be laid down in the State legislation, according to the principles of a national law.

For the attendance of those in poor circumstances at the intermediate and higher schools, public means are to be supplied by the nation, States, and communities, with especial assistance to the parents of children regarded as adapted for education in the intermediate and higher schools, until the instruction period is ended.

ARTICLE 147.—Private schools as a substitute for public schools require the approval of the State and are subject to the provincial laws. Approval is to be given if the private schools are not inferior to the public schools in their objects, their equipment, and the scientific competency of their teaching staffs; and when a division of the pupils according to the amount of property possessed by their parents is not demanded. Approval is to be withheld when the economic and legal status of the teachers is not sufficiently guaranteed.

Private popular schools are to be allowed only when, for a minority entitled to instruction, whose desires must be considered ac-

cording to Article 146, Paragraph 2, there exists in a community no public school of a given faith or world conception; or when the educational administration recognizes a particular pedagogical interest. Private preparatory schools are to be abolished. The existing law for private schools that do not serve as substitutes for the public schools remains in force.

ARTICLE 148.—Moral education, civic sentiment, and personal and professional ability in the spirit of popular Germanism and of international reconciliation are to be striven for in all the schools. In giving instruction in public schools care must be taken not to hurt the feelings of those who think differently. Civics and labor instruction are branches of instruction in the schools. Every pupil will receive a copy of the Constitution upon completing his school duties. The system of popular education, inclusive of the popular high schools, is to be promoted by nation, States, and communities.

ARTICLE 149.—Religious instruction is a regular branch of school instruction, except in the case of schools acknowledging no creed, or worldly schools. The imparting of religious instruction will be regulated by school legislation. It will be given in accord with the principles of the religious societies concerned, without prejudice to the State's right of supervision.

The imparting of religious instruction and the using of church forms are left to the desire of the teachers, and the participation of the pupils in religious studies and in church solemnities and acts is left to those who have the right of determining the child's religious education.

The theological Faculties of the colleges are maintained.

ARTICLE 150.—The monuments of art, history, and nature, as well as the landscape, enjoy the protection and care of the State. It is the affair of the nation to prevent the removal of German art possessions to foreign lands.

ECONOMIC LIFE

ARTICLE 151.—The regulation of economic life must correspond to the principles of justice, with the object of assuring to all a life worth living. Within these bounds the economic liberty of the individual is to be assured.

Legal compulsion is admissible only for the safeguarding of threatened rights or in the service of predominant demands of the public good.

The freedom of trade and industry is safeguarded according to the national laws.

ARTICLE 152.—There is freedom of contract in economic relations within the limits of the law. Usury is forbidden. Legal arrangements that are in conflict with decent customs are null and void.

ARTICLE 153.—Property is safeguarded by

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The co-operatives of industry and husbandry and their associations, upon their request and with consideration for their composition and peculiarities, may be embodied in the common system of economics.

ARTICLE 157.—Labor power is under the special protection of the nation. The nation will create uniform labor laws.

ARTICLE 158.—Intellectual labor, the rights of the discoverer, the inventor and the artist, enjoy the protection and care of the nation.

The creations of German science, art and technique are to be protected and promoted abroad through international agreement.

ARTICLE 159.—The right of combination for the defense and promotion of labor and economic conditions is guaranteed to everybody and to all professions. All agreements and measures which attempt to limit or impede this liberty are illegal.

ARTICLE 160.—Any one employed as an office employe or a worker has the right to the time off necessary to exercise his civic rights and, so far as it does not materially injure the business, to fill public honorary offices conferred upon him. The law will define how far he may demand compensation.



CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

The workers and office employees receive legal representation in the Factory Workers' Councils, as well as in the District Workers' Councils grouped according to economic districts, and in a National Workers' Council, for the purpose of looking after their social and economic interests.

The District Workers' Councils and the National Workers' Council meet together with the representatives of the employers and of other interested circles of people in District Economic Councils and a National Economic Council for the purpose of carrying out the joint economic tasks and for co-operating in the putting into effect of the laws of socialization. The District Economic Councils and the National Economic Council are to be formed so as to provide for the proper representation therein of all the important trade groups according to their economic and social importance.

Social political and economic political drafts of laws of fundamental importance are to be submitted by the National Government to the National Economic Council for its opinion before presentation. The National Economic Council has the right itself to propose such plans of laws. If the National Government does not agree with it, it has the right, nevertheless, to present the proposal to the Reichstag with an exposition of its standpoint. The National Economic Council may have its proposal represented by one of its members before the Reichstag.

The Workers' and Economic Councils may have conferred upon them the powers of control and administration in the fields turned over to them.

The building up of the Workers' and Economic Councils and the defining of their duties, as well as their relations to other social self-administrative bodies, are exclusively matters of the nation.

TRANSITORY AND FINAL REGULATIONS

ARTICLE 166.—Until the establishment of the National Administrative Court the National Court will take its place in forming the Court for Examining Elections.

ARTICLE 167.—The regulations of Article 18, Paragraphs 3 to 6, become effective two years after the announcement that the Constitution has gone into force.

ARTICLE 168.—Until the promulgation of the State law provided for in Article 63, but at the most for only one year, all the Prussian votes in the National Council may be cast by members of the Government.

ARTICLE 169.—The National Government will determine when the regulation laid down in Article 83, Paragraph 1, is to become effective.

ARTICLE 170.—The Postal and Telegraph Administrations of Bavaria and Württemberg will be taken over by the nation not later than April 1, 1921.

If no understanding has been reached over

the terms of their taking over by Oct. 1, 1920, the matter will be decided by the Supreme Court.

The former rights and duties of Bavaria and Württemberg remain in force until the act of taking over. Nevertheless, the postal and telegraph traffic with neighboring foreign countries will be regulated exclusively by the nation.

ARTICLE 171.—The State railroads, waterways, and ocean signal systems are to be taken over by the nation not later than April 1, 1921.

If no understanding has been reached over the terms of their taking over by Oct. 1, 1920, the matter will be decided by the Supreme Court.

ARTICLE 172.—Until the national law regarding the Supreme Court becomes effective its powers will be exercised by a Senate of seven members, four of whom are to be elected from among its members by the Reichstag and three by the National High Court. This Senate will arrange its own methods of procedure.

ARTICLE 173.—Until the enactment of a national law according to Article 138, the existing State contributions to the religious societies based upon law, agreement, or special legal titles will continue.

ARTICLE 174.—Until the enactment of the national law provided for in Article 146, Paragraph 2, the legal status existing will continue. The law will pay special attention to districts of the nation where a system of schools not separated according to faiths legally exists.

ARTICLE 175.—The regulations of Article 100 do not apply to orders and decorations conferred for services in the war years of 1914-1919.

ARTICLE 176.—All public officials and members of the army are to be sworn upon this Constitution. The details will be fixed by an order of the national President.

ARTICLE 177.—Where in the existing laws it is provided that the oath be taken in connection with a religious form, the taking of the oath can be made legal by having the swearer say, leaving out the religious form, "I swear." For the rest the contents of the oath provided for in the laws remains undisturbed. x

ARTICLE 178.—The Constitution of the German Empire of April 16, 1871, and the law covering the temporary exercise of the national authority of Feb. 10, 1919, are annulled.

The other laws and regulations of the nation remain in force, in so far as they are not in contradiction with this Constitution. The arrangements contained in the Peace Treaty signed on June 28, 1919, at Versailles are not affected by the Constitution. Ordinances of the authorities legally in force on the strength of previously existing laws retain their power until annulled by other ordinances or legislation.

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tional Government; the Government in issuing ordinances requires the approval of the National Council as laid down in this Constitution.

ARTICLE 180.—Until the convening of the first Reichstag the National Assembly will function as the Reichstag. Until the installing of the first national President his office will be filled by the national President elected on the strength of the law covering the temporary exercise of the national authority.

ARTICLE 181.—The German people have adopted and decreed this Constitution through its National Assembly. It goes into effect upon the day of its publication.

Weimar, July 31, 1919.

ing the Peace Treaty

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document in the French Archives

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As President of the Chamber he then announced that "Conformably with the last will of Jules Grosjean, who, on Feb. 28, 1871, brought to the tribune of the



DEPOSITING THE PEACE TREATY

toward French as toward humanitarian hope." He continued as follows:

What unlimited joy it is that this definitive declaration can be made from this tribune! The work of salvation which placed the world in such danger has been accomplished by France and her allies. Only on the condition that we remain conscious of our duty can the old spirit of warlike dominion be forever overcome. The day has come when force and right, which were terribly separated, must be reunited for the peace of the peoples and for work. May humanity rise to live its full life.

These words were greeted with long continued applause by the whole Chamber.

M. Clemenceau went on to say that this peace would be achieved with a will which could never be made to flinch, as the war had been pursued without weakness or theatrical pride, but with the infrangible resolution to carry ever higher that France which was the very frontier of liberty.

Appendix (Q)

Rhineland Occupation Terms Modified

Details of High Commission's Powers

AS the result of two formal protests by the German Government against some of the provisions for the administration of the Rhine Provinces to be occupied by allied troops during the fifteen years expected to elapse before Germany shall have made her last indemnity payment, the Paris Council sent a reply apparently intended to be the last word in the controversy, and containing slight modifications of the terms of occupation as printed in the September issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. The answer, as given in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of Aug. 2, reads as follows:

1 and 2. Introductory remarks: The allied and associated Governments have always had the intention so to shape the occupation as to make it the least oppressive possible for the population of the district on the left bank of the Rhine under the proviso that Germany will closely observe the conditions of peace.

3. Articles 3 and 5 of the agreement. The application of German laws: In the agreement the German Government declared its acceptance of the condition providing that the High Commission should have the right

"We have given our all," cried M. Clemenceau, with a gesture which thrilled the whole assembly, "and now right is standing again triumphant, and the peace of right is setting out on its course."

The conclusion of the Premier's address was as follows:

And now, let all get to work for the accomplishment of the duties of tomorrow, and of today, above all for the necessary reparations. Social union, no less indispensable in peace than in war, remains the very foundation of the country. On one side there must be concessions in the organization of modern labor. On the other hand, there must be learned the lesson of moderation, of self-government. There must be mutual sacrifices springing from a better comprehension.

The Government must set the example. They must not be asked for any coups de théâtre. A people could not pass suddenly, without any transition period, from the upheavals of a defense to the orderly life for which they all longed.

to issue regulations having legal force for the purpose of assuring the support, the security, and the supplying of the needs of the military forces of the allied and associated powers.

It is agreed that, under this reservation, the present and future laws enacted by the German Nation and the Federal States, inclusive of those enacted since the German revolution, are to be effective in the occupied territory. It will be the task of the High Commission to examine these laws in each individual case in order to see to what degree they may be detrimental to the security and needs of the military forces of the allied and associated powers.

4. Exercise of the legislative power of the High Commission: It can be unhesitatingly recognized that, with the above reservation, the population will enjoy the free exercise of its personal and civic rights, religious liberty, freedom of the press, elections and meetings, and that the political, legal, administrative, and economic relations of the occupied districts with unoccupied Germany will not be hampered nor will freedom of traffic between occupied and unoccupied Germany.

Nevertheless, the allied and associated powers cannot undertake the obligation of making the issuing of regulations dependent upon a previous agreement between the High Commission and the representative of Ger-

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provides that military persons, or persons accredited by the military commanders, are to be subject exclusively to the military justice of the allied and associated powers, in civil as well as criminal cases.

So far as the private contracts concluded by military persons or their families are concerned, it may be allowed, as demanded in the memorandum, that these affairs be brought before the German courts. The High Commission will, nevertheless, retain the right of countermanding in case of abuse. This observation does not apply in the case provided for in Article 3 (b) of the agreement. All cases having both a criminal and a civil character must be tried by the military courts.

11. Penal law: The German courts will apply the German penal code in the cases falling within their jurisdiction; but, in accord with the principles of international law, the military courts of the Allies and associates can only apply the laws that have been enacted in their native States.

12. Extradition of accused persons: The proposal in the German memorandum is not acceptable. The text of the agreement is exact and logical. It demands that accused persons charged with crimes or offenses against the person or property of the allied and associated military forces must be handed over to the allied and associated au-



RHINELAND OCCUPATION TERMS MODIFIED

agreement, but they do not decline to consult with the competent German authorities over a ruling for its application.

17. **Quartering of the troops and officials:** This is a question of fact that can only be arranged through the examining of concrete cases, and the Allies and associates will carry on this examination in a spirit of reconciliation in order to satisfy the legitimate needs of the public administrations.

18. **Tax exemption:** It is understood that the tax exemptions cannot be extended to cover national taxes originating through private business or deals and having no connection with the service. On the other hand, it is recognized that the High Allied Commission must institute a method of keeping check on the exercise of the privileges and tax exemptions granted to the troops of occupation and its civilian and military personnel by Article 9.

19. **Customs regulations:** At the present time the allied and associated Governments do not believe that they ought to make use of the provisions of Article 270; but they expressly reserve for the future their decision as to the seasonableness of the application of this article.

[Paragraph 20 missing from text in Berliner Tageblatt.]

21. **Postal and telegraph service:** It is possible, as suggested by the German memorandum, to alter the present regulations. This will be effected through an ordinance of the High Commission. The freedom of communication by letters, telegrams, and telephones between the occupied and unoccupied districts will be restored under a general reservation of the rights of the High Commission, or of the consequences of the state of siege, if this should be proclaimed.

22. **As the state of siege is a function directly concerning the security of the army, the obligation of consulting with the National Commissioner in all cases, and especially in urgent cases, cannot be assumed. It is a matter of course that the allied and associated Governments, which count upon the loyal co-operation of the German authorities, will not fail to consult them in every case, when the circumstances permit it.**

[Paragraph 23 missing.]

24. **Ordinances of the different military offices:** As a matter of principle and in accord with the request expressed in the German memorandum, it is the intention of the allied and associated authorities to annul the various ordinances issued by the military offices of the occupying forces for the period of the armistice after the treaty of peace shall have become effective; nevertheless, it is the exclusive task of the High Commission to arrange the necessary transitional regulations. The High Commission will announce the abolition or modification of these regulations through an ordinance. This ordinance will be issued as soon as possible after the treaty has gone into effect.

25. **Expulsions:** The orders forbidding resi-

dence in the occupied territory have been issued for reasons involving the maintenance of public security and for the purpose of making the regulations legally laid down during the armistice by the military authorities of the allied and associated Governments respected. It cannot be admitted that the expelled persons may return to their homes merely because of the fact that the Peace Treaty has gone into effect. Those who wish to return will have to apply to the High Commission, which will examine each individual case in a spirit of reconciliation.

26. **Jurisdiction:** Reference is made to the observations above to Paragraphs 9, 10 and 11 of the German memorandum.

27. **Administrative districts:** The agreement provides that the local German administrations, as well as the administrations of the districts and provinces, shall retain their legal competence.

28. **Sovereignty of the Federal State Governments:** It is absolutely impossible to agree with the proposal contained in this paragraph, i. e., that the expression "under sovereignty of the Central German Government" be explained to mean "under the sovereignty of the central German Government and of the Governments of the German Federal States."

Article 3 of the agreement, which forms an annex to the Peace Treaty, leaves no room for a more far-reaching interpretation. Of course the legal division of authority will be respected, but it is impossible for the allied and associated Governments, which have concluded peace with the Central German Government, and which have no intention of meddling with the internal organization of Germany, to sustain by force the organization of States whose possible alterations are provided for by the Constitution itself. So, as has been said above in connection with Paragraph 5 regarding the "establishment of a national commission," the allied and associated Governments cannot, without violating international law, embody anything in the text obligating themselves to maintain the international organization and legislation which the German population might see themselves induced to change.

29. **Officials:** As is observed in the German memorandum, after the Peace Treaty becomes effective there will be no more agents charged with the supervision of the German authorities in the circles, &c. But the High Commission has the power, in the interest of the population, to maintain permanent representatives, charged with the work of establishing connections between the local German administrations, the local military authorities, and the High Commission itself. Regarding the officials, the German memorandum recognizes the right of the High Commission to recall them. Hence follows that the High Commission has option of not agreeing to the appointment of officials whose presence might cause disturbances.

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1. Germans, or other former enemies, and neutrals living in unoccupied Germany, will be permitted to enter the occupied territory upon presentation of a German passport provided with a visé by the allied military authorities of the Army of Occupation.

2. Citizens of the allied powers may enter occupied Germany with a permit issued by the military authorities of the Allies at the point where they enter, and, with a visé, by the German civil authorities.

3. Germans, or other foreign enemies, and neutrals who wish to go from occupied into unoccupied Germany need nothing but a permit from the military authorities of the Army of Occupation.

4. Passport bureaus are to be established on both sides of the frontier. They will be under the military control of the allied army in occupied Germany and under civilian control in the unoccupied districts. It is planned to set up such bureaus in the following cities: In occupied Germany at Neuss in the Belgian zone, at Cologne in the British zone, at Coblenz in the American zone, and at Ludwigshafen, Mayen and Landau in the French zone; in unoccupied Germany at Düsseldorf for the Belgian and British



Appendix (R)

German Property in the Allied Countries

Berlin to Reimburse Its Own Nationals

ACCORDING to the terms of the Peace Treaty, the method of dealing with property belonging to German nationals in allied countries and debts incurred between allied and German nationals was defined as follows:

Two Clearing Houses are to be established in either country for the settlement of debts, to be known respectively as the Creditor Clearing House and the Debtor Clearing House, provided that within one month after the deposit of ratification of the treaty Great Britain (or another allied country) give Germany notice of its intention to adopt this scheme.

The Creditor Clearing House will ascertain and give notice to the Debtor Clearing House of all debts claimed by the respective nationals, and in common with this supplementary organization reach an agreement on the exact amount due. Dispute is to be settled by (a) arbitration, (b) the decision of a mixed tribunal, composed of a representative of each Government and a third member selected by agreement who is to act as President; in case of disagreement this third member is to be selected by the President of the Swiss Confederation; (c) at the instance of the Creditor Clearing Office the dispute may be referred to the courts of the place of domicile of the debtor; thus, if the British Creditor Office claims a sum as being due from a German national in the German Debtor Clearing Office, the amount due will be determined by the German courts. Conversely, if the German Creditor Clearing Office claims on behalf of a German national a sum due from an allied national through the allied Debtor Clearing Office, then the question of the amount due will be determined by the allied courts. Where the respective nationals were solvent at the date when the debts were incurred, the Governments of the allied national and Germany respectively undertake to see that such debts are duly paid and

they are vested with the right of obtaining the amount due from their respective nationals.

Where this scheme is adopted there is no other method by which creditors can obtain payment of their debts except through the Clearing Office scheme. Each month a balance is to be struck, and where the balance is in favor of the allied national the Germans must pay over through their Clearing Office the amount shown due to such creditors. Where, however, the balance is shown due to German nationals, then the amount of such balance is to be retained by the allied Clearing Office until complete payment has been effected of the sums due to that country and its nationals on account of the war.

Germany undertakes to compensate its nationals in respect of the sale or retention of their property rights or interest in allied States, and in that way the doctrine of the inviolability of private property is preserved.

The effect of the treaty is to appropriate toward the indemnification of allied subjects all property rights and interest and all debts owing to Germans by allied subjects, and that in so far as there is any balance over, such balance will be applied in satisfying pro tanto the indebtedness of Germany to the respective allied country on account of claims of its nationals for reparation.

These principles will be applied through all British colonies and throughout the territories of every allied and associated power. German nationals will, as a consequence, be stripped of all their wealth, whether in the shape of property rights or interests, or of debts due to them, and their only remedy will be against their Government, from whom they can claim compensation for property rights and interests, and probably also for debts. Such property can only be restored to its rightful owners by the German Government taxing its subjects generally—that is to say, by making

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country, although the product of German
brains, the subsidiary company, which
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right of Germany to make use of such
inventions outside its own territory is
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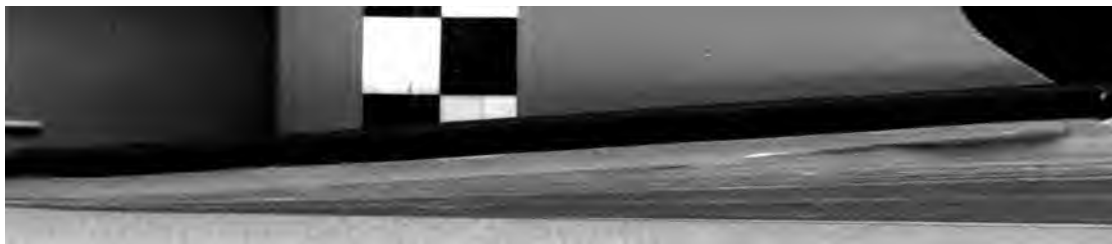
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dispatch a peace offer to President Wil-
son, "so that the proposal would
emanate from a new Government."

Admiral von Hintze's communication
adds: The peace action then entered



STAGES OF THE GERMAN COLLAPSE

German colonies and German territory, especially Alsace-Lorraine and parts of Poland. Marshal von Hindenburg replied that the Army Command insisted on its demand for an immediate offer of peace. Under this pressure, the White Book says, the note to America was dispatched on the night of Oct. 3. On Oct. 6 Prince Max declared that he considered the dispatch of the note premature, and added, "We must now find out how things are at the front."

The idea of Prince Max and the Secretaries of State obviously was that General Ludendorff, owing to his nervous breakdown, had come to an exaggerated conclusion as regards the situation at the front. The result was a conflict with the Supreme Army Command which ran right through all the negotiations till Oct. 26. Dr. Rathenau's plan of a *levée en masse* was discussed, but rejected.

Following President Wilson's reply on Oct. 5, General Ludendorff at a conference held on Oct. 9 represented that Germany was not obliged to accept all the demands, but he gave only vague replies to the question of how long the army could hold out. On President Wilson's second reply, on Oct. 15, opposition broke forth on all sides in the army. The Supreme Command wanted to break off the peace attempts.

The rejection of the armistice, the White Book adds, was impossible. Since the Allies had agreed to President Wilson's Fourteen Points as the basis of peace, the German people considered the war as terminated. Wherever an attempt to delay the conclusion of the armistice was suspected the troops rose up against it. All differences with the Supreme Army Command were dropped. On Nov. 11 the armistice came into force.

COUNT CZERNIN'S PRÉMONITIONS

The Austro-Hungarian Premier, Count Czernin, had forecast the coming collapse of the Central Powers many months before Ludendorff and the German military leaders had admitted its possibility. Among the numerous revelations published in the German press in August, 1919, was a confidential report made by Count Czernin to Emperor Charles on April 12, 1917, in which he said:

It is perfectly clear that our military strength is approaching its end. * * * I need only point to the decline in raw material for the production of munitions, to the completely exhausted human material, and, above all, to the dull despair, mainly due to underfeeding, that has overpowered all classes of people and renders it impossible for them to bear the sufferings of war much longer.

Although I hope that we shall succeed in holding out during the next few months and pursue a successful defensive, I am perfectly clear that another Winter campaign is entirely out of the question—in other words, that an end must be made at all costs in the late Summer or in the Autumn. It is certainly most important that peace negotiations should begin at a moment when our fading strength has not become apparent to the enemy. * * *

Painful as it is to me, I cannot ignore the theme that gives force to my entire argument. It is the revolutionary danger that is rising on the horizon of all Europe. * * * The astonishing ease with which the most powerful monarchy has just been overthrown may help to produce serious reflection. Let no one reply that things are different in Germany or Austria-Hungary. Let no one reply that the firm roots of the monarchical idea in Berlin or Vienna exclude such an event. This war has begun a new era in the history of the world; * * * the world is not the same as it was three years ago. The statesman who is not blind or deaf must surely realize the dull anger that rages among the broad masses. * * *



Pershing's Final Report

History of the American Operations in the World War

[FIRST HALF]

General Pershing, Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Force, submitted his final report to the Secretary of War late in November, 1918. The complete text of the report is printed in two installments. The first part, covering all the military operations, appears below:

planned as to send to 18, twenty-five strength with auxiliaries and those communications, making a total of 100,000 men. Planning with reference to the future of the army is to be completed during the summer of 1919.

Paragraph 4. A study of transportation facilities shows sufficient American tonnage to bring over this number of troops, but to do so there must be a reduction in the tonnage allotted to other than army needs. It is estimated that the shipping needed will have to be rapidly increased, up to 2,000,000 tons by May, in addition to the amount already allotted. The use of shipping for commercial purposes must be curtailed as much as possible. The Allies are very weak and we must come to their relief this year, 1918. The year after may be too late. It is very doubtful if



GENERAL PERSHING'S FINAL REPORT

not the Replacement and the Depot Divisions), and many corps troops. It cannot be too emphatically declared that we should be prepared to take the field with at least four corps by June 30. In view of past performances with tonnage heretofore available such a project is impossible of fulfillment, but only by most strenuous attempts to attain such a result will we be in a position to take a proper part in operations in 1918. In view of fact that as the number of our troops here increases a correspondingly greater amount of tonnage must be provided for their supply, and also in view of the slow rate of shipment with tonnage now available, it is of the most urgent importance that more tonnage should be obtained at once as already recommended in my cables and by General Bliss.

SUBDIVISION PLAN

During January, 1918, discussions were held with the British authorities that resulted in an agreement which became known as the subdivision plan and which provided for the transportation of six entire divisions in British tonnage, without interference with our own shipping program. High commanders, staff,

infantry, and auxiliary troops were to be given experience with British divisions, beginning with battalions, the artillery to be trained under American direction, using French material. It was agreed that when sufficiently trained these battalions were to be united for service under their own officers. It was planned that the period of training with the British should cover about ten weeks. To supervise the administration and training of these divisions the Second Corps Staff was organized Feb. 20, 1918.

In the latter part of January joint note No. 12, presented by the military representatives with the Supreme War Council, was approved by the council. This note concluded that France would be safe during 1918 only under certain conditions, namely:

(a) That the strength of the British and French troops in France be continuously kept up to their present total strength and that they receive the expected reinforcements of not less than two American divisions per month.

Critical Situation, March, 1918—Allied Agreement

The first German offensive of 1918, beginning March 21, overran all resistance during the initial period of the attack. Within eight days the enemy had completely crossed the old Somme battlefield and had swept everything before him to a depth of some fifty-six kilometers. For a few days the loss of the railroad centre of Amiens appeared imminent. The offensive made such inroads upon French and British reserves that defeat stared them in the face unless the new American troops should prove more immediately available than even the most optimistic had dared to hope. On March 27 the military representatives with the Supreme War Council prepared their joint note No. 18. This note repeated the previously quoted statement from joint note No. 12, and continued:

The battle which is developing at the present moment in France, and which can extend to the other theatres of operations, may very quickly place the allied armies in a serious situation from the point of view of effectives, and the military

representatives are from this moment of opinion that the above-detailed condition can no longer be maintained, and they consider as a general proposition that the new situation requires new decisions.

The military representatives are of opinion that it is highly desirable that the American Government should assist the allied armies as soon as possible by permitting in principle the temporary service of American units in allied army corps and divisions. Such reinforcements must, however, be obtained from other units than those American divisions which are now operating with the French, and the units so temporarily employed must eventually be returned to the American Army.

The military representatives are of the opinion that from the present time, in execution of the foregoing, and until otherwise directed by the Supreme War Council, only American infantry and machine-gun units, organized as that Government may decide, be brought to France, and that all agreements or conventions hitherto made in conflict with this decision be modified accordingly.

ASSIGNMENT OF FIRST ARRIVALS

The Secretary of War, who was in France at this time; General Bliss, the

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of infantry be limited to four divisions, plus 45,500 replacements, and that the necessity for future priority be determined later.

The Secretary of War and I held a conference with British authorities on April 7, during which it developed that the British had erroneously assumed that the preferential shipment of infantry was to be continuous. It was agreed at this meeting that 60,000 infantry and machine-gun troops, with certain auxiliary units to be brought over by British tonnage during April, should go to the British area as part of the six-division plan, but that there should be a further agreement as to subsequent troops to be brought over by the British. Consequently, a readjustment of the priority schedule was undertaken on the basis of postponing "shipment of all noncombatant troops to the utmost possible to meet

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in which respect the shortage of men on the side of the Allies is most marked, should continue to be shipped from America in the months of June and July to avert the immediate danger of an allied defeat in the present campaign owing to the allied reserves being exhausted before those of the enemy. In addition to this, and looking to the future, he represents that it is impossible to foresee ultimate victory in the war unless America is able to provide such an army as will enable the Allies ultimately to establish numerical superiority. He places the total American force required for this at no less than 100 divisions, and urges the continuous raising of fresh American levies, which, in his opinion, should not be less than 300,000 a month, with a view to establishing a total American force of 100 divisions at as early a date as this can possibly be done.

We are satisfied that General Foch, who is conducting the present campaign with consummate ability, and on whose military judgment we continue to place the most absolute reliance, is not over-

YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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(Signed) G. CLEMENCEAU,
PETAIN.

F. FOCH.

LLOYD GEORGE.

D. HAIG, F. M.

HENRY WILSON,

General, 3, 4, 18.

TASKER H. BLISS,

General and Chief of Staff

JOHN J. PERSHING

General, U. S. A.

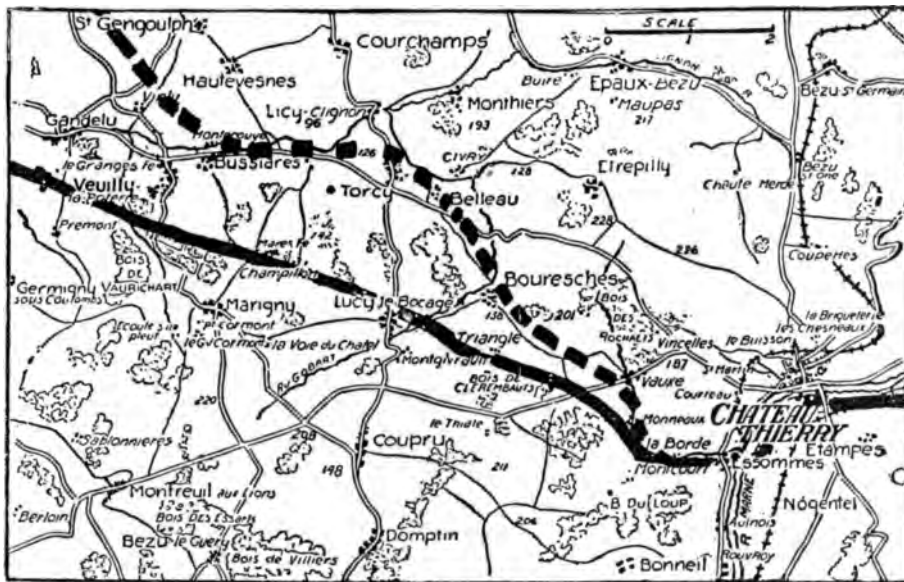
American Divisions, March to September

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observation stations on the heights of
Henry with splendid views of the English coast



GENERAL PERSHING'S FINAL REPORT



TERRITORY BETWEEN THE TWO DARK LINES WAS WON BACK IN HEAVY FIGHTING BY AMERICAN SOLDIERS AND MARINES

that by the end of May we had a force of 600,000 in France.

The third German offensive, on May 27, against the French on the Aisne, soon developed a desperate situation for the Allies. The 2d Division, then in reserve northwest of Paris and preparing to relieve the 1st Division, was hastily diverted to the vicinity of the Meaux on May 31, and, early on the morning of June 1, was deployed across the Château-Thierry-Paris road near Montreuil-aux-Lions in a gap in the French line, where it stopped the German advance on Paris. At the same time the partially trained 3d Division was placed at French disposal to hold the crossings of the Marne, and its motorized machine-gun battalion succeeded in reaching Château-Thierry in time to assist in successfully defending that river crossing.

BELLEAU WOODS

The enemy having been halted, the 2d Division commenced a series of vigorous attacks on June 4, which resulted in the capture of Belleau Woods after very severe fighting. The village of Bouresches was taken soon after, and on July 1 Vaux was captured. In these operations the 2d Division met with most desperate resistance by Germany's best troops.

To meet the March offensive, the French had extended their front from the Oise to Amlens, about sixty kilometers, and during the German drive along the Lys had also sent reinforcements to assist the British. The French lines had been further lengthened about forty-five kilometers as a result of the Marne pocket made by the Aisne offensive. This increased frontage and the

heavy fighting had reduced French reserves to an extremely low point.

Our Second Corps, under Major Gen. George W. Read, had been organized for the command of the ten divisions with the British, which were held back in training areas or assigned to second-line defenses. After consultation with Field Marshal Haig on June 3, five American divisions were relieved from the British area to support the French. The 77th and 82d Divisions were removed south to release the 42d and 26th for employment on a more active portion of the front; the 35th Division entered the line in the Vosges, and the 4th and 28th Divisions were moved to the region of Meaux and Château-Thierry as reserves.

On June 9 the Germans attacked the Montdidier-Noyon front in an effort to widen the Marne pocket and bring their lines nearer to Paris, but were stubbornly held by the French with comparatively little loss of ground. In view of the unexpected results of the three preceding attacks by the enemy, this successful defense proved beneficial to the allied morale, particularly as it was believed that the German losses were unusually heavy.

On July 15, the date of the last German offensive, the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 26th Divisions were on the Château-Thierry front with the 4th and 28th in support, some small units of the last two divisions gaining front-line experience with our troops or with the French; the 42d Division was in support of the French east of Rheims, and four colored regiments were with the French in the Argonne. On the Alsace-Lorraine front we had five divisions in line with the French. Five were with the British Army, three having ele-

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front, while on either flank the Germans who
had gained a footing pressed forward. Our
men, firing in three directions, met the Ger-
man attacks with counterattacks at critical
points and succeeded in throwing two Ger-
man divisions into complete confusion, cap-
turing 600 prisoners.

The selection by the Germans of the Cham-
pagne sector and the eastern and southern
faces of the Marne pocket on which to make
their offensive was fortunate for the Allies,
as it favored the launching of the counterat-
tack already planned. There were now over
1,200,000 American troops in France, which
provided a considerable force of reserves.
Every American division with any sort of
training was made available for use in a
counteroffensive.

General Pétain's initial plan for the coun-
terattack involved the entire western face
of the Marne salient. The 1st and 2d Ameri-
can Divisions, with the 1st French Moroccan
Division between them, were employed as the
spearhead of the main attack, driving direct-
ly eastward, through the most sensitive por-
tion of the German lines, to the heights south
of Solssons. The advance began on July 18,
without the usual brief warning of a prelimi-
nary bombardment, and these three divisions
at a single bound broke through the enemy's
infantry defenses and overran his artillery,
cutting or interrupting the German commun-

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of the Moselle, west to include the Argonne Forest, was accordingly placed under my command, including all French divisions then in that zone. The First American Army was to proceed with the St. Mihiel operation, after which the operation between the Meuse and the western edge of the Argonne Forest was to be prepared and launched not later than Sept. 25.

THE FIELD OF BATTLE

As a result of these decisions the depth of the St. Mihiel operation was limited to the line Vigneulles-Thiaucourt-Regnierville. The number of divisions to be used was reduced and the time shortened. Eighteen to nineteen divisions were to be in the front line. There were four French and fifteen American divisions available, six of which would be in reserve, while the two flank divisions of the front line were not to advance. Furthermore, two Army Corps Headquarters, with their corps troops, practically all the army artillery and aviation, and the 1st, 2d, and 4th Divisions, the first two destined to take a leading part in the St. Mihiel attack, were all due to be withdrawn and started for the Meuse-Argonne by the fourth day of the battle.



GENERAL PERSHING'S FINAL REPORT

face of the salient lay the 5th Corps, Major Gen. George H. Cameron commanding, with the 26th Division, 15th French Colonial Division and the 4th Division in line, from Mouilly west to Les Eparges and north to Watronville. Of these three divisions the 26th alone was to make a deep advance directed southeast toward Vigneulles. The French division was to make a short progression to the edge of the heights in order to cover the left of the 26th. The 4th Division was not to advance. In the centre, between our 4th and 5th Army Corps, was the 2d French Colonial Corps, Major Gen. E. J. Blondiat commanding, covering a front of forty kilometers with three small French divisions. These troops were to follow up the retirement of the enemy from the tip of the salient.

ADVANCE AT DAWN

The French independent air force was at my disposal, which, together with the British bombing squadrons and our own air forces, gave us the largest assemblage of aviation that had ever been engaged in one operation. Our heavy guns were able to reach Metz and to interfere seriously with German rail movements.

At dawn on Sept. 12, after four hours of violent artillery fire of preparation, and accompanied by small tanks, the infantry of the 1st and 4th Corps advanced. The infantry of the 5th Corps commenced its advance at 8 A. M. The operation was carried out with entire precision. Just after daylight on Sept. 13 elements of the 1st and 26th Divisions made a junction near Hattonchâtel and Vigneulles, eighteen kilometers northeast of St. Mihiel.

The rapidity with which our divisions advanced overwhelmed the enemy, and all objectives were reached by the afternoon of Sept. 13. The enemy had apparently started

to withdraw some of his troops from the tip of the salient on the eve of our attack, but had been unable to carry it through. We captured nearly 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns, and large stores of material and supplies. The energy and swiftness with which the operation was carried out enabled us to smother opposition to such an extent that we suffered less than 7,000 casualties during the actual period of the advance.

During the next two days the right of our line west of the Moselle River was advanced beyond the objectives laid down in the original orders. This completed the operation for the time being and the line was stabilized to be held by the smallest practicable force.

RESULTS OF THE BATTLE

The material results of the victory achieved were very important. An American army was an accomplished fact, and the enemy had felt its power. No form of propaganda could overcome the depressing effect on the morale of the enemy of this demonstration of our ability to organize a large American force and drive it successfully through his defenses. It gave our troops implicit confidence in their superiority and raised their morale to the highest pitch. For the first time wire entanglements ceased to be regarded as impassable barriers and open-warfare training, which had been so urgently insisted upon, proved to be the correct doctrine. Our divisions concluded the attack with such small losses and in such high spirits that without the usual rest they were immediately available for employment in heavy fighting in a new theatre of operations. The strength of the First Army in this battle totaled approximately 500,000 men, of whom about 70,000 were French.

Battling to Break Hindenburg Line

The definite decision for the Meuse-Argonne phase of the great allied convergent attack was agreed to in my conference with Marshal Foch and General Pétain on Sept. 2. It was planned to use all available forces of the First Army, including such divisions and troops as we might be able to withdraw from the St. Mihiel front. The army was to break through the enemy's successive fortified zones to include the Kriemhilde Stellung, or Hindenburg line, on the front Briailles-Romagne sous Montfaucon-Grand Pré, and thereafter, by developing pressure toward Mézières, was to insure the fall of the Hindenburg line along the Alsne River in front of the Fourth French Army, which was to attack to the west of the Argonne Forest. A penetration of some twelve to fifteen kilometers was required to reach the Hindenburg line on our front, and the enemy's defenses were virtually continuous throughout that depth.

The Meuse-Argonne front had been practically stabilized in September, 1914, and, except for minor fluctuations during the German attacks on Verdun in 1916 and the French counteroffensive in August, 1917, remained unchanged until the American advance in 1918. The net result of the four years' struggle on this ground was a German defensive system of unusual depth and strength and a wide zone of utter devastation, itself a serious obstacle to offensive operations.

The strategical importance of this portion of the line was second to none on the western front. All supplies and evacuations of the German armies in Northern France were dependent upon two great railway systems—one in the north, passing through Liège, the other in the south, with lines coming from Luxembourg, Thionville, and Metz, and as its vital section the line Carignan-Sedan-Mézières. No other important lines were



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immense number of troops and the amount
of supplies, and confined entirely to the
hours of darkness, was one of the most deli-
cate and difficult problems of war. The con-
centration included fifteen divisions, of
which seven were involved in the pending
St. Mihiel drive, three were in sector in the
Vosges, three in the neighborhood of Sois-
sons, one in a training area and one near
Bar-le-Duc. Practically all the artillery,
aviation and other auxiliaries to be em-
ployed in the new operations were commit-
ted to the St. Mihiel attack and, therefore,
could not be moved until its success was
assured. The concentration of all units not
to be used at St. Mihiel was commenced
immediately, and on Sept. 13, the second day
of St. Mihiel, reserve divisions and artillery
units were withdrawn and placed in motion
toward the Argonne front.

MOVING TOWARD ARGONNE FOREST

That part of the American sector from
Fresnes-en-Woevre, southeast of Verdun, to
the western edge of the Argonne Forest,
while nominally under my control, did not
actively become a part of my command until



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three divisions as a general reserve. About 2,700 guns, 189 small tanks, 142 manned by Americans, and 821 airplanes, 604 manned by Americans, were concentrated to support the attack of the infantry. We thus had a superiority in guns and aviation, and the enemy had no tanks.

The axis of the attack was the line Montfaucon-Bomagne-Buzancy, the purpose being to make the deepest penetration in the centre, which, with the Fourth French Army advancing west of the Argonne, would force the enemy to evacuate that forest without our having to deliver a heavy attack in that difficult region.

Following three hours of violent artillery fire of preparation, the infantry advanced at 5:30 A. M. on Sept. 26, accompanied by tanks. During the first two days of the attack, before the enemy was able to bring up his reserves, our troops made steady progress through the network of defenses. Montfaucon was held tenaciously by the enemy and was not captured until noon of the second day.

By the evening of the 28th a maximum advance of eleven kilometers had been achieved and we had captured Baulny, Epinonville, Septsarges, and Dannevoux. The right had made a splendid advance into the woods south of Briailles-sur-Meuse, but the extreme left was meeting strong resistance in the Argonne. The attack continued without interruption, meeting six new divisions which the enemy threw into the first line before Sept. 29. He developed a powerful machine-gun defense supported by heavy artillery fire, and made frequent counterattacks with fresh troops, particularly on the front of the 28th and 35th Divisions. These divisions had taken Varennes, Cheppy, Baulny, and Charpentry, and the line was within two kilometers of Apremont. We were no longer engaged in a manoeuvre for the pinching out of a salient, but were necessarily committed, generally speaking, to a direct frontal attack against strong, hostile positions fully manned by a determined enemy.

By nightfall of the 29th the First Army line was approximately Bois de la Côte Lemont-Nantillois-Apremont-southwest across the Argonne. Many divisions, especially those in the centre that were subjected to cross-fire of artillery, had suffered heavily. The severe fighting, the nature of the terrain over which they attacked, and the fog and darkness sorely tried even our best divisions. On the night of the 29th the 37th and 79th Divisions were relieved by the 32d and 3d Divisions, respectively, and on the following night the 1st Division relieved the 35th Division.

The critical problem during the first few days of the battle was the restoration of communications over No Man's Land. There were but four roads available across this deep zone, and the violent artillery fire of the previous period of the war had virtually destroyed them. The spongy soil and

the lack of material increased the difficulty. But the splendid work of our engineers and pioneers soon made possible the movement of the troops, artillery, and supplies most needed. By the afternoon of the 27th all the divisional artillery except a few batteries of heavy guns had effected a passage and was supporting the infantry action.

SECOND PHASE OF BATTLE

At 5:30 A. M. on Oct. 4 the general attack was renewed. The enemy divisions on the front from Fresnes-en-Woeve to the Argonne had increased from ten in the first line to sixteen, and included some of his best divisions. The fighting was desperate, and only small advances were realized, except by the 1st Division, on the right of the 1st Corps. By evening of Oct. 5 the line was approximately Bois de la Côte Lemont-Bois du Fays-Genes-Hill 240-Fieville-Chehery-southwest through the Argonne.

It was especially desirable to drive the enemy from his commanding positions on the heights east of the Meuse, but it was even more important that we should force him to use his troops there and weaken his tenacious hold on positions in our immediate front. The further stabilization of the new St. Mihiel line permitted the withdrawal of certain divisions for the extension of the Meuse-Argonne operation to the east bank of the Meuse River.

On the 7th the 1st Corps, with the 82d Division added, launched a strong attack northwest toward Cornay, to draw attention from the movement east of the Meuse and at the same time outflank the German position in the Argonne. The following day the 17th French Corps, Major Gen. Claudel commanding, initiated its attack east of the Meuse against the exact point on which the German armies must pivot in order to withdraw from Northern France. The troops encountered elaborate fortifications and stubborn resistance, but by nightfall had realized an advance of six kilometers to a line well within the Bois de Consenvoye, and including the villages of Beaumont and Hautmont. Continuous fighting was maintained along our entire battlefield, with especial success on the extreme left, where the capture of the greater part of the Argonne Forest was completed. The enemy contested every foot of ground on our front in order to make more rapid retirements further west and withdraw his forces from Northern France before the interruption of his railroad communications through Sedan.

REPLACEMENTS INSUFFICIENT

We were confronted at this time by an insufficiency of replacements to build up exhausted divisions. Early in October combat units required some 90,000 replacements, and not more than 45,000 would be available before Nov. 1 to fill the existing and prospective vacancies. We still had two divisions

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ERICANS IN

During the remainder of the month important local operations were carried out, which involved desperate fighting. The 1st Corps, Major Gen. Dickman commanding, advanced through Grand Pré; the 5th Corps, Major Gen. Charles P. Summerall commanding, captured the Bois de Bantheville; the 3d Corps, Major Gen. John L. Hines commanding, completed the occupation of Cunel Heights, and the 17th French Corps drove the enemy from the main ridge south of La Grande Montague. Particularly heavy fighting occurred east of the Meuse on Oct. 18, and in the further penetration of the Kriemhilde-Stellung on Oct. 23 the 26th Division, entering the battle at this time, relieved the 18th French Division.

THE RESULTS

Summarizing the material results which had been attained by the First Army by the end of October, we had met an increasing number of Germany's best divisions, rising from twenty in line and reserve on Sept. 26, to thirty-one on Oct. 31; the enemy's elaborately prepared positions, including the Hindenburg line, in our front had been broken; the almost impassable Argonne Forest was in our hands; an advance of twenty-one kilometers had been effected; 18,600 prisoners, 370 can-



base ports, was straining every nerve. Magnificent efforts were exerted by the entire Services of Supply to meet the enormous demands made on it. Obstacles which seemed insurmountable were overcome daily in expediting the movements of replacements, ammunition and supplies to the front, and of sick and wounded to the rear. It was this spirit of determination animating every American soldier that made it impossible for the enemy to maintain the struggle until 1919.

THIRD PHASE

The detailed plans for the operations of the allied armies on the western front changed from time to time during the course of this great battle, but the mission of the First American Army to cut the great Carignan-Sedan-Mézières railroad remained unchanged. Marshal Foch co-ordinated the operations along the entire front, continuing persistently and unceasingly the attacks by all allied armies; the Belgian Army, with a French army and two American divisions, advancing eastward; the British armies and two American divisions, with the First French Army on their right, toward the region north of Glivet; the First American Army and Fourth French Army toward Sedan and Mézières.

On the 21st my instructions were issued to start the First Army to prepare thoroughly for a general attack on Oct. 28 that would be decisive, if possible. In order that the attack of the First Army and that of the Fourth French Army on its left should be simultaneous, our attack was delayed until Nov. 1. The immediate purpose of the First Army was to take Buzancy and the heights of Barricourt, to turn the forest north of Grand Pré, and to establish contact with the Fourth French Army near Boulton-aux-Bois. The army was directed to carry the heights of Barricourt by nightfall of the first day and then to exploit this success by advancing its left to Boulton-aux-Bois in preparation for the drive toward Sedan. By strenuous effort all available artillery had been moved well forward to the heights previously occupied by the enemy, from which it could fully cover and support the initial advance of the infantry.

On this occasion, and for the first time, the enemy prepared for its attack under normal conditions. We held the front of the attack, and were not under the necessity of taking over a new front, with its manifold installations and services. Our own personnel handled the communications, dumps, telegraph lines, and water service; our divisions were either on the line or close in the rear; the French artillery, aviation, and technical troops, which had previously made up our deficiencies, had been largely replaced by our own organizations, and now our army, corps, and divisional staffs were by actual experience second to none.

FOE'S LAST DEFENSE

On the morning of Nov. 1 three army corps were in line between the Meuse River and the Bois de Bourgogne. On the right the 3d Corps had the 5th and 90th Divisions; the 5th Corps occupied the centre of the line, with the 89th and 2d Divisions, and was to be the wedge of the attack on the first day, and on the left the 1st Corps deployed the 80th, 77th, and 78th Divisions.

Preceded by two hours of violent artillery preparation, the infantry advanced, closely followed by "accompanying guns." The artillery acquitted itself magnificently, the barrages being so well co-ordinated and so dense that the enemy was overwhelmed and quickly submerged by the rapid onslaught of the infantry. By nightfall the 5th Corps, in the centre, had realized an advance of almost nine kilometers, to the Bois de la Folie, and had completed the capture of the Heights of Barricourt, while the 3d Corps, on the right, had captured Alneville and Andevanne. Our troops had broken through the enemy's last defense, captured his artillery positions, and had precipitated a retreat of the German forces about to be isolated in the forest north of Grand Pré. On the 2d and 3d we advanced rapidly against heavy fighting on the front of the right and centre corps; to the left the troops of the 1st Corps hurried forward in pursuit, some by motor trucks, while the artillery pressed along the country roads close behind. Our heavy artillery was skillfully brought into position to fire upon the Carignan-Sedan railroad and the junctions at Longguyon and Conflans. By the evening of the 4th our troops had reached La Neuville, opposite Stenay, and had swept through the great Forêt de Dieulet, reaching the outskirts of Beaumont, while on the left we were eight kilometers north of Boulton-aux-Bois.

The following day the advance continued toward Sedan with increasing swiftness. The 3d Corps, turning eastward, crossed the Meuse in a brilliant operation by the 5th Division, driving the enemy from the heights of Dun-sur-Meuse and forcing a general withdrawal from the strong positions he had so long held on the hills north of Verdun.

APPEALS FOR ARMISTICE

By the 7th the right of the 3d Corps had exploited its river crossing to a distance of ten kilometers east of the Meuse, completely ejecting the enemy from the wooded heights and driving him out into the swampy plain of the Woevre; the 5th and 1st Corps had reached the line of the Meuse River along their respective fronts and the left of the latter corps held the heights dominating Sedan, the strategic goal of the Meuse-Argonne operation, forty-one kilometers from our point of departure on Nov. 1. We had cut the enemy's main line of communications. Recognizing that nothing but a cessation of hostilities could save his army from complete disaster, he appealed for immediate armistice on Nov. 6.



Germany and the Armenian Massacres

Official Documents from Berlin

A COLLECTION of German official documents compiled by Dr. Johannes Lepsius, founder of the German Orient Mission and President of the German Armenian Society, was published in Berlin with the authority of the Wilhelmstrasse toward the end of August, 1919. It is entitled "Germany and Armenia: 1914-1918," and is a volume of over 500 pages issued by the Potsdam Tempelverlag.

Dr. Lepsius asked leave last November, after the Berlin revolution, to consult the archives of the German Foreign Office for correspondence bearing upon Armenia, and Dr. Solf, then Foreign Secretary, informed him that if he would collate and publish the documents in question the Foreign Office would abandon its projected White Book upon Armenia in order to avoid duplication. The book that resulted from this arrangement is the first full and authentic account of the relations existing between Germany and Turkey. Basing his investigations on free and unlimited examination of all German official correspondence from Turkey, Dr. Lepsius, as editor, assumes complete responsibility for his exhaustively documented work.

Dr. Lepsius disclaims any desire to accuse or to exculpate any one. But his array of evidence shows that, from the Imperial Chancellor in Berlin down to the lowest grade official in Anatolia, the whole of the German Foreign Service knew day by day what was happening in Armenia. Hindenburg and Ludendorff were as well aware of every detail as were the veteran von der Goltz and Liman von Sanders. The Main Committee of the Reichstag shared the guilty secret. Yet nothing effective was done to bring the Turks to their senses. At Constantinople the German Ambassador of the day confined himself to making academic representations at stated intervals. The Turks in return gave Germany to understand that it was her business to win the war and not to meddle in Turkish internal affairs. The

Germans, for their part, appreciated only too clearly the retort to which their own policy of deportation in France and Belgium ultimately exposed them.

Dr. Lepsius's labors also afford the German public its first comprehensive view of what he describes as "perhaps the greatest persecution of Christians of all times."

The drama opened in Constantinople with an Oriental St. Bartholomew's Night on April 25, 1915, when 600 Armenian notables were arrested, deported, and done to death. In Armenia itself a so-called "rising" at Van furnished the pretext for the wholesale massacres and deportations that continued until the end of the year. And from December, 1915, began the period of systematic conversion to Islam. In this proceeding German diplomacy was prepared to acquiesce, on the ground that "in the East creed and nationality are synonymous." But even the German diplomats had to acknowledge that the decree of Aug. 1, 1916, determining the political and religious rights of the Armenians, was designed to terminate the very existence of the Armenian Nation.

Dr. Lepsius estimates that before the war 1,845,450 Armenians had their homes in the Ottoman dominions. During the war the Turks deported nearly 1,400,000 persons, and of these no fewer than 1,000,000 perished, not including some 50,000 to 100,000 Armenians of the Caucasus who are also "missing." No other nation, Dr. Lepsius observes, even among those that took direct part in the war, can show such a record of loss. The value of Armenian property confiscated by the Turks is estimated at 1,000,000,000 marks (nominally \$250,000,000).

Dr. Lepsius couples the ferocious greed of the Young Turks with the trumped-up *raison d'état* of the Nationalist Constantinople Committee as the mainspring of the policy of extermination. Talaat, Halil and Enver are exhibited as its most conspicuous exponents.

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that the Caucasus populations might be preserved. Enver returned an evasive reply.

An indictment of the attitude of the Central Powers in the face of Turkey's avowed purpose to exterminate the Armenian Nation is contained in a dispatch from Tiflis addressed to the Berlin Foreign Office on Aug. 20, 1918, by the Bavarian General, Baron Kress von Kressenstein, sometime Chief of Staff to Djemal Pasha's Fourth Turkish Army in Syria, who, after the Brest-Litovsk conference, had been appointed German High Commissioner in the Caucasus, with instructions to study the Armenian question on the spot. In this dispatch Baron von Kressenstein said:

If all the despairing cries for help on the part of the Government and clergy of Armenia pass unheeded, the responsibility for the annihilation of this ancient Christian people will lie forever upon Germany and Austria. History will not, and can not, admit that the two great

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Thomas Lawrence—whose activities in Syria during the war are described elsewhere in this issue—in a running description of British promises made both to the French and to the Arabs. These promises were embodied in four documents, which Colonel Lawrence defined as follows in a communication to The Manchester Guardian on Sept. 12:

DOCUMENT I.—The British promise to King Hussein, dated Oct. 24, 1915. It undertakes, conditional on an Arab revolt, to recognize the "independence of the Arabs" south of latitude 37 degrees, except in the provinces of Bagdad and Basra, where British interests require special measures of administrative control, and except where Great Britain is not "free to act without detriment to the interests of France."

[N. B.—Hussein asked for no personal position, and for no particular Government or Governments.]

DOCUMENT II.—The Sykes-Picot Agreement made between England and France in



SYRIA AND THE ANGLO-FRENCH PACT

DOCUMENT IV.—The Anglo-French Declaration of Nov. 9, 1918. In this Great Britain and France agree to encourage native Governments in Syria and Mesopotamia, and without imposition to assure the normal working of such Governments as the peoples shall themselves have adopted.

[N.B.—This was interpreted in the Orient as changing the "direct" British and French areas "b" and "c" of Document II. to spheres of influence.]

[The author of Document I. was Sir Henry McMahon. Documents II. and III. were by Sir Mark Sykes. Lord Robert Cecil authorized IV. They were all produced under stress of military urgency to induce the Arabs to fight on our side.]

The misunderstanding between the British and French was largely due to the inability of Britain to withdraw her promises to the Arabs, on the basis of which the allied nations secured the Shereef of Mecca (now King of the Hedjaz) as an ally against the Turk.

When Emir Feisal, during his former visit to Paris, declined to accept France as a mandatary for Syria, Great Britain declared formally that she would not accept the mandate in France's stead. Regarding Mosul, it was agreed during M. Clemenceau's visit to England in December, 1918, that the Mosul district should go to Britain as an integral part of Mesopotamia. The arrangement by which the British evacuation of Damascus, Hamal, Homs and Aleppo will not be followed by the French occupation thereof was due to the fact that the boundary of the new Arab State by the 1916 treaty was placed slightly west of these towns. At this writing (Oct. 10) Emir Feisal is on his way to London at the request of the British Government to discuss the mandate for his own country, the Hedjaz.



Pershing's Final Report

History of the American Operations in the World War

[SECOND HALF]

General Pershing's report to the Secretary of War appeared in HISTORY. It covered all the military operations of the American army from the armistice. The remaining portion tells of the operations in France, of American troops in Italy and Russia, of the return of our forces to the United States, and the discharge of our army services. It completes the official text of the most important part of our share in the world war.

Operations issued by the American army in the direction of the Meuse Basin, the operations of the entire army continued during the war. In the

Corps, Major Gen. Read commanding, with the 27th and 30th Divisions on the British front, was assigned the task, in co-operation with the Australian Corps, of breaking the Hindenburg line at Le Cateau, where the St. Quentin Canal passes through a tunnel under a ridge.

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Third Army after reaching the Rhine lay through Luxemburg. After the passage of the Third Army, the occupation of Luxemburg, for the purpose of guarding our line of communications, was intrusted to the 5th and 33d Divisions of the Second Army. The City of Luxemburg, garrisoned by French troops and designated as the headquarters of the allied Commander in Chief, was excluded from our control.

Upon entering the Duchy of Luxemburg in the advance, a policy of noninterference in the affairs of the Grand Duchy was announced. Therefore, when the French commander in the City of Luxemburg was given charge of all troops in the Duchy, in so far as concerned the "administration of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg," my instructions were that our troops would not be subject to his control. Later, at my request, and in order to avoid possible friction, Marshal Foch placed the entire Duchy in the American zone.

Troops to the United States

signed the problem. These, with the billeting facilities



GENERAL PERSHING'S FINAL REPORT

furnished by the several allies, requesting the American Army to furnish twenty-two to twenty-five divisions of infantry. In the same note he estimated the force to be maintained after the signing of the preliminaries of peace at about thirty-two divisions, of which the American Army was to furnish six.

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS

In reply it was pointed out that our problem of repatriation of troops and their demobilization was quite different from that of France or Great Britain. On account of our long line of communications in France and the time consumed by the ocean voyage and travel in the United States, even with the maximum employment of our then available transportation, at least a year must elapse before we could complete our demobilization. Therefore, it was proposed by me that the number of American combat divisions to be maintained in the zone of the armies should be reduced on April 1 to fifteen divisions and on May 1 to ten divisions, and that in the unexpected event that the preliminaries of peace should not be signed by May 1 we would continue to maintain ten divisions in the zone of the armistice until the date of signature.

The allied Commander in Chief later revised his estimate, and on Jan. 24 stated to the Supreme War Council that the German demobilization would permit the reduction of the allied forces to 100 divisions, of which the Americans were requested to furnish fifteen. In reply it was again pointed

out that our problem was entirely one of transportation, and that such a promise was unnecessary, inasmuch as it would probably be the Summer of 1919 before we could reduce our forces below the number asked. We were, therefore, able to keep our available ships filled, and by May 19 all combat divisions except five still in the army of occupation were under orders to proceed to ports of embarkation. This provided sufficient troops to utilize all troop transports to include July 15.

The President had informed me that it would be necessary for us to have at least one regiment in occupied Germany, and left the details to be discussed by me with Marshal Foch. My cable of July 1 summarizes the agreement reached:

"By direction of President, I have discussed with Marshal Foch questions of forces to be left on the Rhine. Following agreed upon: The 4th and 5th Divisions will be sent to base ports immediately. The 2d Division will commence moving to base ports on July 15, and the 3d Division on Aug. 15. Date of relief of 1st Division will be decided later. Agreement contemplates that after compliance by Germany with military conditions to be completed within first three months after German ratification of treaty American force will be reduced to one regiment of infantry and certain auxiliaries. Request President be informed of agreement."

As a result of a later conference with Marshal Foch the 3d Division was released on Aug. 3 and the 1st Division on Aug. 15.

Enormous Task of the Supply Services

In February, 1918, the line of communications was reorganized under the name of the service of supply. At that time all staff services and departments, except the Adjutant General's, the Inspector General's, and the Judge Advocate General's Departments, were grouped for supply purposes under one co-ordinating head, the commanding general services of supply, with a general staff paralleling, so far as necessary, the General Staff at General Headquarters.

The principal functions of the services of supply were the procurement, storage, and transportation of supplies. These activities were controlled in a general way by the commanding general services of supply, the maximum degree of independence being permitted to the several services. This great organization was charged with immense projects in connection with roads, docks, railroads, and buildings; the transportation of men, animals, and supplies by sea, rail, and inland waterways; the operation of telegraph and telephone systems; the control and transportation of replacements; the hospitalization necessary for an army of 2,000,000 men; the reclassification of numerous officers and men; the establishment of leave

areas and of welfare and entertainment projects; the liquidation of our affairs in France, and the final embarkation of our troops for home.

The growth of the permanent port personnel, the location near the base ports of certain units for training, and other considerations led to the appointment of a territorial commander for the section around each port, who, while acting as the representative of the commanding general services of supply, was given the local authority of a district commander. For similar reasons an intermediate section commander and an advance section commander were appointed. Eventually there were nine sections, including one in England, one in Italy, and one comprising Rotterdam, Antwerp, also one intermediate and one advance section.

The increasing participation of the American Expeditionary Forces in active operations necessitated the enlargement of the responsibilities and authority of the commanding general services of supply. In August, 1918, he was charged with complete responsibility for all supply matters in the services of supply, and was authorized to correspond

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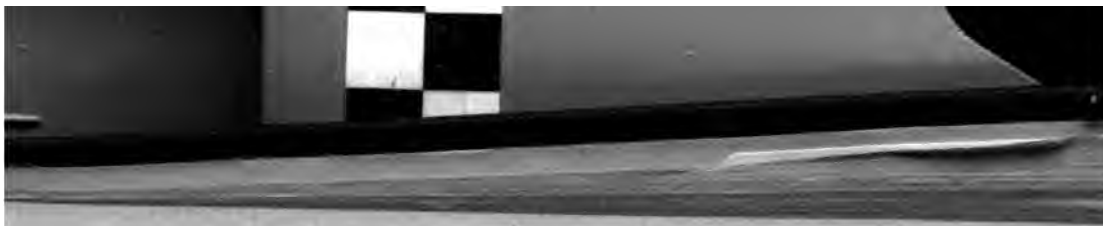
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high degree of elasticity and adaptability was assured and maintained through the medium of the regulating station. It was the connecting link between the armies and the services in the rear, and regulated the railroad transportation which tied them together. The regulating officer at each station was a member of the Fourth Section of my General Staff, acting under instructions from his chief of section.

Upon the regulating officer fell the responsibility that a steady flow of supply was maintained. He must meet emergency shipments of ammunition or engineering material, sudden transfers of troops by rail, the hastening forward of replacements, or the unexpected evacuation of wounded. All the supply services naturally clamored to have their shipments rushed through. The regulating officer, acting under special or secret instructions, must declare priorities in the supply of things the army needed most. Always informed of the conditions at the front, of the status of supplies, and of military plans and intentions, nothing could be shipped to the regulating station or in front of the advance depots except on his orders. The chiefs of supply services fulfilled their responsibilities when they delivered to the regulating officer the supplies called for by



GENERAL PERSHING'S FINAL REPORT

relieve to some extent the great strain on the railheads during active fighting, a system of army depots was organized. These depots were supplied by bulk shipment from the advance depots through the regulating stations during relatively quiet periods. They were under the control of the chiefs of the supply services of the armies and required practically no construction work, the supplies being stored in open places protected only by dunnage and camouflage tarpaulins.

The accompanying diagram illustrates graphically the supply system which supported our armies in France. The services of supply can be likened to a great reservoir divided into three main parts—the base depots, the intermediate depots, and the advance depots. The management of this reservoir is in charge of the commanding General, services of supply, who administers it with a free hand, controlled only by general policies outlined to him from time to time. Each of the supply and technical services functions independently in its own respective sphere; each has its share of storage space in the base depots, in the intermediate depots, and in the advance depots. Then comes the distribution system, and here the control passes to the chief of the Fourth Section of the General Staff, who exercises his powers through the regulating stations.

PURCHASING AGENCY

The consideration of requirements in food and material led to the adoption of an automatic supply system, but, with the exception of foodstuffs, there was an actual shortage, especially in the early part of the war, of many things, such as equipment pertaining to land transportation and equipment and material for combat. The lack of ocean tonnage to carry construction material and animals at the beginning was serious. Although an increasing amount of shipping became available as the war progressed, at no time was there sufficient for our requirements. The tonnage from the States reached about seven and one-half million tons to Dec. 31, 1918, which was a little less than one-half of the total amount obtained.

The supply situation made it imperative that we utilize European resources as far as possible for the purchase of material and supplies. If our services of supply departments had entered the market of Europe as purchasers without regulation or co-ordination, they would have been thrown into competition with each other, as well as with buyers from the allied armies and the civil populations. Such a system would have created an unnatural elevation of prices, and would have actually obstructed the procurement of supplies. To meet this problem from the standpoint of economical business management, directions were given in August, 1917, for the creation of a purchasing Board to co-ordinate

purchases both among our own services and among the Allies as well. The supervision and direction of this agency was placed in the hands of an experienced business man, and every supply department in the American Expeditionary Forces was represented on the board. Agents were stationed in Switzerland, Spain, and Holland, besides the allied countries. The character of supplies included practically the entire category of necessities, although the bulk of our purchases consisted of raw materials for construction, ordnance, air equipment, and animals. A total of about 10,000,000 tons was purchased abroad by this agency to Dec. 31, 1918, most of which was obtained in France.

The functions of the purchasing agency were gradually extended until they included a wide field of activities. In addition to the co-ordination of purchases, the supply resources of our allies were reconnoitred and intimate touch was secured with foreign agencies; a statistical bureau was created which classified and analyzed our requirements; quarterly forecasts of supplies were issued; civilian manual labor was procured and organized; a technical board undertook the co-ordination, development, and utilization of the electric power facilities in France; a bureau of reciprocal supplies viséed the claims of foreign Governments for raw materials from the United States, and a general printing plant was established. Some of these activities were later transferred to other services as the latter became ready to undertake their control.

The principles upon which the usefulness of this agency depended were extended to our allies, and in the Summer of 1918 the general purchasing agent became a member of the Interallied Board of Supplies. This board undertook, with signal success, to co-ordinate the supply of the allied armies in all those classes of material necessities that were in common use in all the armies. The possibility of immense savings were fully demonstrated, but the principles had not become of general application before the armistice.

OCEAN TONNAGE

Following a study of tonnage requirements an officer was sent to Washington in December, 1917, with a general statement of the shipping situation in France as understood by the allied Maritime Council. In March, 1918, tonnage requirements for transport and maintenance of 900,000 men in France by June 30 were adopted as a basis upon which to calculate supply requisitions and the allocation of tonnage.

In April the allied Maritime Transport Council showed that requirements for 1918 greatly exceeded the available tonnage. Further revisions of the schedule were required by the Abbéville agreement in May, under which American infantry and machine-gun units were to be transported in British ships.

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First Army in preparation for the St. Mihiel offensive.

By the time the Meuse-Argonne offensive was initiated the replacement situation had become still more acute. The infantry and machine-gun units of the 84th and 86th Divisions, then in the vicinity of Bordeaux, were utilized as replacements, leaving only a cadre of two officers and twenty-five men for each company. To provide immediate replacements during the progress of the battles new replacement organizations were formed in the zone of operations; at first as battalions and later as regional replacement depots.

2. On Oct. 3 a cable was sent the War Department reading as follows:

"Over 50,000 of the replacements requested for the months of July, August, and September have not yet arrived. Due to extreme seriousness of replacement situation it is necessary to utilize personnel of the 84th and 86th Divisions for replacement purposes. Combat divisions are short over 80,000 men. Vitality important that all replacements due, including 55,000 requested for October, be shipped early in October. If necessary, some



WORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

It was necessary for the American Expeditionary Force to experience the difficulties of our operations in addition to the transportation of our troops.

The relations between the supply departments, but not a high

ment for our stock on approximately 20,000 locomotives and 1,947 of rolling stock, a series of cars by us was the allied

the correspondence with relatives of the deceased. Central cemeteries were organized on the American battlefields, the largest being at Romagne-sous-Montfaucon and at Thiaucourt in the Woevre. All territory over which our troops fought was examined by this service, and, generally speaking, the remains of our dead were assembled in American cemeteries, and the graves marked with a cross or six-pointed star and photograph. A few bodies were buried where they fell or in neighboring French or British cemeteries. Wherever the soldier was buried his identification tag, giving his name and army serial number, was fastened to the marker. A careful record was kept of the location of each grave.

SIGNAL CORPS

The Signal Corps supplied, installed, and operated the general service of telephone and telegraph communications throughout the zone of armies, and from there to the rear areas. At the front it handled radio, press, and intercept stations; provided a radio network in the zone of advance, and also managed the meteorological, pigeon, and general photographic services. Our communication

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GENERAL PERSHING'S FINAL REPORT

country in question. The efficient administration of this service had an excellent effect upon the people of the European countries concerned.

The various activities of the Services of Supply which, at its height on Nov. 11, 1918, reached a numerical strength in personnel of 668,312, including 23,772 civilian employees, can best be summed up by quoting the telegram sent by me to Major Gen. James G.

Harbord, the commanding General, Services of Supply, upon my relinquishing personal command of the First Army:

"I want the S. O. S. to know how much the First Army appreciated the prompt response made to every demand for men, equipment, supplies, and transportation necessary to carry out the recent operations. Hearty congratulations. The S. O. S. shares the success with it."

Ordnance and Other Departments

Our entry into the war found us with few of the auxiliaries necessary for its conduct in the modern sense. The task of the Ordnance Department in supplying artillery was especially difficult. In order to meet our requirements as rapidly as possible, we accepted the offer of the French Government to supply us with the artillery equipment of 75's, 155-millimeter howitzers, and 155 G. P. F. guns from their own factories for thirty divisions. The wisdom of this course was fully demonstrated by the fact that, although we soon began the manufacture of these classes of guns at home, there were no guns of American manufacture of the calibres mentioned on our front at the date of the armistice. The only guns of these types produced at home which reached France before the cessation of hostilities were 109 75 millimeter guns. In addition, 24 8-inch howitzers from the United States reached our lines and were in use when the armistice was signed. Eight 14-inch naval guns of American manufacture were set up on railroad mounts, and most of these were successfully employed on the Meuse-Argonne front under the efficient direction of Admiral Plunkett of the navy.

AVIATION

In aviation we were entirely dependent upon our allies, and here again the French Government came to our aid until our own program could be set under way. From time to time we obtained from the French such airplanes for training personnel as they could provide. Without going into a complete discussion of aviation material, it will be sufficient to state that it was with great difficulty that we obtained equipment even for training. As for up-to-date combat airplanes, the development at home was slow, and we had to rely upon the French who provided us with a total of 2,676 pursuit, observation, and bombing machines. The first airplanes received from home arrived in May, and altogether we received 1,379 planes of the De Havilland type. The first American squadron completely equipped by American production, including airplanes, crossed the German lines on Aug. 7, 1918. As to our aviators, many of whom trained with our allies, it can be said that they had no superiors in daring

and in fighting ability. During the battles of St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne our aviators excelled all others. They have left a record of courageous deeds that will ever remain a brilliant page in the annals of our army.

TANKS

In the matter of tanks, we were compelled to rely upon both the French and the English. Here, however, we were less fortunate for the reason that our allies barely had sufficient tanks to meet their own requirements. While our Tank Corps had limited opportunity, its fine personnel responded gallantly on every possible occasion and showed courage of the highest order. We had one battalion of heavy tanks engaged on the English front. On our own front we had only the light tanks, and the number available to participate in the last great assault of Nov. 1 was reduced to sixteen as a result of the previous hard fighting in the Meuse-Argonne.

CHEMICAL WARFARE

The chemical warfare service represented another entirely new departure in this war. It included many specialists from civil life. With personnel at a high order, it developed rapidly into one of our most efficient auxiliary services. While the early employment of gas was in the form of clouds launched from special projectors, its use later on in the war was virtually by means of gas shells fired by the light artillery. One of the most important duties of the chemical warfare service was to insure the equipment of our troops with a safe and comfortable mask and the instruction of the personnel in the use of this protector. Whether or not gas will be employed in future wars is a matter of conjecture, but the effect is so deadly to the unprepared that we can never afford to neglect the question.

ADMINISTRATION

The general health of our armies under conditions strange and adverse in many ways to our American experience and mode of life was marvelously good. The proportionate number of men incapacitated from other causes than battle casualties and injured

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the War Department as well as our forces in France. Unusually close attention was paid to individual records. Never before have accuracy and completeness of reports been so strictly insisted upon. Expedients had to be adopted whereby the above requirements could be met without increasing the record and correspondence work of combat units. The organization had to be elastic to meet the demands of any force maintained in Europe.

A statistical division was organized to collect data regarding the special qualifications of all officers and to keep an up-to-date record of the location, duties, health, and status of every officer and soldier, nurse, field clerk, and civilian employe, as well as the location and strength of organizations. The central records office at Bourges received reports from the battlefield, evacuation camps, and base hospitals, convalescent leave areas, reclassification camps, and base ports, and prepared for transmission to the War Department reports of individual casualties. Each of the 299,599 casualties was considered as an individual case. A thorough investigation of the men classed as "missing in action" reduced the number from 14,000 to the signing of the armistice to twenty-two on Aug. 31, 1919.



GENERAL PERSHING'S FINAL REPORT

must be regarded as an unusual development of this war, a fact which materially aided us to organize and employ in an incredibly short space of time the extraordinary fighting machine developed in France.

Our troops generally were strongly imbued with an offensive spirit essential to success. The veteran divisions had acquired not only this spirit, but the other elements of fine discipline. In highly trained divisions, commanders of all grades operate according to a definite system calculated to concentrate their efforts where the enemy is weakest. Straggling is practically eliminated; the infantry, skillful in fire action and the employment of cover, gains with a minimum of casualties; the battalion, with all of its accompanying weapons, works smoothly as a team in which the parts automatically assist each other; the artillery gives the infantry close and continuous support; and unforeseen situations are met by prompt and energetic action.

This war has only confirmed the lessons of the past. The less experienced divisions, while aggressive, were lacking in the ready skill of habit. They were capable of powerful blows, but their blows were apt to be awkward—teamwork was often not well understood. Flexible and resourceful divisions cannot be created by a few manoeuvres or by a few months' association of their elements. On the other hand, without the keen intelligence, the endurance, the willingness, and enthusiasm displayed in the training area, as well as on the battlefield, the successful results we obtained so quickly would have been utterly impossible.

MILITARY JUSTICE

The commanders of armies, corps, divisions, separate brigades, and certain territorial districts, were empowered to appoint general courts-martial. Each of these commanders had on his staff an officer of the Judge Advocate General's Department, whose duty it was to render legal advice and to assist in the prompt trial and just punishment of those guilty of serious infractions of discipline.

Prior to the signing of the armistice serious breaches of discipline were rare, considering the number of troops. This was due to the high sense of duty of the soldiers and their appreciation of the seriousness of the situation. In the period of relaxation following the cessation of hostilities, infractions of discipline were naturally more numerous, but not even then was the number of trials as great in proportion to the strength of the force as is usual in our service.

It was early realized that many of the peace-time methods of punishment were not the best for existing conditions. In the early part of 1918 it was decided that the award of dishonorable discharge of soldiers convicted of an offense involving moral turpitude would not be contemplated except in

the most serious cases. To remove these soldiers temporarily from their organizations, division commanders were authorized to form provisional temporary detachments to which such soldiers could be attached. These detachments were retained with their battalions so that offenders would not escape the dangers and hardships to which their comrades were subjected. Wherever their battalion was engaged, whether in front-line trenches or in back areas, these men were required to perform hard labor. Only in emergency were they permitted to engage in combat. Soldiers in these disciplinary battalions were made to understand that if they acquitted themselves well they would be restored to full duty with their organizations.

All officers exercising disciplinary powers were imbued with the purpose of these instructions and carried them into effect. So that nearly all men convicted of military offenses in combat divisions remained with their organizations and continued to perform their duty as soldiers. Many redeemed themselves by rendering valiant service in action and were released from the further operation of their sentences.

To have the necessary deterrent effect upon the whole unit, courts-martial for serious offenses usually imposed sentences considerably heavier than would have been awarded in peace times. Except where the offender earned remission at the front, these sentences stood during hostilities. At the signing of the armistice steps were at once taken to reduce outstanding sentences to the standards of peace time.

PROVOST MARSHAL

On July 20, 1917, a Provost Marshal General was appointed with station in Paris, and later the department was organized as an administrative service with the Provost Marshal General functioning under the first section, General Staff. The department was developed into four main sections—the military police corps which served with divisions, corps, and armies, and in the sections of the service of supply; the prisoner of war escort companies, the criminal investigation department, and the circulation department. It was not until 1918 that the last-mentioned department became well trained and efficient. On Oct. 15, 1918, the strength of the corps was increased to 1 per cent. of the strength of the American Expeditionary Forces, and Provost Marshals for armies, corps, and divisions were provided.

The military police of the American Expeditionary Forces developed into one of the most striking bodies of men in Europe. Wherever the American soldier went, there our military police were on duty. They controlled traffic in the battle zone, in all villages occupied by American troops, and in many cities through which our traffic flowed; they maintained order, so far as the American soldiers were concerned, throughout France and in portions of England, Italy,

YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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The American civilians in Europe, both in official and private life, were decidedly patriotic and loyal, and invariably lent encouragement and helpfulness to the armies abroad.

The various societies, especially their women, including those of the theatrical profession, and our army nurses, played a most important part in brightening the lives of our troops and in giving aid and comfort to our sick and wounded.

The navy in European waters, under command of Admiral Sims, at all times cordially aided the army. To our sister service we owe the safe arrival of our armies and their supplies. It is most gratifying to record that there has never been such perfect understanding between these two branches of the service.

Our armies were conscious of the support and co-operation of all branches of the Government. Behind them stood the entire American people, whose ardent patriotism and sympathy inspired our troops with a deep sense of obligation, of loyalty, and of devotion to the country's cause never equaled in our history.

Finally the memory of the unflinching fortitude and heroism of the soldiers of the line fills me with greatest admiration. To them I again pay the supreme tribute. Their de-



Appendix (X)

Our War Effort Told in Brief

Official Summary of Activities of United States Red Terse Figures and Handy Charts

Colonel Leonard P. Ayres, Chief of the Statistics Branch of the General Staff in the United States War Department, acting under instructions from the War Department, prepared a 150-page book entitled "The War With Germany: A Summary," covering the larger aspects of the military action and preparation of the United States in the war. A condensation of the more striking facts in Colonel Ayres's book are here presented, in text and charts, for convenient reference:

THE number of men serving in the armed forces of the United States during the great European war was 4,800,000, of whom 4,000,000 served in the army.

The United States raised twice as many men as did the Northern States in the civil war, but only half as many in proportion to the population.

The British sent more men to France in their first year of war than we did in our first year, but it took England three years to reach a strength of 2,000,000 men in France, and the United States accomplished it in half of that time.

Of every 100 men who served, ten were National Guardsmen, thirteen were regulars, and seventy-seven were in the National Army, (or would have been if the services had not been consolidated.)

Of the 54,000,000 males in the population, 26,000,000 were registered in the draft or were already in service.

In the physical examinations the States of the Middle West made the best showing. Country boys did better than city boys; whites better than colored, and native born better than foreign born.

In this war twice as many men were recruited as in the civil war, and at one-twentieth of the recruiting cost.

There were 200,000 army officers. Of every six officers, one had previous military training with troops, three were graduates of officers' training camps, and two came directly from civil life.

The average American soldier who fought in France had six months of training here, two months overseas be-

fore entering the line, and on a quiet sector before going into battle.

Most soldiers received their training in infantry divisions, which are the principal combat units and consist of 1,000 officers and 27,000 men.

Forty-two divisions were sent to France.

More than two-thirds of our officers were graduates of the various training camps.

France and England sent nearly 800 of our officers as instructors.

During our nineteen months of war more than 2,000,000 American soldiers were carried to France. Half of these went over in the first six months, the others in the next months.

The highest troop-carrying ship was the *Leviathan* of July, 1918, when 3,000 soldiers were carried to Europe. The lowest was the *Leviathan* of 1919, when 330,000 were brought to America.

Most of the troops who went to France left from New York City, half landed in England and half landed in France.

Among every 100 American soldiers over forty-nine went in British ships, forty-five in American ships, two in Italian, two in French, and one in Russian shipping under English flag.

Our cargo ships average a complete trip every seventy days, while troopships one complete trip in thirty-five days.

The cargo fleet was almost entirely American. It reached the

YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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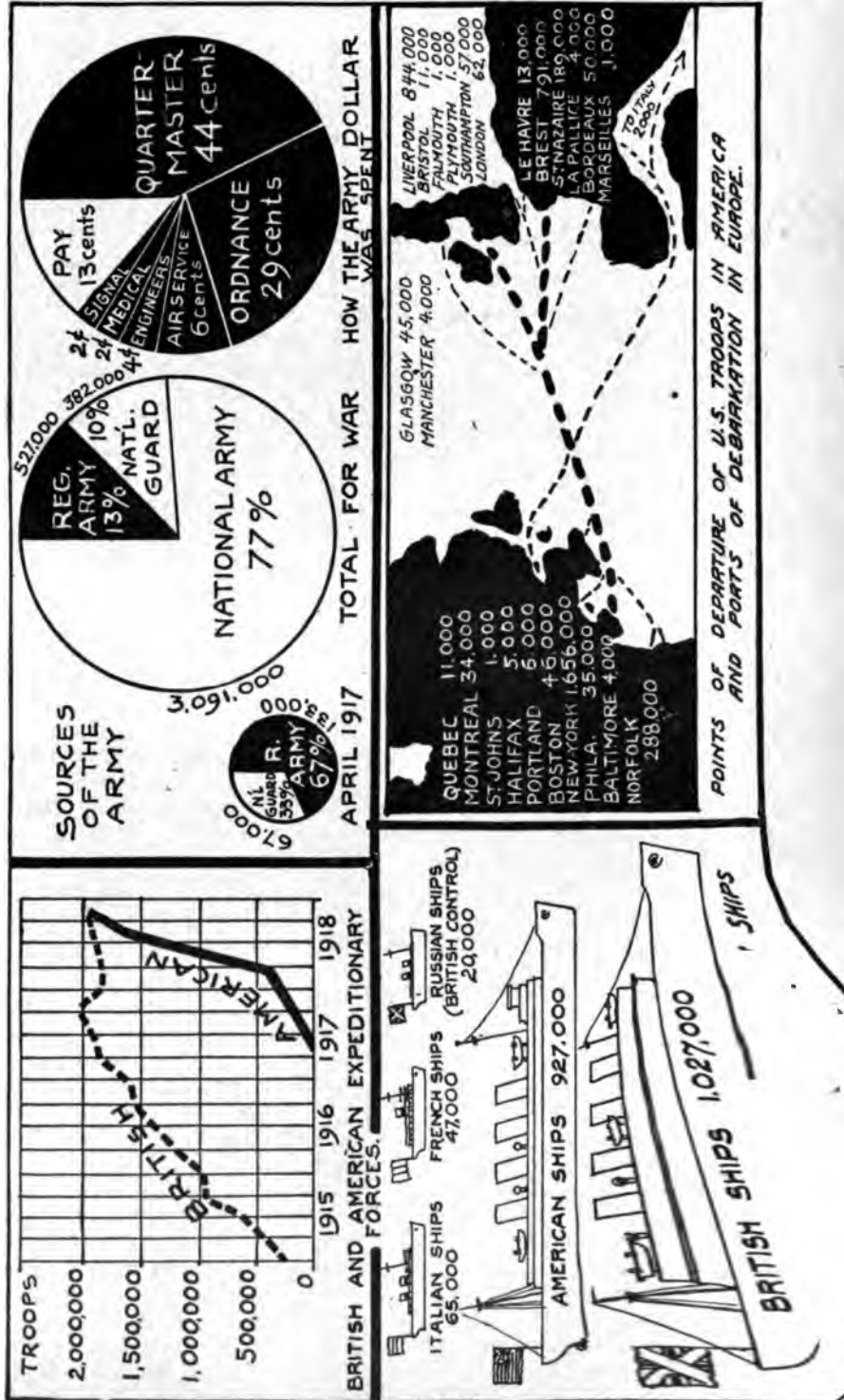
American production of rifle ammuni-
tion amounted to approximately 3,500,-
000,000 rounds, of which 1,500,000,000
were shipped overseas.

When war was declared the United
States had sufficient light artillery to
equip an army of 500,000 men, and
shortly found itself confronted with the
problem of preparing to equip 5,000,000
men.

To meet the situation it was decided
in June, 1917, to allot our guns to train-
ing purposes and to equip our forces in
France with artillery conforming to the
French and British standard calibres.

Up to the end of April, 1919, the num-
ber of complete artillery units produced
in American plants was more than 3,000,
or equal to all those purchased from
the French and British during the war.

Interesting Figures Regarding the American Expeditionary Force Shown in Convenient Form



ORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

RIFLES MADE
ACCEPTED BY
1917-1918



JAN. 1918
53



PRODUCTION OF
ARTILLERY UNITS
IN U.S. FACTORIES



JULY 1918
100

OCT.
420

COMPILED
FROM
OFFICIAL
RECORDS
OF THE
U.S.
GENERAL
STAFF

JAN. 1918
375,000

JULY 1918
1,085,000

OCT. 1918
3,072,000

MONTHLY PRODUCTION
OF SHELLS.



DIVI-
SIONS BATTLE
DEATHS

WOUNDED

TOTAL
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DIVI- SIONS	BATTLE DEATHS	WOUNDED	TOTAL CASUALTIES
2nd	4,419	20,657	25,076
1st	4,204	19,191	23,395
3rd	3,102	15,052	18,154
26th	2,531	13,744	16,275
42nd	2,715	13,292	16,007
26th	2,148	13,000	15,148
4th	2,587	11,896	14,483
32nd	2,816	10,986	13,802
27th	1,990	9,960	11,950
7th	1,791	8,427	10,218
50th	1,432	5,458	6,890
5th	1,908	7,973	9,881
4th	1,200	2,241	3,441



OUR WAR EFFORT TOLD IN BRIEF

ferred to the American service in December, 1917.

The American air force at the front grew from 3 squadrons in April to 45 in November, 1918. On Nov. 11 the 45 squadrons had an equipment of 740 planes.

Of 2,698 planes sent to the zone of the advance for American aviators 667, or nearly one-fourth, were of American manufacture.

American air squadrons played important rôles in the battles of Château-Thierry, St. Mihiel, and the Meuse-Argonne. They brought down in combat 755 enemy planes, while their own losses of planes numbered only 357.

Two out of every three American soldiers who reached France took part in battle. The number who reached France was 2,084,000, and of these 1,390,000 saw active service at the front.

Of the forty-two divisions that reached France twenty-nine took part in active combat service. Seven of them were regular army divisions, eleven were organized from the National Guard, and eleven were made up of National Army troops.

American divisions were in battle for 100 days and engaged in thirteen major operations.

From the middle of August until the end of the war the American divisions held during the greater part of the time a front longer than that held by the British.

In October the American divisions held 101 miles of line, or 23 per cent. of the entire western front.

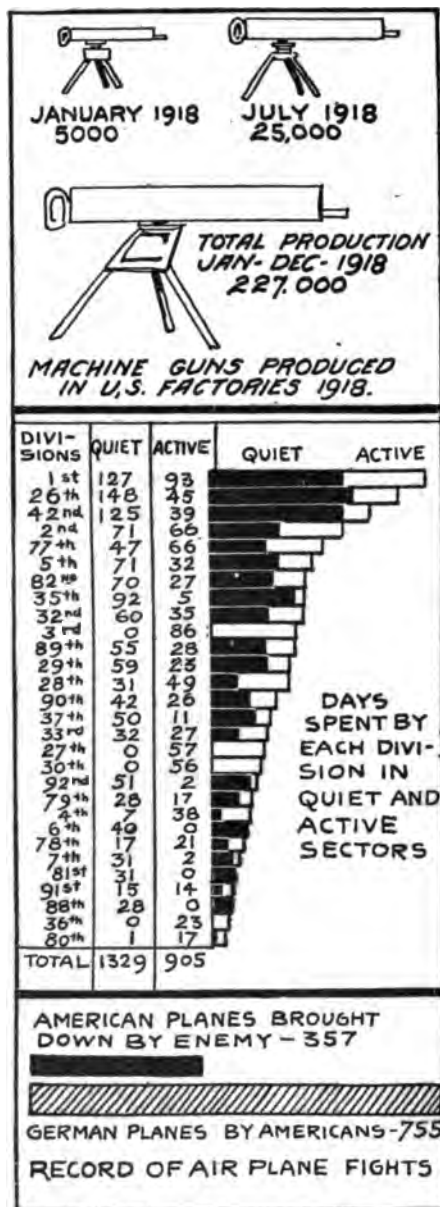
On April 1 the Germans had a superiority of 324,000 in rifle strength. Due to American arrivals the allied strength exceeded that of the Germans in June and was more than 600,000 above it in November.

In the battle of St. Mihiel 550,000 Americans were engaged, as compared with about 100,000 on the Northern side in the battle of Gettysburg. The artillery fired more than 1,000,000 shells in four hours, which is the most intense concentration of artillery fire recorded in history.

The Meuse-Argonne battle lasted for

forty-seven days, during which 1,200,000 American troops were engaged.

The American battle losses in the war were 50,000 killed and 236,000 wounded.



Of every 100 American soldiers and sailors who served in the war with Germany two were killed or died of disease during the period of hostilities.

The total battle deaths of all nations



Appendix (Y)

Bagdad Under British Rule

How Englishmen Administered the City of Haroun al Raschid After Driving Out the Turks*

THE British occupation of Mesopotamia began immediately after the declaration of war, with an advance on Basra, from which the Turkish armies fled so hastily that all records were left undamaged and public buildings intact. Soon after came the advance to Nasiriyah on the Euphrates, to Amarah, Kut, and Ctesiphon on the Tigris. In the Spring of 1917 General Maude recaptured Kut and marched on Bagdad. The British advance on Bagdad, unlike the occupation of Basra, had been expected, and all records considered valuable had been destroyed or removed by the Turks; the Arts and Crafts School had been deliberately bombed, and fires had been started in the city. What furniture the Turks left was ransacked by the mob in the interval between the departure of the Turks and the arrival of the British, and the Government offices were a confusion of broken furniture, dirt, and piles of paper.

Order was at once restored by the Military Governor, but for some time it was difficult to obtain open assistance from the inhabitants. Too vivid was the memory of the butcheries at Kut, when those who had assisted the British were brutally massacred, together with their families. Those officials who still remained at their post, as, for instance, the officials who administered the public debt, were passively resistant, and the British were obliged practically unaided to bring order out of chaos.

BAGDAD'S POSITION

The capture of Bagdad was of transcendent importance to Great Britain. It vindicated British prestige in the East, which had undoubtedly been shaken by the failure to force the Dardanelles and relieve Kut-el-Amara. It meant the disruption of the Turkish Empire in Asia, the liberation of Persia from the Otto-

man occupation of nearly 30,000 square miles of her territory, and the security of the Indian frontier. It also stilled Mohammedan unrest in this region and prepared the way for the ultimate British victory in the East. For Bagdad, situated on both banks of the River Tigris, about 200 miles north of the confluence of that river with the River Euphrates and about 400 miles north of Basra, has always been important for its position. About a day's journey from the treeless, fertile plain of Mesopotamia, in which Bagdad lies snugly within its fringe of orange groves, date palms, and pomegranate gardens, are the ruins of the ancient cities of Babylon and Nineveh, respectively the capitals of the Chaldean and Assyrian Empires, and the Tower of Babel, all of Biblical fame.

One of the four great gates of the city that face north, south, east, and west, the Bab-ul Muazzam, an open square with bazaars, is the eastern terminus of the overland route to Aleppo and Europe, and here the caravans arrive from Central Arabia and pilgrims set out for Kerbela. Bagdad, indeed, has always been the key of the desert route to Damascus and Asia Minor and the entrance to the waterways leading to Mosul and Armenia. Germany thought so much of Bagdad's position that, with Turkey's consent, she made it one of the termini of her Berlin-Bosphorus-Bagdad Railway, by which, in the event of future war, she could reach the British dependency of India.

A PAGE OF HISTORY

Bagdad was founded by Abu Jaafe-el-Mansur, the first of the Abbasia Caliphs, in 762. He built the city on the west bank of the Tigris, on the place which

* This article is based in part on an article, "Turkish Rule and British Administration in Mesopotamia," which appeared in *The Quarterly Review* for October, 1919.

NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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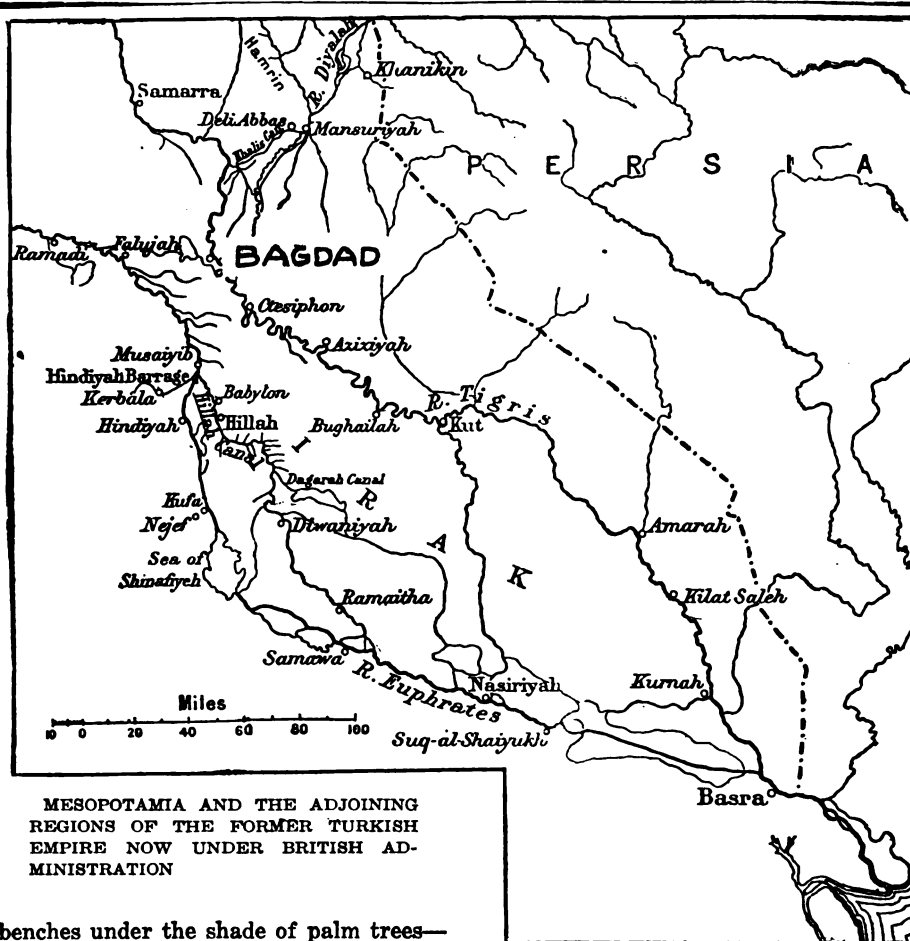
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brought to it by caravans of came
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and Persian rugs, carpets, fruits,
and other commodities were sent b
exchange. Goods from Europe and
were transported by sea to Basra,
up-river to Bagdad and Mosul i
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throughout the Imperial Ottoman
though "sarrafs" (small Jewish b
also received their quotas.

When the British occupied th
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passed lightly over the manners an
toms of the town, leaving an inta
changed picture of the east of a
days. The irrigation of the field
still carried on in primitive fashio
water being drawn from the riv
means of waterwheels driven by



BAGDAD UNDER BRITISH RULE



benches under the shade of palm trees—the merchants met to discuss business, and as they sat cross-legged, drank the thick, delicious coffee served in cups without handles. Beyond, the city bazaar offered a feast of color. The gorgeous Eastern dyes made vivid splashes of color; the gleam of silver and gilt-embroidered goods from Damascus caught the eye.

THE BRITISH RULE

But these were only the romantic and picturesque features of Bagdad. When the British came in they found the city almost wholly lacking in the essentials of good government. At first they had to play their civilizing hand alone, and were the object of much distrust and suspicion. The Arabs of the Euphrates had never been much governed, and it was not until the Sheiks had come to Bagdad and been personally received by

the British Political Officer, and had seen and heard what was being done under British rule, that real progress was possible.

There was much to give them confidence. Bagdad, from a picturesquely beautiful but disorderly, unhygienic, unpoliced and drink-loving city, had in a very short time become orderly; it possessed clean streets, electric lighting, a municipal government under a military Governor, a police force, night watchmen, a prison, a hospital, and even a fire brigade. Religious and civil tribunals had been established. The liquor laws were reformed, and all drinking shops licensed. The salt monopoly was suspended, the tobacco supply was related officially as a necessity to Arab population. The functions of public debt were taken over by



YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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dences of British good-will was the ever
widening influence of Sir Percy Cox,
who had been appointed Chief Political
Officer in the Autumn of 1914. "Kokus,"
as his name was Arabicized, had become
a hero; songs in his honor were sung at
the camp-fire; and a mythical Saga of
his doings and the motives therefore was
passed on from Arab to Arab, and re-
peated by those who had never seen him.

MESOPOTAMIA'S REVIVAL

So the ancient city of Bagdad was
transformed. Elsewhere throughout
Mesopotamia the same story of British
achievement could be told. All towns
occupied were at once placed under mili-
tary Governors, districts were shaped,
guarantees were exchanged with Sheiks,
revenue contracts were revised, and
courts of civil justice were established.
Sympathetic treatment when the crops





THE TURKISH PEACE TREATY

directly it must exercise a potent influence extending deep into the remoter regions of the Asiatic Continent.

PREAMBLE

The preamble recites shortly the origin of the war and enumerates the high contracting parties, represented by the four principal allied powers, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and the other allied powers, Belgium, Greece, the Hedjaz, Armenia, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and Czechoslovakia on the one hand and Turkey on the other.

PART I.—LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Here follows the text of the covenant as embodied in the treaty of peace with Germany.

PART II.—THE BOUNDARIES OF TURKEY

The boundaries of Turkey are described in two articles, one dealing with Turkey in Europe and the other with Turkey in Asia. The frontier of Turkey in Europe is approximately that of the Chatalja lines, the northern half of these lines being, however, advanced in a northwesterly direction so as to include within the boundaries of Turkey the whole area of Lake Derkos, which is a reservoir for the supply of water to Constantinople.

The boundaries of Turkey in Asia remain the same except as regards the southern frontier, which together with the new frontier in Europe and the boundary of the Greek administrative zone around Smyrna (see section dealing with Smyrna below), are shown approximately on the attached map. The above boundaries are described in detail in the treaty in so far as they are not to be settled by boundary commissions on the spot. Provision is also made in the treaty for a possible modification of the present frontier between Turkey and the independent State of Armenia—viz., the former Russo-Turkish frontier in this region—by reference to the arbitration of the President of the United States regarding a new boundary for Armenia in the vilayets of Trebizond, Erzerum, Van and Bitlis.

PART III.—POLITICAL CLAUSES

CONSTANTINOPLE

Subject to the provisions of the treaty, the parties agree to the maintenance of Turkish sovereignty over Constantinople, but a reservation is made that, if Turkey fails to observe the provisions of the treaty or of supplementary treaties or conventions, particularly as regards the protection of minorities, the allied powers may modify the above provisions, and Turkey agrees to accept any dispositions which may be made in this connection.

THE STRAITS

The navigation of the Straits, including the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosphorus, is to be open in future both in peace and war to every vessel of commerce or of war and to military and commercial aircraft without distinction of flag. These waters are not to be subject to blockade, and no belligerent right is to be exercised nor any act of hostility committed within them unless in pursuance of a decision of the Council of the League of Nations.

A "Commission of the Straits" is established with control over these waters, to which both the Turkish and Greek Governments delegate the necessary powers. The commission is composed of representatives appointed respectively by the United States of America (if and when that Government is willing to participate), the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Russia (if and when Russia becomes a member of the League of Nations), Greece, Rumania and Bulgaria (if and when Bulgaria becomes a member of the League of Nations). Each power is to appoint one representative, but the representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and Russia have two votes each, and the representatives of the other three powers one vote each.

The commission exercises its authority in complete independence of the local authority, with its own flag, budget and separate organization. The commission is charged with the execution of any works necessary for the improvement of the channels or the approaches to harbors, lighting and buoying, the control of pilotage and towage, the control of anchorages, the control necessary to assure the execution in the ports of Constantinople and Haidar Pasha of the régime laid down in that part of the treaty relating to ports, waterways and railways and the control of all matters relating to wrecks and salvage and lighterage.

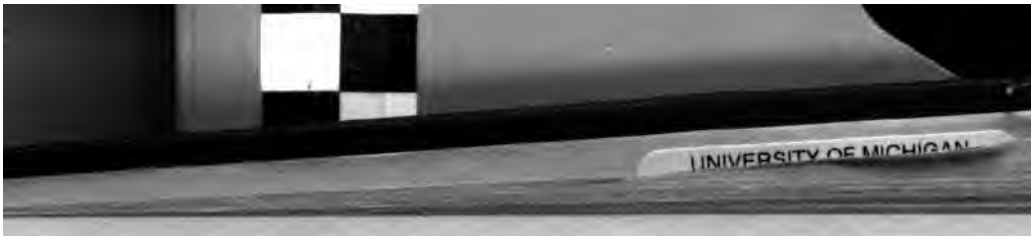
In the case of threats to the freedom of passage of the Straits, special provision is made for appeal by the commission to the representatives at Constantinople of Great Britain, France and Italy, which powers, under the military provisions of the treaty provide forces for the occupation of the zone of the Straits. These representatives in concert with the naval and military commanders of the allied forces, the necessary measures, whether the threat comes within or without the zone of the Straits, are to be taken.

Provision is also made for the execution of property or permanent works, the commission, the raising of loans, dues on shipping in the Straits, the to the commission of the Straits within the waters of the Straits, the Constantinople Superior Council, Turkish Sanitary Administration, National Life Boat Service, Bosphorus, and the relations of the with persons or companies not

WORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY



THE MAIN RESULTS OF THE TURKISH PEACE TREATY, ITELY DECIDED. THE SOUTHWESTERN BOUNDARY OF TATIVELY ALONG THE GENERAL LINES WHICH PRESI- TO FOLLOW AS ARBITRATOR. ALL THAT REMAINS OF LITTLE CORNER FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO CHATALIA



THE TURKISH PEACE TREATY

return of inhabitants banished or deported by the Turkish authorities.

Special provisions are included regarding the protection of minorities, the nationality of the inhabitants in the area and their protection abroad, the suspension of compulsory military service, freedom of commerce and transit, the use of the Port of Smyrna by Turkey, the currency of the area, financial obligations and the salt mines of Phocaea.

Finally, after five years the local Parliament may ask the Council of the League of Nations for the incorporation of the area in the Kingdom of Greece, and the council may impose a plebiscite, but if such incorporation is granted Turkey agrees in advance to renounce all her rights to the territory in favor of Greece.

GREECE

Turkey renounces in favor of Greece her rights and titles over Turkish territory in Europe outside the frontier shown on the attached map, as well as over Imbros, Tenedos, Lemnos, Samothrace, Mytilene, Samos, Nikaia and Chios, and certain other islands in the Aegean. In the zone of the Straits the Greek Government accepts practically the same obligations as are imposed in Turkey. Provision is made for a separate treaty to be signed by Greece, protecting racial, linguistic and religious minorities in her new territories, particularly at Adrianople, and safeguarding freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations. Greece also assumes certain financial obligations.

ARMENIA

Turkey recognizes Armenia as a free and independent State, and agrees to accept the arbitration of the President of the United States of America upon the question of the frontier between Turkey and Armenia in the Vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and upon Armenia's access to the sea. Provision is made for the obligations and rights which may pass to Armenia as the result of the award of the President giving former Turkish territory to her for the eventual delimitation of the Armenian frontiers in Turkey as a result of the arbitration and of the Armenian frontiers with Georgia and Azerbaijan, failing direct agreement on the subject by the three States, and for a separate treaty to be signed by Armenia protecting racial, linguistic and religious minorities, and safeguarding freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

SYRIA AND MESOPOTAMIA

Syria and Mesopotamia are provisionally recognized by the high contracting parties as independent States in accordance with Article 22 of the covenant of the League of Nations, subject to the tendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until they are able to stand alone. The

boundaries of the States and the selection of mandataries will be fixed by the principal allied powers.

PALESTINE

By the application of the provisions of Article 22 of the covenant, the administration of Palestine is also entrusted to a mandatory. The selection of the mandatory and the determination of the frontiers of Palestine will be made by the principal allied powers. The declaration originally made on Nov. 2, 1917, by the British Government, and adopted by the other allied Governments, in favor of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, is reaffirmed and its terms cited in the treaty. Provision is also made for a special commission, with a Chairman appointed by the League of Nations, to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine.

The terms of the mandates will be drafted by the principal allied powers and submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval.

HEDJAZ

Turkey, in accordance with the action already taken by the allied powers, recognizes the Hedjaz as a free and independent State, and transfers to the Hedjaz her sovereign rights over territory outside the boundaries of the former Turkish Empire and within the boundaries of the Hedjaz as these shall ultimately be fixed.

In view of the sacred character of the cities and Holy Places of Mecca and Medina in the eyes of all Moslems, the King of the Hedjaz undertakes to insure free and easy access thereto of Moslems of every country, desiring to go there on pilgrimages and for other religious objects, and respect for pious foundations. Provision is also made for complete commercial equality in the territory of the Hedjaz as regards the new States in Turkey and all States members of the League of Nations.

EGYPT, SUDAN AND CYPRUS

Turkey renounces all rights and titles over Egypt as from Nov. 5, 1914, and recognizes the protectorate proclaimed by Great Britain over Egypt on Dec. 18, 1914. Special clauses provide for the acquisition of Egyptian nationality by Turkish subjects, and their right to opt for Turkish nationality, for the treatment of Egypt and Egyptian nationals, their goods and vessels, on the same footing as the allied powers and their nationals, for the protection of Egyptian nationals abroad by Great Britain, for the renunciation in favor of Great Britain of the powers conferred upon the Sultan of Turkey by the convention signed at Constantinople on Oct. 29, 1888, regarding the Suez Canal, for the treatment of property belonging to the Turkish Government and Turkish nationals in Egypt, for the renunciation by Turkey of all

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PART IV.—PROTECTION OF MINORI- TIES

Turkey is to assure full and complete pro-
tection of life and liberty to all inhabitants
of Turkey without distinction of birth, na-
tionality, language, race, or religion. Spe-
cial provision is made for the annulment of
forcible conversions to Islam during the war
and for the search and delivery, under the
aegis of mixed commissions appointed by the
League of Nations, of all persons in Turkey
of whatever race or religion carried off, in-
terned, or placed in captivity during the
war, and for future agreements with Turkey
and other States regarding reciprocal or vol-
untary emigration of persons belonging to
racial minorities.

The law of abandoned properties, 1915, is
to be repealed, and Turkey agrees to certain
measures of restitution and reparation, con-
trolled by mixed arbitral commissions ap-
pointed by the League of Nations, in favor
of subjects of non-Turkish race who have



THE TURKISH PEACE TREATY

to be permitted, and the annual replacement of either officers or men who leave before the expiration of their term is not to exceed 5 per cent. of the total effectives of commissioned and other ranks respectively.

Turkey will be allowed to maintain an armed land force to serve the following purposes: The maintenance of internal order and security; the protection of minorities; the control of Turkish frontiers.

This force will comprise:

- (1) Gendarmerie, 35,000 men.
- (2) Special elements intended for the reinforcement of the gendarmerie in case of serious trouble, 15,000 men.
- (3) The Sultan's bodyguard, 700 men.

The gendarmerie is to be distributed over Turkish territory, which will be divided for this purpose into a number of territorial areas to be delimited by the interallied commission which will be responsible for the control and organization of the Turkish armed force. In each territorial area there will be one gendarmerie legion, the maximum strength of which is not to exceed one-quarter of the total strength of the gendarmerie. Neither artillery nor technical troops will be included in the gendarmerie legions. Provision is made for the collaboration of officers from allied and neutral powers in the command and training of the gendarmerie.

The special elements referred to above may include mountain artillery and technical services, in addition to infantry, cavalry, and general administrative services. Not more than one-third of the total strength of the special elements may be allotted to any one territorial area.

It will be seen from the above that the total number of Turkish effectives—excluding the Sultan's bodyguard—is fixed at 50,000, which figure includes not more than 2,500 officers. Any increase in the number of customs and forestry officials or urban police, or the military training of these, or of railway employees is prohibited, and no formations are to include supplementary cadres.

Military schools are to be reduced to one for officers and one per territorial area for non-commissioned officers.

The armament, munitions and material of war at the disposal of Turkey are limited to a schedule based on the amount considered necessary for the new armed force. No reserves may be formed, and all existing armaments, munitions and stores in excess of the limit fixed must be handed to the Allies for disposal. No flame throwers, poison gases, tanks, nor armored cars are to be manufactured or imported. The manufacture of arms and war material of any sort shall take place only in factories authorized by the Interallied Commission of Control. Turkey is prohibited from manufacturing armaments and munitions for foreign countries, and from importing them from abroad.

FORTIFICATIONS TO BE DISMANTLED

For the purpose of guaranteeing the freedom of the Straits all works, fortifications and batteries are to be demolished within a zone extending 20 kilometers inland from the coasts of the Sea of Marmora and of the Straits and comprising the islands of the Sea of Marmora, also the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace, Tenedos and Mitylene.

The construction of similar works or of roads or railways suitable for the rapid transport of mobile batteries is forbidden; France, Great Britain and Italy have the right to prepare for demolition any existing roads and railways which might be utilized to this end, and to maintain such military forces within the zone as they may consider necessary; otherwise the zone is not to be used for military purposes. This provision does not exclude the employment of forces of Greek and Turkish gendarmerie which will be under the interallied command of the forces of occupation, nor the presence of the Sultan's bodyguard.

NAVAL PROVISIONS

The naval clauses provide for the surrender of all Turkish warships with the exception of a few small lightly armed vessels which may be retained for police and fishery duties.

Turkey is forbidden to construct or acquire any surface warships other than those required to replace the units allowed for police and fishery duties, and is also forbidden to construct or acquire any submarine, even for commercial purposes. Vessels which have been in use as transports and fleet auxiliaries and which can be converted to commercial use are to be disarmed and treated as other merchant vessels.

Warships under construction, including submarines, are to be broken up, except such surface warships as can be completed for commercial purposes, and the material arising from the breaking up is only to be used for purely industrial purposes. All naval war material and munitions, except such as are allowed for the use of the police and fishery vessels, are to be surrendered, and their manufacture in Turkish territory is forbidden.

A certain number of the officers and men from the late Turkish Navy may be retained for providing the personnel of the police, fishery and signal services; the remainder is to be demobilized, and no other naval forces are to be organized in Turkey.

The personnel for the police and fishery services is to be recruited on a voluntary and long service basis.

The W/T stations in the zone of the Straits are to be surrendered, and neither Turkey nor Greece will be permitted to build W/T stations in the zone.

A naval commission, composed of representatives of the principal allied powers, will be appointed to exercise supervision as long

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Those under sentence for offenses against discipline committed before Jan. 1, 1920, are to be repatriated, without regard to the sentence, but this provision does not apply in the case of offenses other than the against discipline.

The Allies have the right to deal at their own discretion with Turkish nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, and all repatriation is conditional upon the immediate release of any allied subjects still in Turkey. The Turkish Government is to afford facilities to commissions of inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war, in imposing penalties on Turkish officials who have concealed allied nationals and in establishing criminal acts committed by Turks against allied nationals. The Turkish Government is to restore all property belonging to allied prisoners.

GRAVES

These clauses provide that the Turkish Government is to transfer to the British, French and Italian Governments respectively rights of ownership over the ground in Turkey in which are situated the graves

THE TURKISH PEACE TREATY

PART VII.—PENALTIES

Military tribunals are to be set up by the Allies to try persons accused of acts of violation of the laws and customs of war, and the Turkish Government is to hand over all persons so accused. The Governments of States to which former Turkish territory is assigned by the treaty are to act similarly in the case of persons accused of acts against the laws and customs of war who are in the territory or at the disposal of such States. The accused are to be entitled to name their own counsel, and the Turkish Government is to undertake to furnish all documents and information the production of which may be necessary.

The Turkish Government undertakes to surrender to the Allies persons responsible for the massacres committed during the war on the territory of the former Turkish Empire, the Allies reserving the right to designate the tribunal to try such persons or to bring the accused before a tribunal of the League of Nations competent to deal with the said massacres if such a tribunal has been created by the League in sufficient time.

PART VIII.—FINANCIAL CLAUSES

This part of the treaty begins by a declaration reproduced from the treaties already signed by Germany, Austria and Bulgaria. Turkey thereby recognizes that in associating in the war of aggression waged against the allied powers she has caused them losses for which she ought to make complete reparation; nevertheless in view of her loss of territory the powers will be satisfied with obtaining payment of the claims enumerated later in the chapter.

All the resources of Turkey, except revenues ceded or hypothecated to the service of the Ottoman Public Debt, are to be employed as need arises for effecting the following payments set forth in order of priority:

1. Ordinary expenses of the allied forces of occupation after the entry into force of the treaty.

2. Expenses of the allied forces of occupation since Oct. 30 in the territories remaining Turkish and expenses of occupation in the territories detached from Turkey to the advantage of a power other than that which has supported such expenses of occupation.

The expenses covered by the preceding paragraph will be discharged by annuities calculated in a manner to enable Turkey to meet any deficiency that may arise in the sums required to pay that part of the interest on the Ottoman Public Debt for which Turkey remains responsible.

3. Indemnities due on account of claims of the allied powers for reparation for damages suffered by their nationals.

The Turkish Government agrees to the financial indemnification of all the losses or damages suffered by the civilian nationals of

the allied powers during the war and up to the entry into force of the treaty.

The powers in favor of whom territories are detached from Turkey acquire without payment all properties and possessions situated therein and registered in the name of the Turkish Empire or the Sultan's civil list.

The powers in favor of whom territories are detached from the Turkish Empire shall participate in the annual charge for the service of the Ottoman Public Debt.

The Governments of the States of the Balkan Peninsula and the newly created States in Asia shall give adequate guarantees for the payment of the share which falls to them. The distribution of these annual charges is to be made in proportion to the average revenue of the transferred territory in relation to the total revenues of Turkey during the three years preceding the Balkan war.

The same methods are to be applied for the calculation of the charges affected to the service of the Ottoman Public Debt, allotted to the powers who have acquired Turkish territory as a result of the Balkan wars.

FINANCIAL CONTROL

A Financial Commission composed of a representative of each of the interested allied powers, France, Great Britain and Italy, to whom is added a Turkish representative in a consultative capacity, is created in Turkey with a view to take such measures as the commission may judge most suitable for restoring Turkish finances. Its principal functions are the following:

Preliminary examination of Turkish budgets, which may not be applied without its approval;

Supervision over the execution of the budgets and financial laws and regulations of Turkey;

The termination of the measures to be taken with a view to improving the Turkish currency.

Further, the Turkish Government may not establish any new form of taxation, modify its customs system or contract any internal or external loan without the consent of the Financial Commission.

The consent of the commission is equally required for the grant of new concessions in Turkey by the Turkish Government.

A clause provides that ultimately the Financial Commission may be substituted for the Council of Debt as regards the administration of the conceded revenues. This substitution shall be decided by the Government of France, Great Britain and Italy by a majority and after consulting the bondholder and this decision shall be taken at least six months before the expiration of the powers of the Council of the Ottoman Public Debt.

In particular, as regards the duty of the present treaty, it shall be the duty of the Financial Commission to fix the amount to be paid by the Turkish Government.

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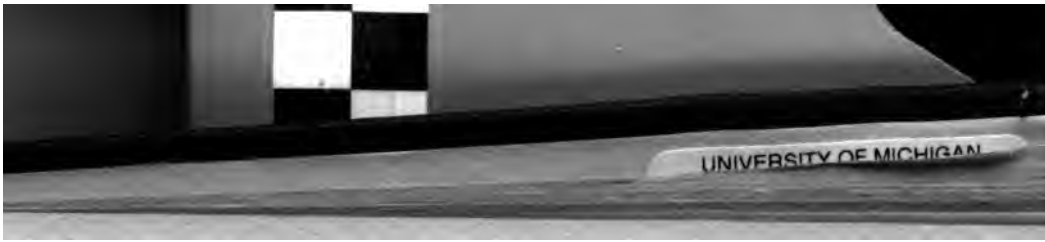
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Government property, in which case they will be paid to the Reparation Commissions set up under former treaties of peace.

Special provisions are included in order to enable the acquisition of the property of railway companies under German control. In detached territories the disposal of such property will rest with the Government controlling such territories. In Turkey itself the Financial Commission will have the disposal of it, the price being fixed by arbitration. In both cases the proceeds of sale will be distributed by the Financial Commission to such neutrals as are entitled to a share thereof, the share of Germans, Austrians, &c., being paid over to the respective Reparation Commissions.

The complicated provisions of former treaties for the settlement of pre-war debts through clearing houses have not been repeated, the only provision with regard to the settlement of such debts being one which fixes the pre-war rate of exchange for the purpose of the settlement of all debts between Turkish subjects in Turkey and allies not resident or carrying on business in Turkey.

As regards pre-war contracts between allies and Turks the general principle is to main-



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States who fought on Turkey's side in the late war are debarred from these privileges and from the grant, without allied consent, of concessions for civil aerial navigation, unless and until they become members of the League of Nations or are permitted to adhere to the Convention of Oct. 13, 1919, regarding aerial navigation. Turkey agrees to enforce the compliance by Turkish aircraft with the rules and regulations resulting from the latter convention. The obligations imposed by this chapter remain in force until Turkey is admitted to the League of Nations or permitted to adhere to the above-mentioned convention.

PART XI.—PORTS, WATERWAYS AND RAILWAYS

Turkey is required to grant freedom of transit and national treatment to persons, goods, vessels, rolling stock, &c., coming from or going to any allied State and passing in transit through Turkish territories. Goods in transit are to be free of all customs or other similar duties. Rates of transport are to be reasonable, and no charges or facilities are to depend directly or indirectly on the ownership or nationality of the vessel or other means of transport. Provision is made against discrimination by control of transmigrant traffic and indirect discrimination of any kind is prohibited.

International transport is to be expedited, particularly for perishable traffic. Discrimination in transport charges or facilities against allied ports is prohibited.

The following Eastern ports are declared to be of international interest, but, subject to any provisions to the contrary, the régime laid down does not prejudice the territorial sovereignty:

Constantinople, from St. Stefano to Dolma Bagtchi, Haida-Pasha, Smyrna, Alexandretta, Haifa, Basra, Trebizond and Batum.

The nationals, goods and flags of all States members of the League of Nations are to enjoy complete freedom in the use of these ports, and they are to be accorded absolute equality of treatment, particularly as regards all charges and facilities.

Provision is made for "free" zones in the above-mentioned ports, and adequate facilities are to be provided for trade requirements without distinction of nationality. With the exception of a small statistical duty, no customs duties or analogous charges are to be levied in the "free" zones.

In order to insure to Turkey free access to the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas, she is accorded freedom of transit over the territories and in the ports severed from the former Ottoman Empire. Turkey is also granted a lease in perpetuity, subject to determination by the League of Nations, of an area in the Port of Smyrna, which is to be placed under the general régime of "free" zones.

Free access to the Black Sea by the Port of

Batum is accorded to Georgia, Azerbaijan, Persia and Armenia; and Armenia is granted similar facilities in respect of the Port of Trebizond, in which port she obtains a lease of an area on similar conditions to those which apply to Turkey in the case of Smyrna.

RAILWAYS

The railway clauses provide that, subject to the rights of concessionaire companies, goods consigned from or to allied States to or from Turkey, or in transit through Turkey, are entitled generally to the most favorable conditions available.

Certain railway tariff questions are dealt with.

When a new Railway Convention has replaced the Berne Convention, it will be binding on Turkey; in the meantime she is to follow the Berne Convention.

Turkey is to co-operate in the establishment of passenger and luggage services, with direct booking between allied States over her territory, under favorable conditions, as well as emigrant train services.

Turkey is required to fit her rolling stock with apparatus allowing of its being incorporated in allied goods trains, and vice versa, without interfering with the brake system. Provision is made for the handing over of the installations of lines in transferred territory, and of an equitable proportion of rolling stock for use therein.

As regards lines the administration of which will, in virtue of the present treaty, be divided, allocation of the rolling stock is to be made by agreement between the administrations taking over the several parts thereof. Failing agreement, the points in dispute are to be settled by an arbitrator designated by the League of Nations.

A standing conference of technical representatives nominated by the Governments concerned is to be constituted to agree upon the necessary joint arrangements for through traffic working, wagon exchange, through rates and tariffs, and other similar matters affecting railways situated on territory forming part of the Turkish Empire on Aug. 1, 1914.

As a temporary arrangement Turkey is to execute instructions given in the name of the Allies as to transport of troops, material, munitions, &c., transport for revictualing of certain regions, and re-establishment of normal transport.

Turkey is required to subscribe to any general convention regarding the international régime of transit, waterways, ports, or railways, which may be concluded with the approval of the League of Nations, within five years.

TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE LINES

Turkey is to grant facilities for the erection and maintenance of trunk telegraph and telephone lines across her territories, and to accord freedom of transit for telegraphic correspondence and telephonic communication.

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agrees to supply the Allies with all necessary information regarding vessels sunk or damaged by Turkish forces during the war and to restore trophies, archives, historical souvenirs and works of art taken from the allied Governments and their nationals, including companies.

Special provisions are also inserted regarding a reform of the Turkish law of antiquities and the future treatment of archaeological research in Turkey, the restoration of all objects of religious, archaeological, historical, or artistic interest removed by Turkey during the war from territories detached from her, the surrender by Turkey of all archives, plans, land registers, &c., belonging to the civil, military, financial, judicial, or other forms of administration in transferred territories, the grant of access by Turkey, subject to reciprocity, to documents, &c., relating to the administration of wakfs in which the Governments of transferred territories are interested, the recognition by Turkey of allied judicial decisions since the date of the armistice, the acceptance by Turkey of special measures to be formulated



Appendix (AA)

The Constitution of Czechoslovakia

Full Text of the Most Modern and Complete Instrument of Democratic Self-Government

THE first election of Deputies and Senators under the new Constitution of Czechoslovakia was held on April 18, 1920, and the first session of the newly created Parliament known as the National Assembly, met in Prague on May 29 and elected Thomas C. Masaryk as Constitutional President by a vote of 284 to 61.

The Constitution thus put into operation is one of the most democratic in the world. It was formally adopted by the Constituent Assembly at Prague on Feb. 29, 1920, and was approved by Provisional President Masaryk on March 5. This document—a new landmark in the history of free government—is herewith published in its entirety in the translation given by the Czechoslovak Review, the official organ of the Czechoslovak National Council of America. It embodies the efforts of some of the most enlightened men in Europe to choose the best features of all the earlier republics, from that of Athens to those of our own time, and to exclude all features which experience has proved to be undesirable.

Though the preamble has a familiar sound to American ears, the main features of the Czech Constitution follow more closely the French model. The President can hold office through two seven-year terms, no more, consecutively—with the exception of President Masaryk, who may be elected for a third consecutive term if he lives long enough—but a majority vote of the Chamber of Deputies can at any time overrule the President's veto. The two-chamber system was adopted after a tough struggle; the legislative body, called the National Assembly, consists of the House of Deputies and the Senate, but the latter's powers are very limited; the Chamber of Deputies is as completely predominant as the British House of Commons, and its vote of lack of confidence can at any

time overthrow the Ministry and compel the President to take the necessary steps to organize a new Government.

A restricted form of the referendum also is provided for. The Constitution secures to minorities all their rights, but protects the National Assembly both from a coup d'état of any official group and from obstruction by any minority. Every man and woman 21 years old can vote—nay, must vote—in the elections for the Chamber of Deputies; thus, when the first election of this kind was held on April 18 the surprising total of nearly 8,000,000 voters cast their ballots, though the total population of Czechoslovakia is not quite 13,000,000, of whom 3,000,000 are Germans. Persons who vote for Senators must be 26 years old. These and many other novel features will be found in the following remarkable Constitution, which is well worthy of study:

PREAMBLE

We, the Czechoslovak Nation, in order to form a more perfect union of the nation, establish justice and order in the republic, insure tranquil development of the Czechoslovak homeland, promote the general welfare of all the citizens of this State and secure the blessings of liberty to future generations, have adopted in our National Assembly on the 29th day of February, 1920, a Constitution for the Czechoslovak Republic, the text of which follows. On this occasion, we, the Czechoslovak Nation, declare that we shall endeavor to have this Constitution and all laws of our land carried out in the spirit of our history and also in the spirit of modern principles contained in the word self-determination; for we desire to join the society of nations as an enlightened, peaceful, democratic and progressive member.

ENABLING PROVISIONS

I. Laws in conflict with the Constitution the fundamental laws which are a part of it, and laws which may supplement it, amend it are void.

The Constitution and the fundamental laws which are a part of it may be changed

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I. GENERAL PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION

1. The people are the only source of all State authority in the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Constitution determines through what organs the sovereign people adopt laws, carry them out and find justice. The Constitution also sets the limits which these organs may not exceed, so that the constitutionally guaranteed rights of citizens may be protected.

2. The Czechoslovak State is a democratic republic, at the head of which is an elected President.

3. The territory of the Czechoslovak Republic forms a unitary and indivisible whole, the frontiers of which may be changed only by fundamental law.

An indivisible part of this whole, on the basis of voluntary union in accordance with the treaty between the allied and associated powers and the Czechoslovak Republic in Saint-Germain-en-Laye Sept. 10, 1919, is the autonomous territory of Carpathian Russia, which will receive the widest autonomy com-



THE CONSTITUTION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

not at the same time be a citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic.

5. Prague is the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The colors of the republic are white, red and blue.

Coat of arms and flags are prescribed by laws.

II. LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

6. Legislative authority for the entire territory of the Czechoslovak Republic is exercised by the National Assembly, which consists of two houses: Chamber of Deputies and Senate.

Both houses meet regularly in Prague. In cases of absolute necessity they may be called to meet temporarily in some other place in the Czechoslovak Republic.

7. Legislative and administrative power of land Diets is abolished.

Unless a law adopted by the National Assembly provides otherwise, it applies to the entire territory of the Czechoslovak Republic.

8. The Chamber of Deputies consists of 300 members, elected by general, equal, direct and secret franchise in accordance with the principle of proportionate representation. Elections take place on Sundays.

9. The right to vote for members of the Chamber of Deputies belongs to all citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic without distinction of sex who are 21 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law governing elections to the Chamber of Deputies.

10. All citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic, without distinction of sex, who are 30 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law, are eligible to election to the Chamber of Deputies.

12. Details of the exercise of right to vote and election rules are contained in the law governing elections to Chamber of Deputies.

13. The Senate consists of 150 members, elected by general, equal, direct and secret franchise in accordance with the principle of proportionate representation. Elections take place on Sundays.

14. The right to vote for members of the Senate belongs to all citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic without distinction of sex who are 26 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law as to the composition and jurisdiction of the Senate.

15. Eligible are those citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic, without distinction of sex, who have reached 45 years of age and comply with other requirements of the fundamental law as to the composition and jurisdiction of the Senate.

16. The term for which Senators are elected is eight years.

17. Details of the exercise of right to vote and election rules are contained in the law

as to the composition and jurisdiction of the Senate.

18. No one may be a member of both houses.

19. Contested elections to the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate are passed upon by the electoral court. Details are regulated by law.

20. An employee of the State who is elected to the National Assembly and qualifies as member receives a leave of absence for the duration of his term and is entitled to his regular salary, not including therein local or active supplement of the same, as well as to seniority promotion. University professors are entitled to leave of absence; if they make use of this right, the same provisions apply to them as to other State servants.

Other public servants are entitled to leave of absence while they are members of the National Assembly.

Members of the National Assembly may receive a salaried State appointment only after the expiration of one year from the time they cease to be members of the National Assembly.

This provision does not apply to Ministers. The time limit of one year, contained in the previous paragraph, does not apply to Deputies and Senators who were in the service of the State before their election to the National Assembly, if they remain in the same department of service.

Members of county assemblies and county and district chiefs may not be members of the National Assembly. Judges of the Constitutional Court and associate Judges of the Electoral Court may not at the same time sit in the National Assembly.

21. Members of either house may resign at any time.

22. Members of the National Assembly carry out their mandates in person; they may not receive orders from any one.

They may not intervene with public authorities in party interests. This prohibition does not apply to members of the National Assembly in so far as intervention with authorities is a part of their regular duties.

In the first meeting of the House which they attend they shall make the following pledge: "I promise that I will be faithful to the Czechoslovak Republic, that I will observe the laws and execute my trust according to my best knowledge and conscience." Refusal of the pledge or pledge with reservation carries with it automatic loss of mandate.

23. Members of the National Assembly cannot be molested by reason of their vote in the House or committees. For anything they may say in the exercise of their mandate they are subject only to the disciplinary power of the House.

24. Before a member of the National Assembly may be prosecuted or disciplined for other acts or omissions, the consent of the proper House must be obtained. If the House refuses its consent, prosecution is dropped permanently.

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valid must receive a majority vote of those
present.

33. Declaration of war, amendment of the
Constitution and the fundamental laws which
are a part thereof may be done only by
affirmative vote of three-fifths of all mem-
bers of both houses.

34. The Chamber of Deputies may impeach
the President of the republic, the President
of the Government and members of Govern-
ment by a two-thirds majority in the pres-
ence of two-thirds of the membership.

Proceedings before the Senate as a high
court are regulated by law.

35. Each House elects its own President,
officers and functionaries.

36. Sessions of the Chamber of Deputies
and the Senate are public. Executive ses-
sions may be held only in cases enumerated
in the rules of proceeding.

37. The fundamental principles of the rela-
tions of both houses to each other, to the
Government and to all outside them are regu-
lated by special law within the limits set by
constitutional provisions. For the transac-
tion of its business each House adopts its
own rules.

Until the House of Deputies and the Senate
adopt their own rules, the rules of the exist-



THE CONSTITUTION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

the other House; by consent of both houses these time limits may be extended or shortened. The limit of one month within which the Senate shall take action on financial and army bills cannot be extended.

If during the limit the term of the House which is to take action on the bill of the other expires or the House is dissolved, prorogued or its session closed, the limit begins to run anew from its next meeting.

If the second House takes no action within the above time limits, the failure is considered equivalent to approval of the decision of the first House.

44. A measure passed by the Chamber of Deputies shall become law in spite of the dissent of the Senate if the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of the majority of the entire membership reaffirms its original vote. If the Senate rejects by a three-fourths majority of the entire membership a bill which was passed by the Chamber of Deputies the bill becomes law only if repassed by the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of three-fifths of the entire membership.

Proposals of the Senate are submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. If the latter rejects the Senate bill and the Senate reaffirms its original vote by a majority vote of the entire membership, the bill is submitted once more to the Chamber of Deputies. If the Chamber of Deputies rejects the Senate bill by a majority vote of the entire membership the bill fails.

Bills which thus fail cannot be resubmitted in either House before the expiration of one year.

Amendment of a bill passed by one House in the other House is equivalent to rejection.

45. If either House has to consider for the second time a bill which it once voted or consider again a bill passed by the other House, and should the House be dissolved or its term expire before reconsideration, the action of the new House on the matter shall be considered to be its second action in the sense of Section 44.

46. If the National Assembly rejects a Government bill, the Government may order a popular vote to be taken on the question, whether the bill shall become law. Such a decision of the Government must be unanimous.

The right of vote belongs to all who are entitled to vote for members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Details are regulated by law.

Popular vote does not apply to governmental proposals changing or amending the Constitution and the fundamental laws which are a part of it.

47. The President of the republic may return with his objections a law passed by the National Assembly within one month from the day on which it was delivered to the Government.

48. If both houses in a roll call reaffirm their vote by a majority of the entire mem-

bership, the measure shall be proclaimed law.

If such a concurrent majority of both houses is not reached, the measure will nevertheless become law, if in a new roll call the Chamber of Deputies votes for it by three-fifths of the entire membership.

If the measure in question is one which requires the larger quorum and higher majority, the returned measure must be adopted in the presence of this quorum by the specified majority.

The provisions of Section 45 apply here also.

49. A law does not go into effect until it is proclaimed in the manner prescribed by law.

Laws are proclaimed by this clause: "The National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic adopted the following law."

Laws shall be proclaimed within eight days, not including Sundays, from the limit set in Section 47. If the President of the republic makes use of his right there referred to, the law shall be proclaimed within eight days, not including Sundays, from the day when re-enactment by the National Assembly is communicated to the Government.

50. Every law must state which member of the Government is charged with its execution.

51. The law shall be signed by the President of the republic, the President of the Government and the Minister charged to execute the law. If the President is disabled or ill and has no Deputy, the President of the Government signs on his behalf.

The President of the Government may be represented in the signing of laws in the manner provided for in Section 71.

52. Each House has the right to interpellate the President and members of the Government on all matters within their jurisdiction, inquire into administrative acts of the Government, appoint committees to which the Ministers shall submit information, adopt addresses and resolutions.

The President and members of the Government shall answer the interpellations of the members of the houses.

53. The manner in which State financial economy and State debt is controlled is regulated by law.

54. (1) In the period between the dissolution of either House or the expiration of its term and the next convening of both houses, and also during the time when the session of the two houses is prorogued or closed, a commission of twenty-four members made up of sixteen members with sixteen alternates, and the Senate elects eight members and alternates for the term of one year. An alternate takes the place of a deceased member.

(2) First elections take place as the two houses are organized. P

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(13) The jurisdiction of the Constitutional
Court extends to measures which are in the
nature of law; they shall be submitted to the
court by the Government at the time of their
proclamation in the series of laws and
ordinances. The Constitutional Court de-
cides whether measures submitted to it com-
ply with Paragraph 8 b.

(14) President of the commission and Vice
President submit a report of the actions of
the commission in the first sessions of the
Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, even
though they may have ceased to be mem-
bers.

(15) Measures which are not approved by
both houses within two months of their con-
vening are thereafter void.

III. GOVERNING AND EXECUTIVE POWER

55. Ordinances may be issued only for the
purpose of carrying out a definite law and
within its terms.

56. The President of the republic is elected
by the National Assembly.

He shall be a citizen of the Czechoslovak
Republic, qualified to be member of the
Chamber of Deputies and 35 years of age.

57. Election is held in the presence of the
majority of the total membership of both
houses, and a vote of three-fifths of those
present is necessary.

If two ballots result in no choice, the next
balloting is limited to the highest candidates;



THE CONSTITUTION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

If the Government so decides in the presence of three-quarters of its members, the National Assembly will elect an acting President who will serve as such, until the impediment is removed.

During the period for which a person is not eligible to be President in accordance with Section 58 he cannot be acting President.

62. The election of acting President is governed by rules applying to the election of President.

63. The President of the republic may not be at the same time member of the National Assembly. If a member of the National Assembly is elected acting President, he cannot execute his mandate in the National Assembly while he is exercising the office of President.

64. The President of the republic:

(1) Represents the State in its foreign relations. He negotiates and ratifies international treaties, commercial treaties, treaties which impose upon the State or the citizens burdens of a financial or personal nature, especially military, and treaties which change the boundaries of the State, need the consent of the National Assembly. In the case of changes of boundaries the consent of the National Assembly must take the form of a constitutional law (Article I. of the enabling laws);

(2) Receives and accredits diplomatic representatives;

(3) Proclaims state of war to exist, declares war after first obtaining the consent of the National Assembly, and lays before it the negotiated treaty of peace for its approval;

(4) Convenes, prorogues and dissolves the National Assembly (Sections 28 to 31) and declares the session of the houses closed;

(5) May return bills with his objections (Section 47) and signs laws of the National Assembly (Section 51), of the Diet of Carpathian Russia (Section 3), and ordinances of the commission (Section 54);

(6) Gives to the National Assembly oral or written information of the state of the republic and recommends to their consideration such measures as he may deem necessary and expedient;

(7) Appoints and dismisses Ministers and determines their number;

(8) Appoints all professors of universities, and all Judges, civil officials and army officers of the sixth or higher rank;

(9) Grants gifts and pensions in special cases upon motion of the Government;

(10) Is Commander in Chief of all armed forces;

(11) Grants pardons in accordance with Section 103.

All governing and executive power, in so far as the Constitution and laws of the Czechoslovak Republic, adopted after Nov. 15, 1918, do not expressly reserve it to the President of the republic, shall be exercised by the Government (Section 70).

65. The President of the republic promises

before the National Assembly (Section 58) upon his honor and conscience that he will study the welfare of the republic and the people and that he will observe constitutional and other laws.

66. The President of the republic is not responsible for the execution of his office. For his utterances, connected with the office of the President, the Government is responsible.

67. He may be criminally prosecuted only for high treason before the Senate upon impeachment by the Chamber of Deputies (Section 34). The punishment may extend only to the loss of his office and disqualification ever to hold it again.

Details are determined by law.

68. Every act of the President in the exercise of his governing or executive power is valid only when countersigned by a responsible member of the Government.

69. Provisions applying to the President of the republic apply also to the acting President (Section 61).

70. The President and members of the Government (Ministers) are appointed and dismissed by the President of the republic.

The ordinary seat of the Government is Prague (Section 6).

71. The Government elects from its membership the President's Deputy, who may take his place. If the Deputy is unable to act, the oldest member of the Government in years acts as President.

72. The President of the republic decides over which department each Minister shall preside.

73. Members of the Government promise to the President of the republic, upon their honor and conscience, that they will conscientiously and impartially perform their duties and observe constitutional and other laws.

74. No member of the Government may sit on the Board of Directors or act as representative of a stock company or a firm which is engaged in business for profit.

75. The Government is responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, which may declare its lack of confidence in the Government. This shall be done in the presence of the majority of the entire membership by a majority vote upon a roll call.

76. Motion to declare lack of a confidence shall be signed by at least one hundred Deputies and shall be referred to committee which will submit its report within eight days.

77. The Government may ask the Chamber of Deputies to vote its confidence. This motion shall be acted upon without reference to committee.

78. If the Chamber of Deputies declares lack of confidence in the Government or if it rejects the motion of Government for a vote of confidence, the Government shall hand its resignation to the President of the republic, who will select the persons who are to carry on the affairs of state until a new Government is formed.

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90. State organs which are entrusted with economic functions only, without exercising the sovereign authority of the State, are created and organized by ordinances.

91. The nature and authority of the autonomous organ are regulated by special law.

92. The law determines to what extent the State shall be responsible for illegal execution of governmental authority.

93. Public employees shall in their official acts observe fundamental and other laws. This applies also to citizen members of administrative colleges.

IV. JUDICIAL POWER

94. The judicial power is exercised by State courts; the law prescribes their organization, their jurisdiction and their procedure.

No one may be sent before any other Judge but the one who has jurisdiction by law.

Only in criminal matters extraordinary courts may be introduced, and then in cases prescribed by law in advance and for a limited period.

95. Judicial power in civil cases belongs to civil courts, either regular or special and arbitration courts; judicial power in criminal matters belongs to regular criminal courts, in so far as it is not assigned to military criminal courts, and except as such matters may, in accordance with general ordinances, be dealt with by police or financial punitive procedure.

For the entire territory of the Czechoslovak Republic there shall be one Supreme Court.



THE CONSTITUTION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ond instance are in session all year; exceptions are made by law.

100. Judgments are pronounced in the name of the republic.

Sessions of court are oral and public; judgments in criminal cases are declared in public; the public may be excluded from court sessions only in cases enumerated by law.

In trials of criminal cases the principle of accusation applies.

101. Professional Judges may not hold any other paid position, permanent or temporary, except as otherwise provided by law.

102. Judges in passing upon a legal question may examine the validity of an ordinance; as to law they may only inquire, whether it was properly promulgated (Section 51).

103. The President of the republic shall have power to declare amnesty, grant pardons or commute punishments, restore lost civil rights, in particular the right to vote for National Assembly and other elected bodies, and with the exception of criminal proceedings where an individual is complainant, suspend all criminal prosecution.

This power of the President of the republic does not apply to members of the Government, impeached or condemned in accordance with Section 79.

104. Liability of the State and Judges for damages caused by illegal execution of official authority is determined by law.

105. In all cases in which an administrative organ in accordance with particular laws passes upon claims for compensation the party affected may, after exhausting his remedies with higher authorities, apply for relief to courts.

Details are regulated by law.

V. RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES, AS WELL AS DUTIES OF CITIZENS

106. Privileges due to sex, birth and calling are not recognized.

All inhabitants of the Czechoslovak Republic enjoy, equally with the citizens of the republic, in its territory full and complete protection of race or religion. Exceptions to this principle are admissible only as far as is compatible with international law.

Titles may be conferred only when they refer to office or occupation; this does not apply to academic degrees.

107. Personal liberty is guaranteed. Details are regulated by a law which is a part of this Constitution.

Personal liberty may be restricted or taken away only in conformity with law; likewise public authorities may compel a citizen to perform personal acts only in conformity with law.

108. Every Czechoslovak citizen may settle in any part of the Czechoslovak Republic, acquire real property there and engage in a gainful occupation, within the limits of general legal provisions.

This right may be restricted only in the public interest by law.

109. Private ownership may only be restricted by law.

Expropriation may be accomplished only in compliance with law and compensation shall be paid, except where the law specifically provides that compensation shall not be paid.

110. The right to emigrate may only be limited by law.

111. Taxes and public burdens may be imposed only in conformity with law.

Likewise threats and imposition of punishments shall be made only in conformity with law.

112. The rights of home shall not be violated.

Details are regulated by a law which is a part of this Constitution.

113. Liberty of press and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms, and to form associations is guaranteed. It is therefore illegal as a matter of principle to subject the press to censoring before publication. The manner in which the right of assembly and association shall be exercised is determined by laws.

An association may be dissolved only when its activity violates the criminal law or public peace and order.

The law may impose restrictions upon assemblies in places serving public traffic, upon the establishment of associations for profit and upon the participation of foreigners in political societies. In the same manner restrictions may be imposed upon the preceding guarantees in time of war or of domestic disorders which may menace substantially the republican form of government, the Constitution or public peace and order.

114. The right to associate for the protection and improvement of conditions of employment and economic interests is guaranteed.

All acts of individuals or associations which seem to amount to intentional violation of this right are prohibited.

115. The right of petition is inherent; legal persons and associations may exercise it only within their scope of action.

116. Secrecy of mails is guaranteed.

Details are regulated by law.

117. Every person may, within the limits of law, express his opinions by word, writing, press, picture, &c.

This applies to legal persons within their scope of action.

The exercise of this right shall not prejudice any one in his relations as employee of another.

118. Scientific investigation and publication of its results, as well as art, is untrammelled as long as it does not violate criminal law.

119. Public instruction shall be so conducted as not to be in conflict with the results of scientific investigation.

120. Establishment of private schools is permitted only within the limits of laws.

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relations, in matters relating to religion, in
press or any publications, or in public as-
semblies of the people.

This shall not affect rights which belong
to the organs of the State in accordance with
any present or future laws based on con-
siderations of public order, safety of the
State and efficient control.

128. The right to use a definite language in
public offices is regulated by special law
which forms a part of this Constitution.

129. In so far as citizens may, in com-
pliance with general laws, establish, direct
and administer at their own expense chari-
table, religious and social institutions, schools
and educational institutions, all citizens, re-
gardless of nationality, language, religion
and race, shall be equal and may in such
institutions freely employ their own lan-
guage and practice their religion.

130. In cities and districts in which there
lives a considerable fraction of Czechoslovak
citizens of other than Czechoslovak language,
children of such Czechoslovak citizens shall
receive in public schools, within the limits of
the general law governing education, suitable
opportunity to be taught in their own tongue;
but instruction in the Czechoslovak language
may be made obligatory.

131. Wherever in cities and districts in
which there lives a considerable fraction of
Czechoslovak citizens, belonging to religious,
national and language minorities, definite
sums are to be expended on education, re-
ligion or charity from public funds on the
basis of State, municipal or other public



Origin of the World War

Official Minutes of the Austro-Hungarian Council That Decided to Force War on Serbia

THE publication in Vienna of a so-called Austrian Red Book, based on materials found in the archives of the old Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office and written by a publicist named Dr. Roderich Gooss, with the approval of the present Austrian Government, created a sensation in Central Europe during the latter part of September, 1919. The book, entitled "The Vienna Cabinet and the Origin of the World War," showed that at a Ministerial Council held in Vienna on July 7, 1914, the political leaders of Austria-Hungary had deliberately decided to force war upon Serbia by means of an ultimatum in regard to the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo. After a thorough discussion the Ministers determined to shape the demands upon Serbia in such a way that they would cause a war, in which Serbian territory could be seized, yet the terms were not to be so drastic as to make the purpose apparent to the world.

The most important document in the Red Book is the official report of the meeting just referred to. This record, containing a summary of each Minister's remarks, shows that Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, had been assured from Berlin that Kaiser Wilhelm and Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg stood ready to support Germany's ally, no matter what the demands upon Serbia might be. In other words, it furnishes official evidence that Austria-Hungary first obtained Germany's consent and backing before provoking war. The minutes also reveal the fact that Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, was the only member present who seemed to fear the European war which would almost certainly result from the attempt to make Serbia a dependency of Austria.

Following is the full text of the minutes of that historic meeting, as re-

printed from the Red Book by the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung and translated from the German for CURRENT HISTORY:

Report of the Ministerial Council held in Vienna on July 7, 1914, over joint affairs under the Presidency of Count Berchtold, Minister of the Imperial Royal House and of Foreign Affairs.

Present Count Stuerghk, Imperial-Royal Premier; Count Tisza, Royal Hungarian Premier; Dr. von Bilinski, Imperial and Royal Joint Minister of Finance; Ordnance General von Kroatin, Imperial and Royal Minister of War; General Baron von Conrad, Imperial and Royal Chief of the General Staff, and Rear Admiral von Kailer, representing the Imperial and Royal Naval Command. Recording Secretary, Legation Counsellor Count Hoyos. Subject: Bosnian affairs, the diplomatic action against Serbia.

The Chairman opened the session by remarking that the Ministerial Council had been called for the purpose of discussing the measures to be taken to remedy the evil internal conditions that had become apparent in Bosnia and Herzegovina in connection with the catastrophe of Serajevo. In his opinion there were various internal measures, the application of which to Bosnia seemed to him to be in order against the critical situation, but, first of all, clarity should be reached on the question whether the time had not come to make Serbia harmless once for all through an expression of force.

Such a decisive blow could not be struck without diplomatic preparations, so he had got in touch with the German Government. The discussions in Berlin had led to a very satisfactory result, as Kaiser Wilhelm, as well as Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, had most emphatically assured us of the unconditional support of Germany in case of a warlike complication with Serbia. Now we must still reckon with Italy and Rumania, and here he was in accord with the Berlin Cabinet in the opinion that it would be better to act and then await any possible demands for compensation.

It was plain to him that a passage at arms with Serbia could lead to a war with Russia. But at present Russia was following a policy that, taking a farsighted view, was aiming at a combination of the Balkan States, including Rumania, for the purpose of using them against the monarchy when the time seemed opportune. He was of the opinion that we must take into account the fact that our situation, as opposed by such a policy, was bound to become worse, and

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cessful diplomatic action in the Balkans by uniting Bulgaria and Turkey and attaching them to the Triple Alliance, thus creating a counterbalance against Serbia and Rumania, and then being able to force Rumania to return to the Triple Alliance. Upon the European field it must be taken into consideration that the relation of strength between France and Germany would steadily become worse for the former, because of its low birth rate, and that in the future Germany would constantly have more troops available against Russia.

These were all considerations that must be weighed in the case of such an important decision as was to be arrived at today, and therefore he must again point out that he would not unconditionally decide for war, in spite of the crisis in Bosnia, which, furthermore, could be remedied by an energetic reform in administration; he believed, rather, that a proper diplomatic victory—one which would include a severe humbling of Serbia—would be better adapted to improve our position and to make possible a profitable Balkan policy.

BERCHTOLD FOR ACTION

The Chairman [Berchtold] remarked in answer to this that the history of recent years had shown that diplomatic victories over Serbia had, it was true, temporarily raised the prestige of the monarchy, but that the tension actually existing in our relations with Serbia had merely become greater. Neither



ORIGIN OF THE WORLD WAR

and Germany were concerned, he [Berchtold] believed it necessary to point out that the diminishing increase in population of France was offset by the disproportionately higher increase in the population of Russia, so that the assertion that Germany would in the future have more troops available against France hardly appeared to hold good.

PREMIER STUERGGH FOR WAR

The Imperial Royal Premier [Stuergh] remarked that today's council of Ministers had really been called for the purpose of discussing the internal measures to be used in Bosnia and Herzegovina that would be calculated on the one side to make the present investigation, begun on account of the attentat, a success, and on the other to counteract the Greater Serbian movement in Bosnia. Now these questions must give place to the main question of whether we ought to settle the internal crisis in Bosnia by an expression of force against Serbia.

This main question had now become timely after two months, first of all because the commander of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the basis of his observations and his acquaintance with Bosnian conditions, proceeded on the hypothesis that no internal measures could be successful unless we decided to strike a powerful blow at Serbia on the outside. On the base of these observations of General Potiorek we must consider the question as to whether the schismatic activity proceeding from Serbia could be stopped, and whether we could even retain the two provinces if we did not proceed against the kingdom.

During the last few days the entire situation had taken on a different aspect, and there had now been created a psychological situation, which, in his opinion, was unconditionally forcing us into a war with Serbia. He agreed, indeed, with the Royal Hungarian Premier that we, and not the German Government, must decide if a war was necessary or not; but he must still remark that it was bound to exercise a very great influence upon our decision when, as we had heard, we had been assured of unconditional loyalty by the ally which we must regard as the most faithful supporter of our policy in the Triple Alliance and, furthermore, had been urged to act at once, after we had made inquiries there. Count Tisza certainly ought to attach importance to this circumstance and remember that we, through a policy of hesitation and weakness, ran the risk of no longer being so sure of this unconditional support of the German Empire at a later period. This was the second matter of weight to be considered in reaching our decision, along with the interest in restoring orderly conditions in Bosnia.

How the conflict was to be begun was a matter of detail, and if the Hungarian Government was of the opinion that a surprise attack *sans crier gare*, as Count Tisza had said, was not practical, then another way

must be found; nevertheless, he urgently desired that, whatever might happen, quick action be taken and our national economic life be spared a long period of unrest. All these things were details alongside of the principal question as to whether it was to come unconditionally to warlike action or not, and there the interest in the prestige and the existence of the monarchy, whose South Slavic provinces he would consider lost if nothing happened, was decisive above all else.

Therefore, today it should be decided in principle that it should and will come to action. He, too, shared the opinion of the Chairman that the situation would not be bettered at all by a diplomatic victory. If, consequently, the road of preliminary diplomatic action were to be taken because of international reasons, this must be done with the firm intention that this action dare only end in a war.

DECISIVE STRUGGLE NECESSARY

The Joint Finance Minister [Billinski] observed that Count Stuergh had referred to the fact that the commander of the provinces wanted war. General Potiorek for two years had occupied the standpoint that we would have to undergo a trial of strength with Serbia in order to retain Bosnia and Herzegovina. We ought not to forget that the provincial commander, being on the spot, was the best judge of matters. Mr. Billinski also entertained the conviction that the decisive struggle was unavoidable sooner or later. He had never doubted that Germany would stand by us in a grave case, and already in November, 1912, he had received the most positive assurances from Mr. von Tschirschky [German Ambassador at Vienna] along that line. The recent events in Bosnia had produced a very dangerous sentiment among the Serbian population, particularly because the Serbian pogrom in Serajevo had made all the Serbs very excited and embittered, and consequently one could no longer decide who among the Serbs was still loyal and who was for Greater Serbia. In the country itself this condition could never be remedied; the only way to accomplish that was by a definite decision as to whether the Greater Serbia idea had a future or not.

Although the Royal Hungarian Premier would now be content with a diplomatic victory, he [Billinski] could not be so from the standpoint of the Bosnian interests. The ultimatum that we sent to Serbia last Fall had aggravated the sentiment in Bosnia and merely increased the feeling of hatred for us. It was a current topic among all the people there that King Peter would come and free the people. The Serb only understands force; a diplomatic victory would make no impression in Bosnia, and would be more likely to do harm than good.

The Royal Hungarian Premier asserted that he, indeed, had the highest opinion of the present provincial commander as a military

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EUROPEAN WAR FORESEEN

The Royal Hungarian Premier [Tisza] was
still of the opinion that a successful Balkan
policy for the monarchy could be effected
through the adhesion of Bulgaria to the
Triple Alliance, and he pointed out the fear-
ful calamities of a European war under the
present conditions. It must not be overlooked
that all sorts of future eventualities were im-
aginable—such as the sidetracking of Russia
through Asiatic complications, a war of
revenge upon Serbia by a revived Bulgaria,
&c.—which might make our position in regard
to the Greater Serbia problem materially
more favorable than was the case at present.

In this connection the Chairman [Berch-
told] remarked that, of course, one could im-
agine various future eventualities that would
make the situation favorable for us. He,
however, feared that there was no time for
such a development. One must reckon with
the fact that from a hostile side a decisive
struggle against the monarchy was being
prepared and that Rumania was assisting
French and Russian diplomacy. It dared not
be assumed that the policy with Bulgaria
could offer us a complete substitute for the
loss of Rumania. But, in his opinion, Ru-
mania was not to be won again so long as



ORIGIN OF THE WORLD WAR

would not be easy entirely to fulfill this condition and uncertain situations might develop from it in the future.

RESULTS OF THE SESSION

Thereupon, the question of war was discussed thoroughly in a rather lengthy debate. At the conclusion of these discussions it could be stated:

1. That all those present desired the quickest possible decision of the controversy with Serbia, either in a warlike or a peaceful sense.

2. That the Council of Ministers was ready to accept the view of the Royal Hungarian Premier, according to which mobilization is to be effected only after concrete demands have been presented to Serbia and after these have been rejected and an ultimatum served.

On the other hand, all those present, with the exception of the Royal Hungarian Premier, were of the opinion that a purely diplomatic victory, even if it ended with a striking humiliation of Serbia, would be worthless, and that, consequently, *such far-reaching demands must be presented to Serbia as to make their rejection foreseen*, so that the way to a radical solution through a military attack would be prepared.

Count Tisza observed that he was anxious to meet the views of all those present, and consequently he would also make a concession by admitting that the demands to be sent to Serbia should be very hard, but nevertheless *not of such a kind as to expose our intention of making unacceptable demands*. Otherwise we would have an impossible legal ground for a declaration of war. The text of the note must be studied very closely, and in any case he would like to see the note before it was sent. He must also emphasize the fact that he, for his part, would be obliged to draw the proper conclusions if his views were not considered. At this point the session was broken off until the afternoon.

THE AFTERNOON SESSION

When the meeting of the Ministerial Council was reopened the Chief of the General Staff and the representative of the naval command were also present. At the request of the Chairman the Minister of War addressed the following questions to the Chief of the General Staff:

1. Whether it were possible first to mobilize against Serbia, and only subsequently against Russia also, if it became necessary.

2. Whether large bodies of troops could be retained in Transylvania for the purpose of intimidating Rumania.

3. Where would the struggle against Russia be begun?

In response to these questions the Chief of the General Staff gave secret explanations and consequently asked that these answers be not included in the record. On the basis of these answers there developed a long debate over the prevailing conditions of strength and the probable course of a Euro-

pean war; this, because of its secret character, was not adapted for putting down in this report.

At the conclusion of this debate the Royal Hungarian Premier repeated his view regarding the question of war and directed another appeal to those present to examine their decision very carefully. Thereupon were discussed the points which could be embodied in the note as demands upon Serbia. In regard to these points no definite decision was made in the Ministerial Council; they were merely taken up in order to arrive at an idea of what demands could be made.

Then the Chief of the General Staff and the representative of the navy command left the Ministerial Council, which occupied itself with the internal situation in Bosnia and the measures to be taken there. In this connection the joint Finance Minister declared that he had become convinced through conferences during the last few days with party leaders that a dissolution of the Landtag would not be advisable, because it would be linked with political losses. At present there could be no sessions held because of the universal agitation of tempers, and therefore he was for adjourning the Landtag and only calling it together for a short session in September. He hoped that it then would be possible to have the budget and the Kmeten [?] bill passed. This depended first of all upon the retention by Dimovich of the party leadership of the pro-Government Serbs—which he hoped would be the case—thus making possible the maintenance of the present Government majority. With the closing of the Landtag the salaries and the right of immunity came to an end, so that the wishes of the provincial commander and of the Minister of War in this regard would be met even if he did not dissolve the Landtag. Mr. von Bilinski then discussed a number of other measures that he considered timely, among them the dissolution of the Great Serbia Association.

The Royal Hungarian Premier did not want to propose any great changes at present. He again directed attention to the condition of the police at Serajevo and declared that the disintegration of the administrative machine in Bosnia was the direct result of the preponderant position occupied for years by the provincial commander, who, as a military man, could not possibly possess the experience in administrative affairs necessary for a good administration.

The joint Finance Minister defended the provincial commander as an administrator, but admitted that it would be desirable to have the civil administration entirely separated from the military administration and have a civil Governor appointed alongside of the army inspector, as was the case in Dalmatia.

Then upon the proposal of the Imperial and Royal Minister of War there were immediately discussed special measures which were to be applied in Bosnia.

In this discussion it became clear that it

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sent that some Krobatin were to go too far, but it was possible to lay the question—as to the action upon Serbia—

pointed out that the difference of opinion and all the losses together; the loss of the Royal Army so lead to the Serbia thought other members

the Minister that the 8th inst. to the Imperial and Royal Government asked the most respectful view of the Emperor for the press and the man ended the

BERCHTOLD.

Count A. HOYOS.

Contents of this document by Count ANZ JOSEF.

annexed to the Emperor as follows by

should be no delay in the action to be undertaken against Serbia, because in Berlin they were becoming intoxicated and Rome was beginning to discover the intentions of Vienna. The council, therefore, accepted the date proposed. General Conrad von Hotzendorff, the Chief of Staff, immediately ordered the decreeing of a state of siege in all regions of the monarchy inhabited by Yugoslavs. Chevalier de Krobatin, Minister of War, then presented his report on mobilization. Everything was ready; the order would be submitted to the Emperor for his signature on July 22. Count Stürgkh, Austrian Premier, raised the question of the attitude to be taken in case of an Italian expedition to Valona. Count Stürgkh declared such an event improbable, but added that if it should happen Austria-Hungary would take part in it as a matter of form, and would thus extricate itself from embarrassment.

Count Tisza, Hungarian Premier, laid down the condition that there should be no plan of conquest involved in the action against Serbia; the action should be confined to rectifications of frontiers made necessary by strategical considerations. Count Berchtold replied that he could accept this idea only with some reservation, for if, as he conceded, it would be well for Austria-Hungary not to take any territory from Serbia, portions as large as possible should be given to Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. In any case Serbia should be "sufficiently reduced to be no



Appendix (CC)

International Labor Boycott of Hungary

Blow Aimed at the "White Terror"

THE severe measures adopted by the Horthy Government in Hungary against Communists and the "Red Terror" that prevailed under the Bela Kun régime, coupled with many lawless acts of reactionary groups of ex-soldiers, have created a situation in Hungary which is said by many observers to amount to a "White Terror." Against the Horthy régime and its methods the organized labor of neighboring countries has raised a vehement protest. The British labor unions sent a delegation to Hungary to investigate, and one of these delegates, F. W. Jowett, addressing the Labor Party Congress at Scarborough on June 23, said they had satisfied themselves that there had been murder, atrocities, imprisonments, and every other form of terror.

Against this state of affairs the International Federation of Trade Unions finally declared a boycott, beginning June 20, intended to cut off Hungary from all communication with the world until the Government should have changed its policy of repression. All labor organizations of Austria, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Italy were ordered to participate, and the boycott was planned to include railways, post, telegraph, telephones, and transport by water as well as land. The passenger traffic alone was to be allowed to continue, but passengers were to be permitted to carry only a limited amount of luggage.

APPEAL FOR THE BOYCOTT

The text of the appeal through which the federation dealt this blow is as follows:

To the workers of all countries:

The International Federation of Trade Unions has decided to boycott Hungary and to stop all communication with that country beginning June 20, 1920.

Nearly a year ago the so-called friends of order seized power in Hungary. From that day the labor movement has been the target for oppression and persecution unexampled in the annals of the labor movement, far surpassing the atrocities of Czarism in Russia.

One need only be a member of a non-religious trade union to be thrown into prison, and an anonymous denunciation is sufficient to have one seized and imprisoned in prison camps.

At the beginning of this year there were in the concentration camps: at Hajmasker, 9,000 men and women; at Csepel, 4,000; at Zalavgorzog, 2,400; at Eger, 2,000; at Coglod, 3,000, and at Homaron Sandborg, 2,000 men and women. In all, 50,000 men and women were imprisoned. The city jails are overflowing. The prisoners are victims of the most atrocious and subtle tortures.

Five thousand workers had been "executed" by the beginning of the year. Thousands had been assassinated by bands of officers without formal trial. Thousands more are dying slowly of hunger, of under-nourishment and of sickness. Detachments of reactionary officers hold supreme power; whoever falls into their hands is lost; their victims are tortured and beaten. There are cases, affirmed under oath by witnesses, where people have been scalped alive, where their arms and legs have been crushed, where men have been crushed or had their genital organs crushed between stones, where they have been forced to eat their own excrement, or human flesh. Fathers have been killed before the eyes of their wives and children, and young girls violated in sight of their husbands or fathers. Every day men and women belonging to the militant working class disappear, later to be discovered as corpses, clubbed to death, drowned, and often horribly mutilated.

The International Federation of Trade Unions has protested to the Hungarian Government and to the Supreme Council of the League of Nations against these atrocities, and has demanded that steps be taken to end them. All in vain. The White Terror reigns absolute in Hungary. It is plain that the Supreme Council of the League of Nations either will not or can not exercise the necessary pressure upon the Hungarian Government. That Government either can not or will not stop the atrocities in its domain; it closes its eyes or encourages them.

Official documents of the Hungarian Government which are in the possession of the International Federation of Trade Unions prove that it instructed its judges to condemn prisoners even in cases where the proof of what it calls "culpability" is not clear, and that it pays rewards varying from 20,000 to 250,000 crowns for making labor leaders who have sought refuge abroad incapable of injury—while

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Prague. The other countries, however, including even the labor unions of Great Britain, joined vigorously in the boycott, and within a few days it was apparent that Hungary was feeling its effects to a more serious extent than the Government admitted.

Hungary almost immediately began an energetic counterboycott against Austria, whose workmen had taken an aggressive part in the movement. By June 23 Hungary was stopping all railway and river communication with Austria, and food barges on the way up the Danube from countries to the east were halted in Hungarian waters. The Austrian Government sought to end the economic war by ordering that railway men refusing to transport goods to Hungary be discharged and replaced with men willing to do so. The conflict took on a political aspect, and the Social Democrats called a meeting for the purpose of stopping even the passenger traffic with Hungary. Meanwhile Hungary was making reprisals by stopping the shipment of fruit and fresh vegetables and of coal from the Zellendorf mines.



INTERNATIONAL LABOR BOYCOTT OF HUNGARY

called the gendarme reserve, which is very generally known as the Brachial-Gewalt, that the most specific and detailed charges of atrocity are made.

The following is a summary of the evidence on which, in addition to the specific cases given, the delegates have formed the opinion that a state of terror exists:

The Hungarian Government admits that there is a rigorous censorship of newspapers.

It is admitted that the trade unions formed under the Karolyi Government have been suppressed, and that for the present the right of workmen to strike has been taken away.

It is admitted that over 27,000 informations have been laid against alleged Communists, and that over 6,000 persons are imprisoned. This latter total does not include those interned or in military prisons. Our own estimate of the total is that, taking the three classes together, there are at least 12,000 persons detained or imprisoned. It is admitted that many of them have been in prison for months awaiting trial, and the overcrowding of the prisons may be judged from the instance of Szolnok. We were informed by the Governor, in response to our comments on the overcrowding, that he was helpless, as he had 350 prisoners in a prison intended for only fifty. We were later informed at the Ministry of Justice that the actual number of prisoners at Szolnok was 535. Detailed allegations were made to us that the total number of persons arrested and detained of all three classes was over 25,000.

It is admitted that there are, and indeed we met, a large number of exiles in Vienna, some of whom are not Communists, and that thirty-nine Communists have been executed under the authority of the civil power since December last.

It is admitted that on April 28 nineteen men were taken by the military from the prison at Szolnok and killed at Abonyi. It is significant that, despite the official admission, two persons to whom we were directed as having knowledge of the affair simply declined to speak. It was suggested that we should visit Hajmasker, the internment camp, but we were informed that after the Italians visited the camp prisoners who ventured to complain to them were most brutally beaten. As a consequence we did not feel justified in visiting Hajmasker.

In view of the evidence supplied to them the delegates believe that there is a "Terror" in Hungary, that the Hun-

garian Government is unable to control it, and that many of its own acts are of so rigorous a character as to merit the name of "terror."

CRIMES OF THE COMMUNISTS

The other side of the question was presented by a writer in The London Morning Post of June 23 in these words:

The Labor Party, so sensitive when a Communist is punished, even for murder, never protested at the atrocities committed under Kun's régime. Documents of undoubted trustworthiness give the names and standing of prominent men who were slowly tortured to death in the cellars of the Houses of Parliament in Budapest. In the district beyond the River Tisza, where Kun's bloodhound, Szamuely, held his sway, 900 persons were murdered. Two thousand persons are known to have been slain by the "Reds" in suppressing the first anti-revolutionary movement; the names of those still missing brings the number up to 3,000. * * * And recently, when the bed of the Danube was dredged at Budapest, the depths told the tale of the massacre of children, Red Cross nurses and other women, as well as of aged people.

The Labor Party made no outcry against the "Red Terror" that was doing these and other unspeakable things, but now that the populace, stung to fury by such cruelties, here and there takes the law into its own hands, there is a cry of "White Terror."

The proved facts are that since the first Government was formed after the "Red" régime 26 persons were executed as common criminals for offenses that would have involved the death penalty in any circumstances, while 198 were court-martialed and their execution was demanded by the irresistible will, not of a privileged class or clique, but of the whole people that had been shaken to its depths by indignation and wrath at the sight of unspeakable horrors done to members of their families and to the best of their public men.

Since the overthrow of the Kun régime 5,569 have been tried. Most of them have already been set free; 1,617 are still under trial. They are all at the Hajmasker internment camp, the management of which has been declared excellent by foreign authorities.

Meanwhile, whether Red radicalism or White reaction be most to blame, the labor boycott aimed at the life of the Horthy Government is making existence harder for all classes of people in Central Europe.



CAPITAL OF ESTHONIA, ON THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF
ON'S INDEPENDENCE, FEB. 24, 1920
(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

so-Esthonian Treaty

st Peace Treaty Made by Soviet Russia



THE RUSSO-ESTHONIAN TREATY

nations to self-determination, even when this involves a complete separation from the States of which they were parts, Russia recognizes the absolute independence and individual existence of the Esthonian State, renouncing voluntarily and forever all sovereign rights that Russia held, according to the laws of the State and international treaties, over the Esthonian people and territory; such rights shall be null and void forever.

All obligations toward Russia on the part of the Esthonian people, derived from that people's former attachment to Russia, are abrogated.

ARTICLE III.—1. The frontier between Esthonia and Russia is as follows: From a point on the Gulf of Narva one verst [a verst equals two-thirds of a mile] south of the fishermen's house, to the village of Ropsha, then along the Mertwitskya Brook and the Rosson River to the village of Ilkino, from Ilkino one verst west of the village of Kelkino, one-half a verst west of the village of Iswos to the village of Kobuliaki, to the mouth of the Shchutschka River, to the village of Krivaya Luka, to the Petchurki estate, to the juncture of the three branches of the Vtroya River, through the southern part of the village of Kuritcheki, together with its land; then in a straight line to the middle of Lake Pelpus, from the middle of Lake Pelpus to one verst east of the Island of Porka, then through the centre of the strait to the Island of Salu; from the middle of the strait at Salu to the middle of the strait between the Islands of Tabalsk and Kamenka, west of the village of Poddubye (on the southern shore of Lake Pskov), to the railroad watchman's house in the village of Gryadischtsche, west of the village of Shahintsy, east of the village of Novaya, to the Lake of Poganovo, between the villages of Babina and Vymorsk, one and a half versts south of the forester's house (north of Glybotchina), to the village of Sprechtitch and the Kudepl estate.

(Note 1. The frontier defined in this article is indicated in red on the map forming Appendix 1 to this article, on a scale of three versts to an inch).

In case of discrepancies between the text and the map, the text shall be considered as authoritative. The actual surveying and setting up of boundary marks between the signatories of this treaty shall be done by a special frontier commission composed of an equal number of representatives of both contracting parties. In establishing the frontier through settled sections the commission mentioned above shall take into consideration the ethnographic, economic and local conditions affecting the inhabitants and shall vest sovereignty in one or the other of the signatories in accordance with such conditions.

2. The Esthonian territory east of the Narova River, the Narova River and the islands of Narova River, as well as the whole zone south of Lake Pskov between the

above-mentioned frontier and the line of villages of Borok-Smokny-Belkova-Sprech-titch, shall be considered a neutral military zone until Jan. 1, 1922. The Esthonian State shall not keep any military forces in the neutral zone, except such forces as are necessary for frontier duties and maintaining order, and then only in such numbers as stipulated in Appendix 2 of this article. The Esthonian State shall not construct forts nor observation posts, shall not establish stores of any military or technical supplies, except such stores as are necessary for the maintenance of the forces permitted by this treaty, and shall not establish bases or stores for any ships or aerial forces.

3. Russia shall not maintain military forces in the territory toward Pskov west of a line running along the west bank of the Velikaya River and through the village of Sivtseva, the village of Luhnova, the village of Samulina, the village of Shalki and the village of Sprechtitch, except such forces as are necessary for frontier duty and for maintaining order, and then in no larger numbers than defined in Appendix 2 of this article.

4. The signatories of this treaty shall not keep armed vessels on the lakes of Pelpus and Pskov.

Appendix 1—(Map.)

Appendix 2—Both signatories are bound: (1) To withdraw their forces from the district between the Gulf of Finland and the mouth of the Schuchka River to the frontier of their own territory within twenty-eight days from the date of ratification of the peace treaty. (2) To withdraw to their own territories their military forces, together with all supply stores and property, from neutral zones where they cannot be kept, according to Article III., Section 2 and 3, of this treaty—except such forces and stores as are necessary for frontier duty and for the maintenance of order—within forty-two days from the date of ratification of this treaty. (3) To withdraw within forty-two days from the date of the ratification of this treaty all armed vessels from the Lakes of Pelpus and Pskov, as provided for by Article III., Section 4, of this treaty, or to dismount all guns, torpedo appliances and devices for the laying of mines, and to remove all stores of ammunition from these vessels. (4) To maintain in the neutral zones, where military forces are not allowed to be kept, forty men for each verst of the frontier during the first six months following the ratification of this treaty, and after that period thirty men for each verst. Barbed wire fences may be built along the frontier. Not more than 500 men for the maintenance of internal order are to be kept in each neutral zone. (5) To keep on Lakes Pelpus and Pskov only coast guard vessels, such vessels not to exceed five, and not to be armed with more than two 47-millimeter guns and two machine guns apiece.

ARTICLE IV.—Persons of non-Esthonian origin more than 18 years old living in

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removed within six months from the date of the ratification of this treaty. The disarming of the above-mentioned army and naval forces, as well as the demobilization and neutralization of the military stores and all the property of the army not controlled by the Governments must be carried out as follows: The first 30 per cent. of all army and navy forces and properties subject to disarming, neutralization and demobilization, within seven days from the date of the ratification of this treaty, and then 35 per cent. of all the forces and properties mentioned, during each subsequent week.

3. To prohibit the soldiers and commanding officials of armies not subject to the Governments signatory to this treaty, and which are to be disarmed, according to Section 2 of this article, from entering the national armies of the signatories of this treaty in any capacity, including that of volunteers, except in these cases of the following persons: (a) Persons of Estonian nationality living outside of Estonian territory, but who choose Estonian citizenship; (b) persons not of Estonian nationality who resided until May 1, 1919, on Estonian territory, but who do not choose Russian citizenship; (c) persons not of Estonian nationality who do not choose Russian citizenship, but who served in the Estonian Army until Nov. 22, 1919. Persons mentioned in subsections (a), (b) and (c) have the right to join the Estonian Army.

4. (a) To prohibit States waging war against the other signatory of this treaty—and organizations and groups aiming at armed warfare against the other signatory—



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other at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty all facts concerning the positions of the armies which are not subject to these Governments, their stores (movable and stationary) and their military and technical equipment which at the time of the ending of military operations, i. e., Dec. 31, 1919, were on the territory of the signatories.

7. For the supervision of the execution of all the military guarantees, a mixed commission shall be created, the personnel, rights and duties of which are defined in the instructions contained in the appendix to this article.

Appendix—Instructions of the mixed commission to be created according to Article VII, Section 7, of this treaty:

1. For the supervision of all the reciprocal military guarantees defined in Article VII., a mixed commission of the representatives of both signatories shall be created.

2. Four persons from the two parties compose the commission, which is to consist of a Chairman, two military representatives and one naval representative.

3. The duty of the commission shall be the actual supervision of the carrying out of all terms defined in Article VII., Section 2, as given in subsequent sections of these instructions.

(Note. The information required according to Article VII., Section 3, shall be given to the commission for the adjustment of the differences that may arise between the two Governments.)

4. The commission shall receive from the respective Governments, or from the local organs of these Governments, all necessary information concerning the terms of the military guarantees.

5. In order to ascertain the facts in connection with the execution of the military guarantees, the commission has the right to verify this information in the localities concerned, as stated in Section 4, and, if necessary, to proceed to such localities and examine the situation covered in Article VII., Section 2.

6. For the maintenance of unrestricted communication between the members of the commission and their Governments, a direct telegraphic connection (Hughes apparatus) shall be established between Wessenberg, the headquarters of the commission in Esthonia, and Petrograd and Moscow. The headquarters of the commission on Russian territory shall be in Pskov and a direct telegraphic connection with Reval shall be established. These Commissioners shall also have the right to dispatch couriers and telegrams without hindrance. Their communications sent by telegraph or courier shall have the status of diplomatic correspondence.

7. The commission shall make a general report (in Esthonian and Russian) of the results of its work and its decisions, which shall be submitted to the respective Governments.

8. When the commission shall have fulfilled

its duties, as defined in Section 3 of these instructions, and shall have finished the actual work of supervision, in the order prescribed in Section 5 of these instructions, the activities of the commission shall be considered over; but its existence shall not be ended before one month shall have elapsed from the day when the respective Governments shall announce that the terms of the military guarantees over which the commission has had jurisdiction have been fulfilled. The two Governments may agree to prolong the life of the commission.

ARTICLE VIII.—Both signatories of this treaty reciprocally renounce all claims for the payment of military expenditures, i. e., State expenses incurred in waging war, as well as claims for war losses caused by military operations against them or their citizens, including all requisitions made on enemy territory.

ARTICLE IX.—Prisoners of war of both signatories must be transported to their respective countries as soon as possible. The order of the exchange of prisoners of war will be defined in the appendix to this article.

(Note 1. Prisoners of war are persons captured and not serving in the armies of the State that captured them.)

(Note 2. Prisoners of war captured by the armies not under the control of the Governments, and who do not serve in the ranks of such armies, shall be transported back under the general provisions.)

Appendix—1. Prisoners of war shall be permitted to go to their respective countries, in case they do not wish to remain, with the consent of the Government of the territory where they are living, within its boundaries, or they may go to other countries.

2. The dates for the exchange of prisoners of war shall be agreed upon by the Governments after the ratification of the Peace Treaty.

3. When the prisoners of war are liberated they shall receive the personal property which was confiscated by order of the Government which captured them, as well as the unpaid and unaccounted parts of their pay.

4. Each signatory of this treaty agrees to repay the expenses which its former adversary has borne in maintaining its captured citizens, except in so far as these expenses have been covered by the work of the prisoners of war in State or private enterprises. The repayment shall be made in the currency of the State that made the capture.

(Note. The expenses of maintaining prisoners of war consist of expenditures for their food, clothing and other supplies.)

5. Prisoners of war shall be transported to the frontier in squads at the expense of the State that captured them. The transfer shall be effected according to a prepared list upon which are given the first name, the name of the father, and the family of the prisoner, the date of his capture, and the army unit in which the prisoner was serving when captured. It must also be stated in the record

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on Esthonian territory, but only in so far
as such claims are not liquidated by counter-
claims of the debtors.

The Russian Government shall turn over
the documents and acts that confirm the
rights mentioned in this section to the
Esthonian Government, but in case this is
not done within six months after the ratifi-
cation of this treaty they shall be declared
null and void.

Esthonia, on its part, shall not press any
claims against Russia based on its former
alliance with the Russian Empire.

ARTICLE XII.—Without taking into ac-
count the agreements mentioned in Article
XI.

1. Russia shall give to Esthonia 15,000,000
rubles in gold, 8,000,000 of which shall be
delivered within one month and the remain-
ing 7,000,000 within two months from the
date of the ratification of this treaty.

2. Esthonia shall not bear the responsibil-
ities of Russian debts or of any other obli-
gations, including those created by the
issuing of paper money, State treasury notes,
obligations and serial certificates of the
Russian Treasury, the guarantees of internal
and foreign loans, the guarantees of loans
of various institutions and enterprises, and
all such claims by the creditors of Russia
in matters concerning Esthonia shall be
directed to Russia.

3. Regarding compensation for bonds of
the Russian Government or for bonds
guaranteed by that Government, or for
private bonds issued by societies and institu-



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in the possession, or may come into the possession, of the Russian Government, or of its Governmental or social institutions.

5. The Russian Government shall restore to Esthonia valuables of all kinds (except gold and precious stones), bonds and valuable documents, such as securities, bills of exchange, &c., that were taken away from Esthonian territory by the Government or institutions, or by private or other organizations, including educational institutions, if the Esthonian Government officials give information as to the location of these valuables. If such information is not given, or if the information furnished does not lead to their discovery, the Russian Government shall recognize as the owners of these bonds and other articles, in carrying out the terms mentioned in Section 3 of this article, the persons who submit sufficient proof that the bonds and other articles belonging to them were evacuated during the war. For this purpose a special mixed commission shall be created.

6. The Russian Government shall be bound to give to the Esthonian Government every instruction and information necessary for the carrying out of the terms mentioned in Sections 3, 4 and 5 of this article and every assistance in the discovery of the property, archives, articles, documents, &c., that are to be turned over. All questions arising in connection with these matters shall be settled by a special commission composed of an equal number of members from both sides.

ARTICLE XIII.—Russia declares that the franchise, rights and privileges given to Esthonia and to its citizens by this treaty cannot, in any case nor under any circumstances, be regarded as precedents in the making of peace treaties by Russia with other States which have arisen upon the territory of the former Russian Empire. On the other hand, if in concluding such peace treaties with the above-mentioned States, they or their citizens receive special franchises, rights or privileges, such franchises, rights and privileges shall be extended immediately and without special agreements to Esthonia and to Esthonian citizens.

ARTICLE XIV.—Settlement of questions of public and special rights that may arise between the citizens of the States signatory to this treaty, as well as settlement of specific questions between the two States, or between the States and the citizens of the other signatory, shall be made by special Esthonian and Russian mixed commissions which shall be created immediately after the ratification of this treaty. The composition, rights and duties of every such commission shall be decided upon and defined by both signatories of this treaty. Among the matters coming under the jurisdiction of these commissions are:

1. The concluding of commercial agreements and the settling of questions of an economic nature.

2. The settling of questions arising from the acts of former institutions of justice,

from administrative archives and expeditions, from court or administrative decisions and from acts having to do with the civilian estate.

3. The settling of questions arising in connection with the delivery of the property of Esthonian citizens in Russia and of Russian citizens in Esthonia; also the settling of questions connected with the safeguarding of the interests of the citizens of one of the signatories in the territory of the other signatory.

4. The settling of questions arising in connection with the property of the communes which are to be divided by the fixing of the frontier.

ARTICLE XV.—Diplomatic and Consular relations between Esthonia and Russia shall be arranged at a date to be fixed in a future agreement.

ARTICLE XVI.—Economic relations between Esthonia and Russia are defined in the appendices to this article.

Appendix 1, Section 1.—The signatories of this treaty agree that simultaneous with the conclusion of peace the economic warfare between them shall cease. 2. The participants agree to begin, as soon as possible after the ratification of this treaty, negotiations for the conclusion of commercial agreements based upon the following principles: (a) Favorable treatment in the territory of the signatories to be accorded to the citizens of the other signatory, to their commercial, industrial and financial enterprises and associations, to their ships and cargoes, to the products of their soil, farms and industry, and to the export of goods to the territory of the other signatory of this treaty. (b) No custom duties or tariffs shall be levied on goods transported across the territory of the other signatory of this treaty. (c) Freight rates in both countries shall not be higher than the rates for the local transportation of goods of the same nature over the same distance. (Note.—Until a commercial agreement is effected commercial relations between Esthonia and Russia shall be arranged according to the principles laid down here.) 3. Esthonia shall provide Russia, in Reval or in some other Esthonian port where a free port is established, with as much space as is required by Russian trade for transshipping, storing and transferring goods coming from Russia or to be transported into Russia, and the charges for the use of such space shall not be higher than the charges paid by its own citizens for the same kind of accommodations for goods in transit. 4. The signatories shall not make demands for privileges that one party may give to another country with which it has effected a customs or any other union. 5. In case of the death of a citizen of one of the signatories in the territory of the other signatory, his movable property shall be turned over in its entirety to the Consular or other similar representative of his country to be administered according to the laws and rules of his country.

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to which each side shall participate shall
be determined by the court of arbitration.

ARTICLE XVIII.—The rights and privi-
leges accorded by this treaty and its ap-
pendices to Esthonia and its citizens are
applicable also to rural, district, municipal,
social, 'beneficial, church, ecclesiastical and
educational institutions and also to all kinds
of juridical persons.

ARTICLE XIX.—In the interpretation of
this treaty both texts, the Esthonian and the
Russian, shall be considered authentic.

ARTICLE XX.—This treaty must be rati-
fied. The exchange of the documents of
ratification must take place in Moscow as
soon as possible.

The treaty of peace shall become effective
from the date of ratification.

Everywhere in this treaty where the time
of ratification is mentioned as the effective
date of its terms, it is understood that the
date intended is that upon which the signa-
tories reciprocally acknowledge the fact of
said ratification.

In confirmation of the above, the delegates
of both parties have attached their signatures
and seals to this treaty.

The original, drawn up and written in two
copies in Dorpat on the second day of
February, 1920.

(Signed)

J. POSKA.

L. SOOTS.



Presenting the Treaty to the Senate

The President's Formal Address

PRESIDENT WILSON in person presented the Treaty of Versailles to the Senate of the United States on July 10 in a formal address which was listened to by the full membership of the Senate and by a brilliant audience that filled every available niche in the Chamber. Following is his address in full:

Gentlemen of the Senate:

The treaty of peace with Germany was signed at Versailles on June 28. I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to lay the treaty before you for ratification and to inform you with regard to the work of the conference by which that treaty was formulated.

The treaty constitutes nothing less than a world settlement. It would not be possible for me either to summarize or to construe its manifold provisions in an address which must of necessity be something less than a treatise. My services and all the information I possess will be at your disposal and at the disposal of your Committee on Foreign Relations at any time, either informally or in session, as you may prefer, and I hope that you will not hesitate to make use of them. I shall at this time, prior to your own study of the document, attempt only a general characterization of its scope and purpose.

In one sense, no doubt, there is no need that I should report to you what was attempted and done at Paris. You have been daily cognizant of what was going on there—of the problems with which the Peace Conference had to deal and of the difficulty of laying down straight lines of settlement anywhere on a field on which the old lines of international relationship, and the new alike, followed so intricate a pattern and were for the most part cut so deep by historical circumstances which dominated action where it would have been best to ignore or reverse them. The cross-currents of politics and of interest must have been evident to you.

It would be presuming in me to attempt to explain the questions which arose or the many diverse elements that entered into them. I shall attempt something less ambitious than that and more clearly suggested by my duty to report to the Congress the part it seemed necessary for my colleagues and me to play as the representatives of the Government of the United States.

That part was dictated by the rôle

America had played in the war and by the expectations that had been created in the minds of the peoples with whom we had associated ourselves in that great struggle.

The United States entered the war upon a different footing from every other nation except our associates on this side of the sea. We entered it, not because our material interests were directly threatened or because any special treaty obligations to which we were parties had been violated, but only because we saw the supremacy and even the validity of right everywhere put in jeopardy and free government likely to be everywhere imperiled by the intolerable aggression of a power which respected neither right nor obligation and whose very system of government flouted the rights of the citizen as against the autocratic authority of his governors.

And in the settlements of the peace we have sought no special reparation for ourselves, but only the restoration of right and the assurance of liberty everywhere that the effects of the settlement were to be felt. We entered the war as the disinterested champions of right and we interested ourselves in the terms of the peace in no other capacity.

OUR SOLDIERS IN FRANCE

The hopes of the nations allied against the Central Powers were at a very low ebb when our soldiers began to pour across the sea. There was everywhere among them, except in their stoutest spirits, a sombre foreboding of disaster.

The war ended in November, eight months ago, but you have only to recall what was feared in midsummer last, four short months before the armistice, to realize what it was that our timely aid accomplished alike for their morale and their physical safety. That first never-to-be-forgotten action at Château-Thierry had already taken place. Our redoubtable soldiers and marines had already closed the gap the enemy had succeeded in opening for their advance upon Paris—had already turned the tide of battle back toward the frontiers of France and begun the rout that was to save Europe and the world. Thereafter the Germans were to be always forced back, back, were never to thrust successfully forward again. And yet there was no confident hope.

Anxious men and women, leading spirits of France, attended the celebration of the Fourth of July last year in Paris out of

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bonds were never to be loosed, its hopes
forever to be mocked and disappointed.

AT THE PEACE TABLE

And the compulsion of what they stood
for was upon us who represented America
at the peace table. It was our duty to
see to it that every decision we took part
in contributed, so far as we were able to
influence it, to quiet the fears and realize
the hopes of the peoples who had been
living in that shadow, the nations that
had come by our assistance to their free-
dom. It was our duty to do everything
that it was within our power to do to
make the triumph of freedom and of right
a lasting triumph in the assurance of
which men might everywhere live with-
out fear.

Old entanglements of every kind stood
in the way—promises which Governments
had made to one another in the days
when might and right were confused and
the power of the victor was without re-
straint. Engagements which contem-
plated any dispositions of territory, any
extensions of sovereignty that might
seem to be to the interest of those
who had the power to insist upon them
had been entered into without thought
of what the peoples concerned might wish
or profit by; and these could not always
be honorably brushed aside.

It was not easy to graft the new order



PRESENTING THE TREATY TO THE SENATE

visible whole, a problem not of mere adjustments of interest but of justice and right action.

EMPIRES IN BANKRUPTCY

The atmosphere in which the conference worked seemed created, not by the ambitions of strong government, but by the hopes and aspirations of small nations and of peoples hitherto under bondage to the power that victory had shattered and destroyed.

Two great empires had been forced into political bankruptcy, and we were the receivers. Our task was not only to make peace with the Central Empires and remedy the wrongs their armies had done. The Central Empires had lived in open violation of many of the very rights for which the war had been fought, dominating alien peoples over whom they had no natural right to rule, enforcing, not obedience, but veritable bondage; exploiting those who were weak for the benefit of those who were masters and overlords only by force of arms. There could be no peace until the whole order of Central Europe was set right.

That meant that new nations were to be created, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary itself. No part of ancient Poland had ever in any true sense become a part of Germany, or of Austria, or of Russia. Bohemia was alien in every thought and hope to the monarchy of which she had so long been an artificial part; and the uneasy partnership between Austria and Hungary had been one rather of interest than of kinship or sympathy. The Slavs whom Austria had chosen to force into her empire on the south were kept to their obedience by nothing but fear. Their hearts were with their kinsmen in the Balkans.

These were all arrangements of power, not arrangements of natural union or association. It was the imperative task of those who would make peace and make it intelligently, to establish a new order which would rest upon the free choice of peoples rather than upon the arbitrary authority of Hapsburgs or Hohenzollerns.

More than that, great populations bound by sympathy and actual kin to Rumania were also linked against their will to the conglomerate Austro-Hungarian Monarchy or to other alien sovereignties, and it was part of the task of peace to make a new Rumania, as well as a new Slavic State clustering about Serbia.

And no natural frontiers could be found to these new fields of adjustment and redemption. It was necessary to look constantly forward to other related tasks. The German colonies were to be disposed of. They had not been governed; they had been exploited merely, without thought of the interest, or even the

ordinary human rights, of their inhabitants.

The Turkish Empire, moreover, had fallen apart, as the Austro-Hungarian had. It had never had any real unity. It had been held together only by pitiless, inhuman force. Its peoples cried aloud for release, for succor from unspeakable distress, for all that the new day of hope seemed at last to bring within its dawn. Peoples hitherto in utter darkness were to be led out into the same light and given at last a helping hand. Undeveloped peoples and peoples ready for recognition but not yet ready to assume the full responsibilities of statehood were to be given adequate guarantees of friendly protection, guidance, and assistance.

VAST OPPORTUNITIES

And out of the execution of these great enterprises of liberty sprang opportunities to attempt what statesmen had never found the way before to do; an opportunity to throw safeguards about the rights of racial, national, and religious minorities by solemn international covenants; an opportunity to limit and regulate military establishments where they were most likely to be mischievous; an opportunity to effect a complete and systematic internationalization of waterways and railways which were necessary to the free economic life of more than one nation and to clear many of the normal channels of commerce of unfair obstructions of law or of privilege and the very welcome opportunity to secure for labor the concerted protection of definite international pledges of principle and practice.

These were not tasks which the Conference looked about it to find and went out of its way to perform. They were inseparable from the settlements of peace. They were thrust upon it by circumstances which could not be overlooked. The war had created them.

In all quarters of the world old-established relationships had been disturbed or broken and affairs were at loose ends, needing to be mended or united again, but could not be made what they were before. They had to be set right by applying some uniform principle of justice or enlightened expediency. And they could not be adjusted by merely prescribing in a treaty what should be done.

New States were to be set up which could not hope to live through their first period of weakness without assured support by the great nations that had consented to their creation and won for them their independence. Ill-governed colonies could not be put in the hands of Governments which were to act as trustees for their people and not as their masters if there was to be no common authority among the nations to which they were to

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new order it has been their purpose to set up in the world—the world of civilized men.

That there should be a League of Nations to steady the counsels and maintain the peaceful understandings of the world, to make, not treaties alone, but the accepted principles of international law as well, the actual rule of conduct among the Governments of the world had been one of the agreements accepted from the first as the basis of peace with the Central Powers.

The statesmen of all the belligerent countries were agreed that such a league must be created to sustain the settlements that were to be effected. But at first I think there was a feeling among some of them that, while it must be attempted, the formation of such a league was perhaps a **counsel** of perfection, which practical men, long experienced in the world of affairs, must agree to very cautiously and with many misgivings. It was only as the difficult work of arranging an all but universal adjustment of the world's affairs advanced from day to day from one stage of conference to another that it became evident to them that what they were seeking would be little more than something written upon paper, to be interpreted and applied by such methods as the chances of politics might make available, if they did not provide a means of common counsel which



PRESENTING THE TREATY TO THE SENATE

continuing oversight. What had seemed a counsel of perfection had come to seem a plain counsel of necessity. The League of Nations was the practical statesman's hope of success in many of the most difficult things he was attempting.

PEOPLES DEMANDED LEAGUE

And it had validated itself in the thought of every member of the conference as something much bigger, much greater every way, than a mere instrument for carrying out the provisions of a particular treaty. It was universally recognized that all the peoples of the world demanded of the conference that it should create such a continuing concert of free nations as would make wars of aggression and spoliation such as this that has just ended forever impossible. A cry had gone out from every home in every stricken land from which sons and brothers and fathers had gone forth to the great sacrifice that such a sacrifice should never again be exacted. It was manifest why it had been exacted. It had been exacted because one nation desired dominion and other nations had known no means of defense except armaments and alliances.

War had lain at the heart of every arrangement of the Europe—of every arrangement of the world—that preceded the war. Restive peoples had been told that fleets and armies, which they toiled to sustain, meant peace; and they now knew that they had been lied to; that fleets and armies had been maintained to promote national ambitions and meant war. They knew that no old policy meant anything else but force, force—always force. And they knew that it was intolerable.

Every true heart in the world, and every enlightened judgment demanded that, at whatever cost of independent action, every Government that took thought for its people or for justice or for ordered freedom should lend itself to a new purpose and utterly destroy the old order of international politics.

Statesmen might see difficulties, but the people could see none and could brook no denial. A war in which they had been bled white to beat the terror that lay concealed in every balance of power must not end in a mere victory of arms and a new balance. The monster that had resorted to arms must be put in chains that could not be broken. The united power of free nations must put a stop to aggression, and the world must be given peace. If there was not the will or the intelligence to accomplish that now, there must be another and a final war and the world must be swept clean of every power that could renew the terror.

The League of Nations was not merely an instrument to adjust and remedy old wrongs under a new treaty of peace; it was the only hope for mankind. Again

and again had the demon of war been cast out of the house of the peoples and the house swept clean by a treaty of peace, only to prepare a time when he would enter in again with spirits worse than himself. The house must now be given a tenant who could hold it against all such.

Convenient, indeed indispensable, as statesmen found the newly planned League of Nations to be for the execution of present plans of peace and reparation, they saw it in a new aspect before their work was finished. They saw it as the main object of the peace, as the only thing that could complete it or make it worth while. They saw it as the hope of the world, and that hope they did not dare to disappoint.

Shall we or any other free people hesitate to accept this great duty? Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?

And so the result of the conference of peace, so far as Germany is concerned, stands complete. The difficulties encountered were very many. Sometimes they seemed insuperable. It was impossible to accommodate the interests of so great a body of nations—interests which directly or indirectly affected almost every nation in the world—without many minor compromises.

The treaty, as a result, is not exactly what we would have written. It is probably not what any one of the national delegations would have written. But results were worked out which on the whole bear test. I think that it will be found that the compromises, which were accepted as inevitable, nowhere cut to the heart of any principle. The work of the conference squares, as a whole, with the principles agreed upon as the basis of the peace as well as with the practical possibilities of the international situations which had to be faced and dealt with as facts.

I shall presently have occasion to lay before you a special treaty with France, whose object is the temporary protection of France from unprovoked aggression by the power with whom this treaty of peace has been negotiated. Its terms link it with this treaty. I take the liberty, however, of reserving it for special explanation on another occasion.

WORK SET BY CIRCUMSTANCES

The rôle which America was to play in the conference seemed determined, as I have said, before my colleagues and I got to Paris—determined by the universal expectations of the nations whose representatives, drawn from all quarters of the globe, we were to deal with. It was universally recognized that America had entered the war to promote no private or peculiar interest of her own, but only as

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been their friends and have sought to serve them. And our dominion has been a menace to no other nation. We redeemed our honor to the utmost in our dealings with Cuba. She is weak but absolutely free, and it is her trust in us that makes her free.

Weak peoples everywhere stand ready to give us any authority among them that will assure them a like friendly oversight and direction. They know that there is no ground for fear in receiving us as their mentors and guides.

Our isolation was ended twenty years ago, and now fear of us is ended also, our counsel and association sought after and desired. There can be no question of our ceasing to be a world power. The only question is whether we can refuse the moral leadership that is offered us, whether we shall accept or reject the confidence of the world.

The war and the conference of peace, now sitting in Paris, seem to me to have answered that question. Our participation in the war established our position among the nations, and nothing but our own mistaken action can alter it. It was not an accident or a matter of sudden choice that we are no longer isolated and devoted to a policy which has only our own interest and advantage for its object. It was our duty to go in, if we were, indeed, the champions of liberty and of right.



SENATE RATIFICATION DEBATE

Long Struggle of Opposition Members to Alter Certain Clauses of the German Peace Treaty

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 20, 1919]

THE President's address, presenting the treaty to the Senate, was greeted coldly by the Republican Senators, who had long shown hostility to certain features of the treaty, especially to the League of Nations covenant. On July 14 there began in the Senate a debate over the ratification of the treaty, opened with a three-hour speech by Senator Swanson of Virginia in support of the treaty as it stood. Senator Swanson declared that any modification would mean renewed negotiations; that any reservations would have the effect of amendments, and that they could not be binding until the other nations had subscribed to them. In the meantime, he pointed out, the United States would be in the position of withholding assent to the peace terms.

After Senator Swanson's speech, which was regarded as the keynote of the Administration fight for the League covenant, two Republicans—Senator Fall of New Mexico and Senator Kellogg of Minnesota—contested his view that the treaty should be ratified without reservations, taking the ground that the Senate should make reservations, even if the treaty had to go back to Paris for reconsideration.

HOSTILE RESOLUTIONS

On the same date, in one of the stormiest sessions it had had in recent years, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to report three resolutions dealing with the Peace Treaty. Sharp clashes took place between Republican and Dem-

ocratic members over the propositions, which were as follows:

One offered by Senator Lodge, calling upon the State Department for a copy of the alleged secret treaty of last October between Germany and Japan.

One by Senator Borah, asking the President to submit a memorandum alleged to have been filed by Secretary Lansing, General Bliss, and Mr. White, protesting against the Shantung award.

One by Senator La Follette, calling upon President Wilson to inform the Senate whether Nicaragua had been permitted, with armed forces, to invade Costa Rica.

A fourth resolution, proposed by Senator Johnson, calling on the State Department to supply to the committee a stenographic report of all the secret proceedings of the Peace Conference, relating particularly to the League of Nations, aroused a violent debate, in which Senator Hitchcock, the Administration spokesman, took sharp issue with the object of the resolution as a flagrant violation of all diplomatic ethics. This resolution, after considerable dispute, was not voted upon. It was, however, adopted at a subsequent session.

On the following day the resolution of Senator Lodge was adopted by the Senate after an acrimonious debate, in which Senator Lodge called the Shantung decision "a price paid."

CONFERENCES WITH REPUBLICANS

It was announced at the White House on July 16 that President Wilson would begin the following day a series of conferences with Republican Senators at the White House, with a view to laying before the opponents of the League of Nations information concerning provisions to which objection had been raised in the Senate. Fifteen Republican Senators

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be opposed by him to the bitter end. Democratic Senators declared that they were not alarmed at this change in the Republican policy, and denounced it as an attempt to force a compromise from the Administration in the matter of reservations.

Meanwhile Republican confidence in the outcome of the fight to change the treaty was enhanced by word which Senator Lodge, Republican, of Massachusetts, and main leader of the opposition, had received from a prominent British statesman to the effect that both France and Great Britain would agree to the reservations pertaining to Article X, the Monroe Doctrine, purely domestic questions, such as immigration, the tariff, and racial equality, and America's right to withdraw from the League upon two years' notice, America to determine for herself if her obligations to the League had been fulfilled or not.

THE REPARATION COMMISSION

A turbulent debate was precipitated in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on July 21 by receipt of a letter written by President Wilson to Senator Lodge,



SENATE RATIFICATION DEBATE

and Democrats were agreed that the Senate could not confirm a temporary appointment, but the latter believed the President himself could appoint such a provisional representative on his own responsibility.

In the Senate on July 23 the League of Nations was supported by Senator McKellar of Tennessee as one of the greatest forward steps in the nation's history. Opposition, he declared, came from those who were reactionary and those who personally disliked Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Wilson, he said, had done great things for America. All his work had been done for America. Let not America, he concluded, which has given this great peace covenant to the world, be the only one to repudiate it. He was interrupted by the League's inveterate adversary, Senator Borah of Idaho, who reminded him that ex-President Taft was drawing up a plan of reservations, and prophesied that this or some similar plan would be approved eventually by the Administration.

THE TAFT RESERVATIONS

The formulation of such a plan of "interpretative reservations" was made by ex-President Taft in a long letter written to Will H. Hays, the Republican National Chairman, on July 20, from Quebec. In this letter six interpretative reservations were outlined by Mr. Taft, which, he was convinced, would meet the objections of a large group of Republicans who favored a League of Nations. These reservations were substantially as follows:

1. That upon two years' notice the United States could cease to be a member of the League without having the League pass upon whether she had fulfilled all her obligations under the covenant.
2. That self-governed colonies and dominions could not be represented on the League Council at the same time with the mother government, or be included in any of those clauses where the parties to the dispute are excluded from its settlement.
3. That the functioning of the council under Article X. shall be advisory only, and that each member shall be left free to determine questions of war in its own way, the decision of the United States resting with Congress.
4. That differences between the nations

regarding immigration, the tariff, and other domestic questions shall not be left to the League for settlement.

5. That the Monroe Doctrine is to be reserved for administration by the United States.

6. That the United States reserves the right to withdraw unconditionally at the end of ten years, or at least to terminate then her obligations under Article X.

ANGLO-FRENCH-AMERICAN TREATY

In the session of July 24 Republican leaders took President Wilson to task for withholding the triple pact negotiated in June with France and Great Britain. By withholding this treaty, they declared, the President had violated Article IV. of the agreement, which provided that it should be submitted to the Senate along with the treaty of peace with Germany. The attack was led by Senator Brandegee of Connecticut.

The President on July 28 conferred with eleven Democratic Senators at the White House regarding the Peace Treaty. Meanwhile the Republican plan for reservations went on unimpeded. On the same day, when the Foreign Relations Committee finished the long and arduous task of reading the Peace Treaty, it was announced that the committee would draft at least six reservations to the League of Nations covenant, including Article X., immigration, tariff and other domestic matters, right of withdrawal within two years, the application of the Monroe Doctrine, and the Shantung agreement. At this time also four reservations, as drawn up by Justice Charles E. Hughes, and offered for adoption to the Senate, were made known on the publication of correspondence between Mr. Hughes and Senator Frederick Hale of Maine, dealing with the ratification of the treaty.

MR. HUGHES'S RESERVATIONS

Summarized, Mr. Hughes's four reservations are:

1. That on giving notice of its intention to withdraw from the League, a power shall cease to be a member or subject to obligations of the covenant at the time specified in the notice, but that such withdrawal shall not release that power from debt or liability theretofore incurred.
2. That questions such as immigration or import duties, which are solely within

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out from the political point of view.
was not, he said, a league of peace, "I
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powers of the world."

Senator Lodge regarded it as impe-
tative that the United States should
become embroiled in the politics of
Europe, and he did not want Europe mix-
in American affairs. To preserve
sovereignty of America, he said, the
reservations which he urged were nec-
essary.

In his peroration Senator Lodge
asserted that the League of Nations,
drafted at Paris, was merely an id-
"My first ideal is my own country,"
exclaimed. "We have our own ide-
"even if they differ from the ideals
"those who have tried to establish
"monopoly of idealism. To us, Amer-
"should come before anything else."

As Mr. Lodge ended his speech, Sen-
ators on the Republican side went
ward to shake his hand, while
chamber rang with applause. Cheers
approval broke out in the crowded
alleries. Marines, who had been in
attack upon Château-Thierry and



SENATE RATIFICATION DEBATE

Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, for an appointment to meet the members of the committee on Tuesday, Aug. 19, to explain the terms of the treaty of peace with Germany in full publicity. The attitude of the President toward the conditions for publicity was disclosed when Joseph P. Tumulty, his private secretary, issued a statement concluding with these words:

The unprecedented condition of the conference as set by Senator Lodge in his letter to the President fits in with the President's own preference as to publicity, so that the people of the country may be put in possession of all the information he has about the Treaty of Peace.

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE

An unprecedented conference followed on Aug. 19 in the East Room of the White House, where President Wilson met the members of the Foreign Relations Committee, most of whom were opposed to ratification of the treaty in its present form. For three hours and a half of questions and discussions the President dwelt with candor on the various phases of the treaty, replying freely to the queries put to him covering the entire range of the treaty from the League of Nations covenant to the Shantung agreement. The conference was marked by a spirit of courtesy and mutual respect, and nothing in the nature of a dispute marred the harmony of the occasion.

The President first read the following memorandum:

It has several times been suggested, in public debate and in private conference, that interpretations of the sense in which the United States accepts the engagements of the covenants should be embodied in the instrument of ratification. There can be no reasonable objection to such interpretations accompanying the act of ratification provided they do not form a part of the formal ratification itself. Most of the interpretations which have been suggested to me embody what seems to me the plain meaning of the instrument itself.

But if such interpretations should constitute a part of the formal resolution of ratification, long delays would be the inevitable consequence, inasmuch as all the many Governments concerned would have to accept in effect the language of the Senate as the language of the treaty before ratification would be complete. The assent of the German Assembly at Wei-

mar would have to be obtained, among the rest, and I must frankly say that I could only with the greatest reluctance approach that Assembly for permission to read the treaty as we understand it, and as those who framed it quite certainly understood. If the United States were to qualify the document in any way, moreover, I am confident from what I know of the many conferences and debates which accompanied the formulation of the treaty that our example would immediately be followed in many quarters, in some instances with very serious reservations, and that the meaning and operative force of the treaty would presently be clouded from one end of its clauses to the other.

CHIEF POINTS DISCUSSED

The ensuing discussion touched upon the British League plan, reparations, the obligation of the United States under Articles X. and XI., the Shantung settlement, the phraseology of the League covenant, the maintenance of American sovereignty in matters of domestic policy, including the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine; the triple pact with France and Great Britain, the possibility of America's making an independent peace and dissociating herself from the treaty and the League, the treaties with Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Many other points of importance arose in the course of the discussion.

President Wilson revealed that the original draft of the American plan for the League of Nations was recast by him from a skeleton draft submitted by Mr. Phillimore of the British Commission at Paris. Article X. was his own work, suggested by a contemplated compact between the Central American republics. This American draft was superseded by the Smuts or British plan at Paris. Speaking of reparations, President Wilson stated that his attitude at the Peace Conference had been that the United States would not expect indemnity, except for the sinking of the Lusitania.

Regarding both Article X. and the withdrawal clause, brought up by Senator Borah, President Wilson contended that Congress in the end would have the power to determine whether any decision of the council involving the use of American soldiers was to prevail. And previously, he pointed out, the American

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and first have withdrawal, and determine the question to the ; in no way it; it was ng to with- same time, to withdraw moral obliga- lied specifi-

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nt was ques- former Ger- Peninsula to dmitted that a different achieved it, way out of a tted that he tence of the een Japan, y which the o take over nator Bran- nt that the serious ob-

drawal clause, the determination by the United States of its purely domestic questions, and Articles X. and XI. were not adequately clear.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Asked by Senator Borah if, under Article XI., the United States would not be embroiled in all European quarrels at the will of the League, the President replied as he had replied to Senator Brandegee that all such questions would inevitably have to be decided by Congress, as it was not to be assumed that any of American constitutional rights were to be abrogated through joining the League of Nations. Regarding domestic matters, such as immigration and the tariff, the President said there had been general agreement at Paris that there would be no interference by the League. As to the Monroe Doctrine, that, he declared, had been amply protected through its recognition as "a regional understanding."

Asked by Senator New why the Monroe Doctrine had not been specifically mentioned in the various clauses of the League, President Wilson explained that if this had been done and other doc-

SENATE RATIFICATION DEBATE

Swenson and Senator Pomeroy interposed frequent comments in touching upon questions put by their Republican conferees. For the Republicans, Senators Lodge, Borah, Johnson, Harding, Brandegee, McCumber, and New were the chief inquirers, with Senator Moses and others putting occasional questions.

OPPOSENTS UNCONVINCED

The Senators opposed to ratification without reservations or amendments declared themselves unconvinced after the President's exposition. The entire Republican membership of the Foreign Relations Committee took the stand that they could not accept in lieu of specific reservations the "interpretative reservations" which they asserted the President had offered them. The President's view, they argued, was purely an individual expression of opinion. They could not understand, furthermore, his reluctance to have the interpretations, which he himself accepted, incorporated specifically in the treaty. It was also felt that he had magnified the moral obligations of nations and of the United States in particular, and minimized the contractual side, in order to assure the country that it would not become involved in European wars. They were, however, pleased that the President had admitted to Senator Fall that amendments to the League would not have to be passed upon by Germany. The Democratic Senators, on their part, expressed themselves as confident that the conference would prove clarifying and convincing.

A statement issued by Senators Borah and Johnson three hours afterward enumerated nine "significant facts" which these Senators believed the conference with the President had revealed, and implied, in conclusion, that it had demonstrated that the United States was legally and morally bound to take part under the League in European troubles. The net result of the conference, as seen on the following day, was a distinct lineup of the two opposing forces for and against the League of Nations covenant.

THE TRIPLE PACT PRESENTED

President Wilson formally presented the text of the Franco-American-British

treaty to the Senate on July 29. This brief pact, which was printed in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY, binds the United States to go to the aid of France if she is attacked by Germany. The President did not appear in person when he laid this before the Senate, but transmitted the document, with the following message:

MESSAGE OF THE SENATE:

I take pleasure in laying before you a treaty with the Republic of France, the object of which is to secure that republic of the immediate aid of the United States of America in case of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her on the part of Germany. I earnestly hope that this treaty will meet with your cordial approval, and will receive an early ratification at your hands, along with the treaty of peace with Germany. Now that you have had an opportunity to examine the great document I presented to you two weeks ago, it seems opportune to lay before you this treaty, which is meant to be in effect a part of it.

It was signed on the same day with the treaty of peace, and is intended as a temporary supplement to it. It is believed that the treaty of peace with Germany itself provides adequate protection to France against aggression from her recent enemy on the east, but the years immediately ahead of us contain many incalculable possibilities. The covenant of the League of Nations provides for military action for the protection of its members only upon advice of the council of the League, advice given, it is to be presumed, only upon deliberation and acted upon by each of the governments of the member States only if its own judgment justifies such action. The object of the special treaty with France, which I now submit to you, is to provide for immediate military assistance to France by the United States in case of any unprovoked movement of aggression against her by Germany without waiting for the advice of the council of the League of Nations that such action be taken. It is to be an arrangement, not independent of the League of Nations, but under it.

It is, therefore, expressly provided that this treaty shall be made the subject of consideration at the same time with the treaty of peace with Germany, that this special arrangement shall receive the approval of the council of the League, and that this special provision for the safety of France shall remain in force only until upon the application of one of the parties to it, the council of the League, acting, if necessary, by a majority vote, shall agree that the provisions of the covenant of the League afford her sufficient protection.

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ships and a new perception of what it is
wise and necessary for great nations to
do to free the world of intolerable fear.
Two Governments who wish to be mem-
bers of the League of Nations ask leave
of the council of the League to be per-
mitted to go to the assistance of a friend
whose situation has been found to be one
of peculiar peril without awaiting the ad-
vice of the League to act.

It is by taking such pledges as this that
we prove ourselves faithful to the utmost
to the high obligations of gratitude and
tested friendship. Such an act as this
seems to me one of the proofs that we
are a people that sees the true heart of
duty, and prefers honor to its own sep-
arate course of peace.

WOODROW WILSON.

The White House, July 29, 1919.

The Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee,
appointed to consider the legality of this
pact, reported on Aug. 19 that it was not
in conflict with the Constitution.

by European Powers

at Britain First to Act



RATIFICATION BY EUROPEAN POWERS

that Switzerland would refrain from associating herself with such an organization pursuing such a noble end. On Aug. 8 the Federal Council, in sittings held to discuss Switzerland's adhesion to the League, agreed unanimously to propose to the Legislative Council an additional article to the Swiss Constitution through which Switzerland would assume membership in the League.

In Spain the Senate on Aug. 1 voted a bill authorizing the Government to join the League. The vote was unanimous. Parliament approved this proposal on Aug. 7, and on Aug. 16 King Alfonso signed the law authorizing adhesion to the League.

Without a dissenting vote Chile, on

Aug. 16, through the Foreign Relations Committee of the Chilean House of Representatives, approved adhesion to the League.

The Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, on Nov. 7, approved the Treaty of Versailles without discussion or amendment; before the vote was taken Deputy Joaquin Czorío paid a tribute to the work of President Wilson at the Peace Conference, characterizing him as the world's leader of human progress. The Senate took similar action after a short discussion on Nov. 11, and late that afternoon President Pessoa affixed his signature to the instrument of ratification. Thus Brazil officially ended her war with Germany on Armistice Day.

The Senate and the Peace Treaty

Debate Over Amendments and Reservations—Reports of Foreign Relations Committee

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 20, 1919]

THE debate in the United States Senate on the ratification of the German Peace Treaty, which had begun in an informal way on July 14, reached its first definite phase on Sept. 10, when the Committee on Foreign Relations reported the treaty to the Senate with thirty-eight amendments and four reservations, recommended by a majority of the committee. The report was signed by nine Senators, including all the Republican members of the committee except Senator McCumber of North Dakota. On Sept. 11 the dissenting Democratic minority submitted its report, signed by six Democratic Senators. Senator Shields, a Democratic member of the committee, did not sign the minority report.

Both reports were the outcome of two months of more or less bitter debate, with the lines of cleavage mainly be-

tween the Democratic Administration supporters and the Republican opposition members, who were in the majority. During that preliminary period the treaty was the theme of almost daily speeches on one side or the other, speeches marked by increasing acrimony, and culminating in an address by Senator Knox of Pennsylvania on Aug. 29, in which he counseled the utter rejection of the Peace Treaty, declaring that it was "not a treaty, but a truce," and would mean "centuries of blood-letting."

THE MAJORITY REPORT

The majority report of the Foreign Relations Committee was as follows:

The treaty of peace with Germany was laid before the Senate by the President on July 10, 1919. Three days were consumed in printing the treaty, which was in two languages and filled 537 quarto pages. The treaty, therefore, was not in the possession of the

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As an illustration in a small way of the difficulties in securing information, it may be stated that no provision had been made to supply the Senate with the maps accompanying the treaty, and it was necessary to send to Paris to procure them. The only documents of the many asked for by the committee which were furnished by the Executive were the American plan for the League of Nations, submitted to the commission on the League covenant, and the composite draft made by experts of that commission.

The treaties with Poland and with France, as well as the Rhine protocol, all integral parts of the treaty with Germany, were obtained by the Senate prior to their transmission by the President from the documents laid before the House of Commons and the Chamber of Deputies early in July by the Prime Ministers of England and France. The records of the Peace Conference and of the conferences of the representatives of the five great powers were asked for by the committee and refused by the Executive. The committee had before them the Secretary of State, who was one of the American delegates, and a signer of the treaty, and they also had the privilege of a meeting with the President at the White House, which they had themselves requested. The testimony of the Secretary of State and the conversation of the committee with the President, published in the record of the

THE SENATE AND THE TREATY

UNABLE to deny that the conditions of trade in the world continue with but slight change. The importance of this particular point for Senate approval is shown by the fact that we have been trading with Germany ever since the armistice. Between that event and the time of July we have exported to Germany goods valued at \$11,577,024. In the month of June we exported more to Germany than we did to Spain. In July, by virtue of the War Trade Board, the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy act were set aside to the satisfaction of business to trade, and exports to Germany for the month of July amounted to \$2,466,742 while those to Austria and Hungary were \$1,016,738.

It is an interesting fact that the exports in June to Germany, before the relaxation of the Trading with the Enemy act, were much larger than after that relaxation, brought about by allowing licenses, was ordered, an indication of the undoubted truth that our trade with foreign countries is not affected by the treaty, but is governed by the necessarily reduced purchasing power of all countries in Europe engaged in the war. As a matter of fact, therefore, we are trading with Germany, and it is a mere delusion to say that we cannot trade with Germany until the ratification of the treaty, because in order to do so we require a new treaty of amity and commerce and the re-establishment of our consular system in that country. The United States, following the usual custom, was represented in Germany by Spain both in the consular and in the diplomatic service, after the outbreak of the war, and we can transact all the business we may desire through the good offices of Spanish Consuls until a new consular treaty with Germany has been made.

Before leaving this subject it may not be amiss to remark that Mr. Lloyd George has recently made two important speeches expressing grave apprehensions as to the social and political unrest and the economic troubles now prevalent in England. He seems to have failed to point out, however, that the ratification of the covenant of the League of Nations by Great Britain had relieved the situation which he had described. He was apparently equally remiss in omitting to suggest that prompt action by the Senate of the United States in adopting the covenant of the League of Nations would immediately lower the price of beef.

JUSTIFYING CHANGES IN TREATY

In reporting the treaty for the Senate for action the committee propose certain amendments to the text of the treaty and certain reservations to be attached to the resolution of ratification and made a part of that resolution when it is offered.

As regards the amendments generally it can be stated at the outset that nothing more probable than the sedulously cultivated and constantly expressed fear that textual amendments would require a com-

mittee of the Senate to propose amendments to amend amendments. There will be no necessity of so proceeding in this case, however, because it is a well known fact that with delegates duly representing all six nations ratifiers as a body have been in session for six months and it seems likely to be in session for six months more. Therefore, the chances of made by the Senate are in its favor, in Paris at once, and the amendments would be at least as usefully employed in the consideration as they now are in view of the shifting Southwestern European scene. As a Minor, in handling the clouds of the League, to our enemy, Bulgaria, and in a way to force upon the United States the removal of Armenia, Anatolia, and Constantinople through the medium of a large American army.

Still more unimportant is the business which has been put forward in the numerous difficulties which will be increased by securing the adhesion of Germany. No great amount of time need be consumed in bringing German representatives to Paris. The journey is within the power of a moderate amount of human endurance, and it is also to be remembered that Germany is now a member of the League and need not be consulted in regard to the terms of the covenant. When Germany enters the League she will take it as she finds it.

NATURE OF AMENDMENTS

The first amendment offered by the committee relates to the League. It is proposed so to amend the text as to secure to the United States a vote in the Assembly of the League equal to that of any other power. Great Britain now has under the name of the British Empire one vote in the Council of the League. She has four additional votes in the Assembly of the League for her self-governed dominions and colonies which are most properly members of the League and signatories to the treaty. She also has the vote of India, which is neither a self-governing dominion nor a colony, but merely a part of the empire, and which apparently was simply put in as a territory and member of the League by the Peace Conference because Great Britain desired it.

Great Britain also will control the votes of the Kingdom of Hedjaz and of Persia. With these last two of course we have nothing to do. But if Great Britain has six votes in the League Assembly no reason has occurred to the committee, and no argument had been made to show why the United States should not have an equal number. If other countries like the present arrangement, that is not our affair, but the committee failed to see why the United States should have had one vote in the Assembly of the League when the British Empire has six.

Amendment 29 to the League of Nations would give the German vote and give to the United States the Chinese vote of a power which are given by the Treaty of Commerce.

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The same may be said in regard to the fulfillment of the obligations to the League. It must be made perfectly clear that the United States alone is to determine as to the fulfillment of its obligations, and its right of withdrawal must therefore be unconditional, as provided in the reservation.

"2. The United States declines to assume, under the provisions of Article X. or under any other article, any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between other nations, members of the League or not, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States in such controversies, or to adopt economic measures for the protection of any other country, whether a member of the League or not, against external aggression, or for the purpose of coercing any other country, or for the purpose of intervention in the internal conflicts or other controversies which may arise in any other country, and no mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII., Part 2, of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States."

This reservation is intended to meet the most vital objection to the League covenant as it stands. Under no circumstances must there be any legal or moral obligation upon the United States to enter into war or to send its army and navy abroad, or, without the unfettered action of Congress, to impose



THE SENATE AND THE PEACE TREATY

tions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating to its affairs, including immigration, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations or to the decision or recommendation of any other power."

The reservation speaks for itself. It is not necessary to follow out here all tortuous windings, which to those who have followed them through the labyrinth disclose the fact that the League under certain conditions will have power to pass upon and decide questions of immigration and tariff, as well as the others mentioned in the reservation. It is believed by the committee that this reservation relieves the United States from any dangers or any obligations in this direction.

The fourth and last reservation is as follows:

"4. The United States declines to submit for arbitration or inquiry by the Assembly or the Council of the League of Nations provided for in said treaty of peace any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of the said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany."

The purpose of this reservation is clear. It is intended to preserve the Monroe Doctrine from any interference or interpretation by foreign powers. As the Monroe Doctrine has protected the United States, so, it is believed by the committee, will this reservation protect the Monroe Doctrine from the destruction with which it is threatened by Article XXI. in the covenant of the League and leave it, where it has always been, within the sole and complete control of the United States.

CALLS LEAGUE AN ALLIANCE

This covenant of the League of Nations is an alliance and not a league, as is amply shown by the provisions of the treaty with Germany, which vests all essential power in five great nations. Those same nations, the principal allied and associated powers, also dominate the League through the Council.

The committee believe that the League as it stands will breed wars instead of securing peace. They also believe that the covenant of the League demands sacrifices of American independence and sovereignty which would in no way promote the world's peace, but which are fraught with the gravest dangers to the future safety and well-being of the United States. The amendments and

reservations alike are governed by a single purpose, and that is to guard American rights and American sovereignty, the invasion of which would stimulate breaches of faith, encourage conflicts, and generate wars. The United States can serve the cause of peace best, as she has served it in the past, and do more to secure liberty and civilization throughout the world by proceeding along the paths she has always followed and by not permitting herself to be fettered by the dictates of other nations or immersed and entangled in all the broils and conflicts of Europe.

We have heard it frequently said that the United States "must" do this and do that in regard to this League of Nations and the terms of the German peace. There is no "must" about it. "Must" is not a word to be used by foreign nations or domestic officials to the American people or their representatives. Equally unfitting is the attempt to frighten the unthinking by suggesting that if the Senate adopts amendments or reservations the United States may be excluded from the League. That is the one thing that certainly will not happen. The other nations know well that there is no threat of retaliation possible with the United States, because we have asked nothing for ourselves and have received nothing. We seek no guarantees, no territory, no commercial benefits or advantages. The other nations will take us on our own terms, for without us their League is a wreck, and all their gains from a victorious peace are imperiled. We exact nothing for ourselves, but we insist that we shall be the judges, and the only judges, as to the preservation of our rights, our sovereignty, our safety, and our independence.

At this moment the United States is free from any entanglements or obligations which legally or in the name of honor would compel her to do anything contrary to the dictates of conscience or to the freedom and the interests of the American people. This is the hour when we can say precisely what we will do and exactly what we will not do, and no man can ever question our good faith if we speak now. When we are once caught in the meshes of a treaty of alliance or a League of Nations composed of twenty-six other powers our freedom of action is gone. To preserve American independence and American sovereignty, and thereby best serve the welfare of mankind, the committee propose these amendments and reservations.

(Signed:)

HENRY CABOT LODGE, (Mass.)
WILLIAM E. BORAH, (Idaho.)
FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, (Conn.)
ALBERT C. FALL, (N. M.)
PHILANDER C. KNOX, (Penn.)
WARREN G. HARDING, (Ohio.)
HIRAM JOHNSON, (Cal.)
HARRY S. NEW, (Ind.)
GEORGE H. MOSES, (Conn.)

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phraseology is in. They are variations, to be in the treaty full, but they the support of of the treaty. use of reservations of the es of amend- of pretending ted as parts treaty, they in its defeat. ue of Nations ho oppose the t is invincible e to destroy it

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world from wars, pestilence, and famine, the only one by which a stricken world can be redeemed from the disasters of the late war and the dangers of impending international chaos.

Those who dally and delay as they seek with microscopes to find some petty flaw in its structure have nothing themselves to propose. They have appealed to every prejudice and resorted to every desperate method of attack to destroy this great international effort to establish peace, but they suggest nothing in its place.

They denounce the public demand for energetic action as "clamor." They rail at the President, who with the representatives of many other nations has devoted months of hard work to a great constructive effort to settle the terms and reorganize the world for peace. Finally, unable to stem the tide of public demand for the League of Nations, they resort to so-called reservations in the hope that they can destroy by indirection what they have found unassailable by direct attack.

We renew our recommendation that the work of the Peace Conference be confirmed, the will of the people fulfilled, and the peace of the world advanced by the ratification of this treaty—"the best hope of the world"—even if, like all human instrumentalities, it be not divinely perfect in every detail.

GILBERT H. HITCHCOCK, (Neb.)
JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, (Mass.)



THE SENATE AND THE PEACE TREATY

depends to a great extent upon the moral sentiment of each nation to comply with its own obligation or the enforcement of such obligation upon a recalcitrant member. It is a mighty step in the right direction. Every sentiment of justice and morality is on its side. Some of its provisions are yet crude and uncertain of application, but the whole purpose is most noble and worthy, and, as in our American Constitution, we were compelled, in order to form a more perfect union, to depend upon the right of amendment, so in this great world Constitution experience will undoubtedly necessitate

many changes in order to make a more perfect instrument that will work for the benefit of humanity. All of these noble and lofty purposes have been ignored in the majority report or treated with sarcastic disdain or jingoistic contempt. To my mind such an attitude is most selfish, immoral, and dishonorable.

The final debate on the treaty amendments was scheduled to begin Sept. 23, and the Senators who had been trailing President Wilson were recalled to Washington for the struggle.

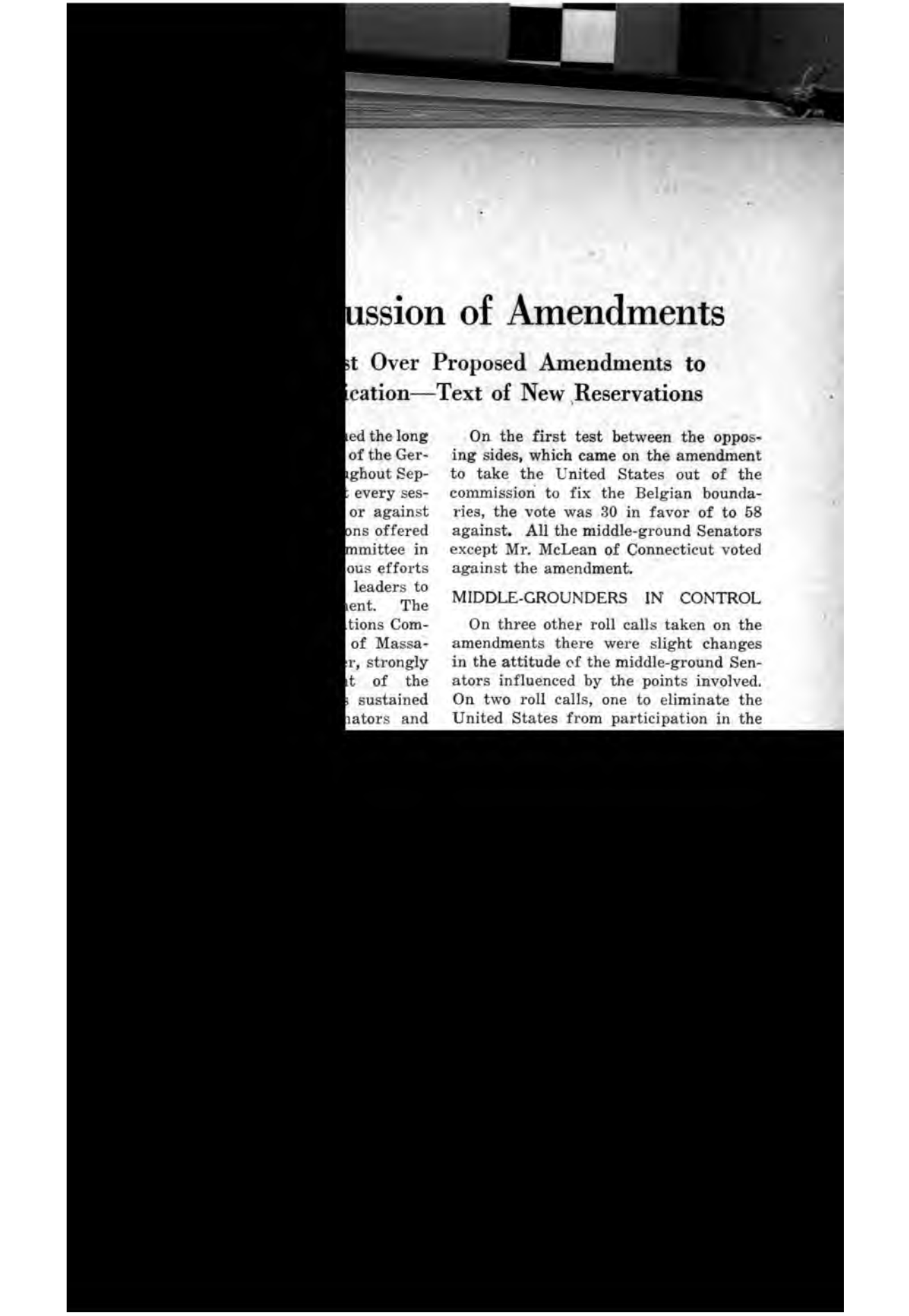
Hallowed Ground

By E. MYRTLE DUNN

Oh, let them sleep in peace! They paid the price
For rest and quiet in that stricken land.
They gladly gave their lives! Let that suffice
To hold in sacred bond that noble band.
Is it not so? The world looked on, amazed
To see the eager thousands cross the sea;
To watch the brave young faces as they gazed,
And heard that "Forward March" for Liberty!

Oh, let them rest! You would not know them now!
Their forms were sadly broken in the strife.
You could not kiss the lips nor touch the brow
That feels no more the thrilling pulse of life.
They went to fight, and die if need there seemed;
To rescue tortured brothers from the foe.
You would not find the smiles in eyes that beamed—
The tones that answered when you let them go.

So let them rest! The work so nobly done—
A grander monument than marble tomb.
The victory sure which they so bravely won
Will shine forever through the saddest gloom.
A little while, and they will rise again,
Responsive to that last long trumpet sound.
Then grief shall be effaced—no weeping then,
For wheresoe'er they sleep is Hallowed Ground.



Discussion of Amendments

St. Over Proposed Amendments to Participation—Text of New Reservations

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On the first test between the oppos-
ing sides, which came on the amendment
to take the United States out of the
commission to fix the Belgian bounda-
ries, the vote was 30 in favor of to 58
against. All the middle-ground Senators
except Mr. McLean of Connecticut voted
against the amendment.

MIDDLE-GROUNDERS IN CONTROL

On three other roll calls taken on the
amendments there were slight changes
in the attitude of the middle-ground Sen-
ators influenced by the points involved.
On two roll calls, one to eliminate the
United States from participation in the

SENATE REJECTS TREATY

FOR THE AMENDMENT—30.

Republicans—29.

Ball, (Del.)	Lodge, (Mass.)
Borah, (Idaho.)	McCormick, (Ill.)
Brandegee, (Conn.)	McLean, (Conn.)
Calder, (N. Y.)	Moses, (N. H.)
Curtis, (Kan.)	New, (Ind.)
Dillingham, (Vt.)	Newberry, (Mich.)
Elkins, (W. Va.)	Norris, (Neb.)
Fall, (N. M.)	Penrose, (Penn.)
Fernald, (Me.)	Phipps, (Col.)
France, (Md.)	Polindexter, (Wash.)
Frelinghuysen, (N. J.)	Sherman, (Ill.)
Gronna, (N. D.)	Wadsworth, (N. Y.)
Harding, (Ohio.)	Warren, (Wyo.)
Knox, (Penn.)	Watson, (Ind.)
La Follette, (Wis.)	

Democrat—1.

Gore, Oklahoma.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—58.

Republicans—17.

Capper, (Kan.)	McCumber, (N. D.)
Colt, (R. I.)	McNary, (Ore.)
Cummins, (Iowa.)	Nelson, (Minn.)
Edge, (N. J.)	Smoot, (Utah.)
Hale, (Me.)	Spencer, (Mo.)
Jones, (Wash.)	Sterling, (S. D.)
Kellogg, (Minn.)	Townsend, (Mich.)
Lenroot, (Wis.)	

Democrats—41.

Ashurst, (Ariz.)	Phelan, (Cal.)
Bankhead, (Ala.)	Pittman, (Nev.)
Beckham, (Ky.)	Pomerene, (Ohio.)
Chamberlain, (Ore.)	Ransdell, (La.)
Culbertson, (Texas.)	Robinson, (Ark.)
Dial, (S. C.)	Sheppard, (Texas.)
Fletcher, (Fla.)	Shields, (Tenn.)
Gay, (La.)	Simmons, (N. C.)
Gerry, (R. I.)	Smith, (Ariz.)
Harris, (Ga.)	Smith, (Ga.)
Harrison, (Miss.)	Smith, (Md.)
Henderson, (Nev.)	Stanley, (Ky.)
Hitchcock, (Neb.)	Swanson, (Va.)
Jones, (N. M.)	Thomas, (Col.)
Kendrick, (Wyo.)	Trammell, (Fla.)
Kirby, (Ark.)	Underwood, (Ala.)
McKellar, (Tenn.)	Walsh, (Mass.)
Myers, (Mon.)	Walsh, (Mon.)
Nugent, (Idaho.)	Williams, (Miss.)
Overman, (N. C.)	Wolcott, (Del.)
Owen, (Okla.)	

Pairs.

Senator Johnson, California, for, with Senator Martin, Virginia, against.

Senator Page, Vermont, for, with Senator Johnson, South Dakota, against.

Senator Reed, Missouri, for, with Senator King, Utah, against.

Senator Sutherland, West Virginia, for, with Senator Smith, South Carolina, against.

Total—8.

Had all of the Senators, paired and unable to vote, been able to cast their votes, the vote on the Belgian amendment would have been: For, 34; against, 60.

The Senate took eight votes on the Fall amendments, four by roll call and the remainder viva voce. Besides that, on the first amendment, relating to the Belgian boundaries, the votes were as follows:

Two amendments relating to commissions to fix boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, defeated by viva voce vote.

An amendment on the Sarre Valley Basin, defeated 31 for and 56 against.

Twenty-six amendments, en bloc, on commissions on boundaries relating to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Upper Silesia, the Rhineland, East Prussia, and Danzig, defeated viva voce.

An amendment barring the United States from participation in treaties with Czechoslovakia, by which the latter guarantees religious freedom to its subjects, defeated 28 to 53.

Two amendments pertaining to a plebiscite for Upper Silesia and providing that the United States send soldiers to that territory, defeated 31 to 46.

An amendment relating to the religious freedom of Poland, defeated viva voce.

An amendment touching on a plebiscite for East Prussia, defeated viva voce.

The vote on the amendment against the United States participating in the commission on the plebiscite for Upper Silesia, found Senators Sterling, Kenyon and Cummins, who had not voted with the Republicans before, aligned with them. The aggregate of thirty-one votes in favor of this amendment would have been swelled to forty had all the Senators who had voted before with the Republicans or were absent answered the roll call.

THE SHANTUNG AMENDMENT

The second test on textually amending the treaty took place on Oct. 16. By a vote of 55 to 35, the six Lodge amendments to the Peace Treaty, providing for restoring the economic privileges on the Shantung Peninsula to China rather than to give them to Japan, as the treaty provides, were defeated. The amendments were voted upon en bloc. Immediately after the vote was announced, Senator Lodge told the Senate that, "at the proper time," he would move to strike the entire Shantung section from the treaty.

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The debate on the Lodge amendments ran from 11 o'clock until 5:30, when the vote was taken. The Republican leaders exerted every effort to save the amendments from defeat, although knowing in advance of the vote that they were beaten.

Senator Johnson of California denounced the Shantung award as "infamous, detestable, and abominable." He told Republican Senators who, during the debate, had said that they would favor a reservation rather than an amendment, that the way to "cut Shantung out of the treaty is to reject it outright." Although assured by the Republican leaders that the prospects were favorable for the adoption of a reservation on Shantung, Mr. Johnson insisted that the amendment route was the safer one.

In the speeches of nearly all the Republicans who voted against the amendments the preference for a reservation was emphasized. They indicated that they would be willing to support a



SENATE DEBATE ON THE PEACE TREATY

they would vote for a reservation on the Shantung award, but that, as an amendment would involve sending the treaty back to the principal signatory powers, they could not support it.

Senator Hale, in telling the Senate why he would vote against the amendment, said that while he disapproved the Shantung provisions in the treaty, he felt that the "wisest" policy was to express disapproval through a reservation in which the United States could affirm its refusal to be held to any judgment of the League relating to the Shantung rights. That, he said, would leave the Shantung award in the treaty but relieve the United States from any obligation respecting it in the future. Mr. Hale went on:

Unless reservations are made to this treaty that will make the position of the United States clear, both as to Shantung and the inequality of vote in the League Assembly, I shall cast my vote against the treaty.

Senator Sterling said he felt that the Senate would be "wasting time" trying to eliminate the Shantung provision through amendment, since the treaty was practically in force now and to make textual changes would necessitate reconvening the Peace Conference.

"So far as the treaty is concerned, the Shantung provision is in force," said Mr. Sterling. "All the United States can do now is to decline, through a reservation, to become a party to it. With the United States in the League of Nations we can accomplish much to rectify the injustice done to China."

Senator Smith, Democrat, of Georgia, argued that a reservation would better accomplish what the Senate sought to do.

SENATOR PHELAN'S VIEW

Senator Phelan, Democrat, of California, while announcing that he was opposed to any amendments or drastic reservations, indicated that he would vote for an interpretative reservation to assure the United States full determination of her domestic questions, if it was thought necessary. While concerned over what he called Japanese encroachment on the Pacific Coast, he said he was not sure that, under the treaty, Japan would be enabled to extend her influence there.

I do not see how the question of Japanese immigration is involved in this treaty [said Senator Phelan]. We will never consent to race equality, which involves immigration, naturalization, elective franchise, and ownership and intermarriage. It was rejected at Paris. These are domestic questions in which the League of Nations has no concern.

Lest there be doubt under Article XI, as to the power of the League to have jurisdiction in these matters, I would favor an explicit interpretative reservation on the matter.

Senator La Follette finished the debate on the Shantung amendment, denouncing it as a "burglary," in which, he said, the United States was asked to participate.

This award to Japan rests on force [said Senator La Follette]. It involves robbery so barefaced that they won't dare go through with it if the United States refuses to become a party to it.

On Oct. 17 the Senate, without a roll call, defeated the two amendments proposed by Senator Fall of New Mexico designed to limit American representation on the Reparations Commission. In the debate preceding this vote there was sharp criticism of the sending of 5,000 American troops on Oct. 16 from New York to Europe, where they were to police Silesia during the plebiscite ordered by the terms of the treaty.

SENDING TROOPS ABROAD

Senator Brandegee of Connecticut stated that he had received many letters asking that something be done to protect the Armenian people from slaughter when British troops are withdrawn. He said:

Of course, we know, or have been informed through the press, that the British are withdrawing rapidly their forces from Armenia and the Caucasus and have requested this country to send from 100,000 to 200,000 men over there to take the place of the withdrawn British troops.

Senator Borah interrupted with the question: "There are not any undeveloped oil fields in Armenia or Turkey, then?" Senator Brandegee replied:

The article states that the President is very anxious that we should accept the mandate for Armenia, and therefore I assume that there is no oil or anything else of use to this country there. * * *

I hope that somebody will introduce a resolution to find out what the proposition is in Armenia, how far we have been

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The same may be said in regard to the fulfillment of the obligations to the League. It must be made perfectly clear that the United States alone is to determine as to the fulfillment of its obligations, and its right of withdrawal must therefore be unconditional, as provided in the reservation.

"2. The United States declines to assume, under the provisions of Article X, or under any other article, any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between other nations, members of the League or not, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States in such controversies, or to adopt economic measures for the protection of any other country, whether a member of the League or not, against external aggression, or for the purpose of coercing any other country, or for the purpose of intervention in the internal conflicts or other controversies which may arise in any other country, and no mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII., Part 2, of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States."

This reservation is intended to meet the most vital objection to the League covenant as it stands. Under no circumstances must there be any legal or moral obligation upon the United States to enter into war or to send its army and navy abroad, or, without



THE SENATE AND THE PEACE TREATY

tions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating to its affairs, including immigration, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations or to the decision or recommendation of any other power."

The reservation speaks for itself. It is not necessary to follow out here all tortuous windings, which to those who have followed them through the labyrinth disclose the fact that the League under certain conditions will have power to pass upon and decide questions of immigration and tariff, as well as the others mentioned in the reservation. It is believed by the committee that this reservation relieves the United States from any dangers or any obligations in this direction.

The fourth and last reservation is as follows:

"4. The United States declines to submit for arbitration or inquiry by the Assembly or the Council of the League of Nations provided for in said treaty of peace any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of the said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany."

The purpose of this reservation is clear. It is intended to preserve the Monroe Doctrine from any interference or interpretation by foreign powers. As the Monroe Doctrine has protected the United States, so, it is believed by the committee, will this reservation protect the Monroe Doctrine from the destruction with which it is threatened by Article XXI. in the covenant of the League and leave it, where it has always been, within the sole and complete control of the United States.

CALLS LEAGUE AN ALLIANCE

This covenant of the League of Nations is an alliance and not a league, as is amply shown by the provisions of the treaty with Germany, which vests all essential power in five great nations. Those same nations, the principal allied and associated powers, also dominate the League through the Council.

The committee believe that the League as it stands will breed wars instead of securing peace. They also believe that the covenant of the League demands sacrifices of American independence and sovereignty which would in no way promote the world's peace, but which are fraught with the gravest dangers to the future safety and well-being of the United States. The amendments and

reservations alike are governed by a single purpose, and that is to guard American rights and American sovereignty, the invasion of which would stimulate breaches of faith, encourage conflicts, and generate wars. The United States can serve the cause of peace best, as she has served it in the past, and do more to secure liberty and civilization throughout the world by proceeding along the paths she has always followed and by not permitting herself to be fettered by the dictates of other nations or immersed and entangled in all the broils and conflicts of Europe.

We have heard it frequently said that the United States "must" do this and do that in regard to this League of Nations and the terms of the German peace. There is no "must" about it. "Must" is not a word to be used by foreign nations or domestic officials to the American people or their representatives. Equally unfitting is the attempt to frighten the unthinking by suggesting that if the Senate adopts amendments or reservations the United States may be excluded from the League. That is the one thing that certainly will not happen. The other nations know well that there is no threat of retaliation possible with the United States, because we have asked nothing for ourselves and have received nothing. We seek no guarantees, no territory, no commercial benefits or advantages. The other nations will take us on our own terms, for without us their League is a wreck, and all their gains from a victorious peace are imperilled. We exact nothing for ourselves, but we insist that we shall be the judges, and the only judges, as to the preservation of our rights, our sovereignty, our safety, and our independence.

At this moment the United States is free from any entanglements or obligations which legally or in the name of honor would compel her to do anything contrary to the dictates of conscience or to the freedom and the interests of the American people. This is the hour when we can say precisely what we will do and exactly what we will not do, and no man can ever question our good faith if we speak now. When we are once caught in the meshes of a treaty of alliance or a League of Nations composed of twenty-six other powers our freedom of action is gone. To preserve American independence and American sovereignty, and thereby best serve the welfare of mankind, the committee propose these amendments and reservations.

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THE SENATE AND THE PEACE TREATY

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is only 16 cents' worth of American products
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or 2 cents per person per month, yet the ma-
jority report boasts of it as evidence of trade
revival in spite of treaty delay.

The same statement gravely assures us that
the figures prove that it is a mere deduction
to say we cannot trade with Germany till a
peace settlement is made. Two cents per
month per capita is hardly trading with Ger-
many.

AGAINST ALL AMENDMENTS

Referring to the action of the majority of
the committee, we wish in opening and con-
sidering the recommendations both as to
tactical amendments and as to proposed res-
olutions. As far as the proposed tactical
amendments are concerned we see no reason
to discuss their character at length. In our
opinion they have no merit, but whether they
be good, bad, or indifferent, their adoption
by the Senate can have no possible effect
except to defeat the participation of the
United States in the treaty. None of them
could by any possibility be accepted, even by
the great nations associated with the United
States in the war, and none of them could
by any possibility be declined to Germany.
To adopt any one of them, therefore, is
equivalent to rejecting the treaty.

The suggestion of the majority report, that
the Peace Conference be still in session in
Paris and could consider any tactical amend-
ments to the treaty made by the Senate, and
that German representatives could be brought



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secured under a dictated peace. Among the concessions which the United States would sacrifice by the adoption of any amendment or the rejection of the treaty may be included the following:

First—Germany's acknowledgment of responsibility for the war and her promise to make restitution for damages resulting from it.

Second—Germany's promise to us in the treaty that she will not impose higher or other customs duties or charges on our goods than those charged to the most-favored nation and will not prohibit or restrict or discriminate against imports directly or indirectly from our country.

Third—Germany's promise to us in the treaty that she will make no discrimination in German ports on shipping bearing our flag, and that our shipping in German ports will be given as favorable treatment as German ships receive.

Fourth—That for six months after the treaty goes into effect no customs duty will be levied against imports from the United States except the lowest duties that were in force for the first six months of 1914.

Fifth—Germany's agreement with us that the United States shall have the privilege of reviving such of the treaties with Germany as were in existence prior to the war as we may alone desire.

Sixth—Germany's promise to us to restore the property of our citizens seized in Germany or to compensate the owners.

Seventh—Germany's very important validating all acts by the United States and by the Alien Property Custodian by which we seized and proceeded to liquidate \$800,000,000 worth of property in the United States belonging to German citizens.

Eighth—Germany's agreement that the proceeds of the sale of these properties may be used to compensate our citizens in Germany if Germany fails to do so, or to pay debts which Germany or Germans owe to American citizens, or to pay American pre-war claims against Germany for property destroyed and lives taken similar to the losses because of the destruction of the Lusitania.

Ninth—Germany's agreement that she will compensate her own citizens for property, patents, and other things belonging to them in the United States seized during the war by our Government.

Tenth—Germany's agreement that no claim can be made against the United States in respect to the use or sale during the war by our Government, or by persons acting for our Government, of any rights in industrial, literary, or artistic property, including patents.

Eleventh—Germany's agreement that the United States shall retain over 500,000 tons of German shipping, seized

in American ports, which must more than compensate us for shipping lost during the war.

Twelfth—We would lose our membership on the Reparations Commission, which will be the most powerful international body ever created and which will have enormous control over the trade and commerce of Germany with the rest of the world for years to come. It not only supervises the use of German economic resources and the payment of reparations, but it can restrict or expand Germany's imports and distribute much of her desirable exports, including dyes. In no way can the United States assure itself against discrimination in German imports and financial policies, unless we have a member upon this great Reparations Commission.

AMENDMENT SAME AS REJECTION

These are some, but by no means all, of the valuable concessions which the United States would inevitably sacrifice by failing to ratify the treaty. This failure would be just as complete if we adopt an amendment to it as if we rejected the treaty absolutely. In either event, we would find ourselves at the end of the war, it is true, but without any peace or terms of peace with Germany. We would have abandoned our disgusted associates and we would be reduced to the necessity of seeking a negotiated peace with an angry Germany on such terms as she would be willing to accord.

We are, therefore, without any qualifications against amendments.

We are aware that the claim has been set up that one of the proposed amendments, which relates only to the League of Nations, does not require the assent of Germany. This is based on the fact that Germany is not yet a member of the League of Nations and may not be for several years.

The answer is, however, that the League covenant is a part of the treaty, and the League, which is mentioned in many places in the treaty, has much to do with German affairs, even though Germany is not a member. Germany, in agreeing to the treaty, has assented to the provisions of the covenant, and one of the provisions is that it can only be amended by the action of the League, which has not yet started, ratified by all the members of the Council, which has not yet organized, as well as by a majority of the members of the Assembly. It is obvious, therefore, if it is to be amended in any other way, Germany's assent will be just as necessary as to any other article of the treaty.

RESERVATIONS

The reservations proposed by the majority of this committee are of such a character as at once betray their authorship. They are the work of Senators organized for the purpose of destroying the League and, if possible, de-

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unable to keep the channels of trade to the allied countries were not open. The emptiness of this particular plea for haste, now rather faded, is shown by the fact that we have been trading with Germany ever since the armistice. Between that event and the end of July we have exported to Germany goods valued at \$11,270,624. In the month of June we exported more to Germany than we did to Spain. In July, by orders of the War Trade Board, the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy act were set aside by the authorization of licenses to trade, and exports to Germany for the month of July amounted to \$2,436,742, while those to Austria and Hungary were \$1,016,518.

It is an interesting fact that the exports in June to Germany, before the relaxation of the Trading with the Enemy act, were much larger than after that relaxation, brought about by allowing licenses, was ordered, an indication of the undoubted truth that our trade with foreign countries is not affected by the treaty, but is governed by the necessarily reduced purchasing power of all countries in Europe engaged in the war. As a matter of fact, therefore, we are trading with Germany, and it is a mere delusion to say that we cannot trade with Germany until the ratification of the treaty, because in order to do so we require a new treaty of amity and commerce and the re-establishment of our consular system in that country. The United States, following the usual custom, was represented in Germany by Spain both in the consular and in the diplomatic service, after the outbreak of the war, and we can transact all the business we may desire through the good offices of Spanish Consuls until a new consular treaty with Germany has been made.

Before leaving this subject it may not be amiss to remark that Mr. Lloyd George has recently made two important speeches expressing grave apprehensions as to the social and political unrest and the economic troubles now prevalent in England. He seems to have failed to point out, however, that the ratification of the covenant of the League of Nations by Great Britain had relieved the situation which he had described. He was apparently equally remiss in omitting to suggest that prompt action by the Senate of the United States in adopting the covenant of the League of Nations would immediately lower the price of beef.

JUSTIFYING CHANGES IN TREATY

In reporting the treaty for the Senate for action the committee propose certain amendments to the text of the treaty and certain reservations to be attached to the resolution of ratification and made a part of that resolution when it is offered.

In regard to the amendments, generally it should be stated at the outset that nothing is more groundless than the solution by criticized and constantly expressed fear that textual amendment would require a sum-

moning of the Peace Conference, and thereby cause great delay. There will be no necessity of summoning the Peace Conference, because it is in session now in Paris with delegates fully representing all the signatory nations, as it has been for six months, and it seems likely to be in session for six months more. Textual amendments if made by the Senate can be considered in Paris at once, and the conference would be at least as usefully employed in that consideration as they now are in discussion and sharing Southeastern Europe, and the Asia Minor, in handing the Greeks of Thrace over to our enemy, Bulgaria, and in trying to force upon the United States the control of Armenia, Anatolia, and Constantinople through the medium of a large American army.

Still more unimportant is the bunkum which has been put forward of the enormous difficulties which will be incurred in securing the adhesion of Germany. No great amount of time need be consumed in bringing German representatives to Paris. The journey is within the power of a moderate amount of human endurance, and it is also to be remembered that Germany is not a member of the League and need not be consulted in regard to the terms of the covenant. When Germany enters the League she will take it as the final act.

NATURE OF AMENDMENTS

The first amendment offered by the committee relates to the League. It is proposed so to amend the text as to secure for the United States a vote in the Assembly of the League equal to that of any other power. Great Britain now has under the name of the British Empire one vote in the Council of the League. She has ten additional votes in the Assembly of the League for her self-governed dominions and colonies which are most properly members of the League and signatories to the treaty. She also has the vote of India, which is neither a self-governing dominion nor a colony, but merely a part of the empire, and which apparently was simply put in as a clerical error and member of the League by the Peace Conference because Great Britain desired it.

Great Britain also will control the votes of the Kingdom of Holland and of Belgium. With these last two countries we have nothing to do. But if Great Britain has six votes in the League Assembly no reason has occurred to the committee, and no argument had been made to show why the United States should not have an equal number. If other countries like the present arrangement, that is not our affair, but the committee failed to see why the United States should have but one vote in the Assembly of the League when the British Empire has six.

Amendments 25 to 44 include the proposal that the German Government be excluded in the Chinese port of Shanghai, which are placed by the committee in the

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The same may be said in regard to the fulfillment of the obligations to the League. It must be made perfectly clear that the United States alone is to determine as to the fulfillment of its obligations, and its right of withdrawal must therefore be unconditional, as provided in the reservation.

"2. The United States declines to assume, under the provisions of Article X. or under any other article, any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between other nations, members of the League or not, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States in such controversies, or to adopt economic measures for the protection of any other country, whether a member of the League or not, against external aggression, or for the purpose of coercing any other country, or for the purpose of intervention in the internal conflicts or other controversies which may arise in any other country, and no mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII, Part 2, of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States."

This reservation is intended to meet the most vital objection to the League covenant as it stands. Under no circumstances must there be any legal or moral obligation upon the United States to enter into war or to



THE SENATE AND THE PEACE TREATY

tions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating to its affairs, including immigration, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations or to the decision or recommendation of any other power."

The reservation speaks for itself. It is not necessary to follow out here all tortuous windings, which to those who have followed them through the labyrinth disclose the fact that the League under certain conditions will have power to pass upon and decide questions of immigration and tariff, as well as the others mentioned in the reservation. It is believed by the committee that this reservation relieves the United States from any dangers or any obligations in this direction.

The fourth and last reservation is as follows:

"4. The United States declines to submit for arbitration or inquiry by the Assembly or the Council of the League of Nations provided for in said treaty of peace any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of the said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany."

The purpose of this reservation is clear. It is intended to preserve the Monroe Doctrine from any interference or interpretation by foreign powers. As the Monroe Doctrine has protected the United States, so, it is believed by the committee, will this reservation protect the Monroe Doctrine from the destruction with which it is threatened by Article XXI. in the covenant of the League and leave it, where it has always been, within the sole and complete control of the United States.

CALLS LEAGUE AN ALLIANCE

This covenant of the League of Nations is an alliance and not a league, as is amply shown by the provisions of the treaty with Germany, which vests all essential power in five great nations. Those same nations, the principal allied and associated powers, also dominate the League through the Council.

The committee believe that the League as it stands will breed wars instead of securing peace. They also believe that the covenant of the League demands sacrifices of American independence and sovereignty which would in no way promote the world's peace, but which are fraught with the gravest dangers to the future safety and well-being of the United States. The amendments and

reservations alike are governed by a single purpose, and that is to guard American rights and American sovereignty, the invasion of which would stimulate breaches of faith, encourage conflicts, and generate wars. The United States can serve the cause of peace best, as she has served it in the past, and do more to secure liberty and civilization throughout the world by proceeding along the paths she has always followed and by not permitting herself to be fettered by the dictates of other nations or immersed and entangled in all the broils and conflicts of Europe.

We have heard it frequently said that the United States "must" do this and do that in regard to this League of Nations and the terms of the German peace. There is no "must" about it. "Must" is not a word to be used by foreign nations or domestic officials to the American people or their representatives. Equally unfitting is the attempt to frighten the unthinking by suggesting that if the Senate adopts amendments or reservations the United States may be excluded from the League. That is the one thing that certainly will not happen. The other nations know well that there is no threat of retaliation possible with the United States, because we have asked nothing for ourselves and have received nothing. We seek no guarantees, no territory, no commercial benefits or advantages. The other nations will take us on our own terms, for without us their League is a wreck, and all their gains from a victorious peace are imperiled. We exact nothing for ourselves, but we insist that we shall be the judges, and the only judges, as to the preservation of our rights, our sovereignty, our safety, and our independence.

At this moment the United States is free from any entanglements or obligations which legally or in the name of honor would compel her to do anything contrary to the dictates of conscience or to the freedom and the interests of the American people. This is the hour when we can say precisely what we will do and exactly what we will not do, and no man can ever question our good faith if we speak now. When we are once caught in the meshes of a treaty of alliance or a League of Nations composed of twenty-six other powers our freedom of action is gone. To preserve American independence and American sovereignty, and thereby best serve the welfare of mankind, the committee propose these amendments and reservations.

(Signed:)

HENRY CABOT LODGE, (Mass.)
WILLIAM E. BORAH, (Idaho.)
FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, (Conn.)
ALBERT C. FALL, (N. M.)
PHILANDER C. KNOX, (Penn.)
WARREN G. HARDING, (Ohio.)
HIRAM JOHNSON, (Cal.)
HARRY S. NEW, (Ind.)
GEORGE H. MOSES, (Conn.)

NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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is only 14 cents' worth of American products
for each person in Germany in seven months,
or 2 cents per person per month, yet the ma-
jority report boasts of it as evidence of trade
revival in spite of treaty delay.

The same statement gravely asserts us that
the figures prove that it is a mere delusion
to say we cannot trade with Germany till a
peace settlement is made. Two cents per
month per capita is hardly trading with Ger-
many.

AGAINST ALL AMENDMENTS

Referring to the action of the majority of
the committee, we write in opposing and con-
demning the recommendations both as to
textual amendments and as to proposed res-
ervations. As far as the proposed textual
amendments are concerned we see no reason
to discuss their character at length. In our
opinion they have no merit, but whether they
be good, bad, or indifferent, their adoption
by the Senate can have no possible effect
except to defeat the participation of the
United States in the treaty. None of them
could by any possibility be accepted, even by
the great nations associated with the United
States in the war, and none of them could
by any possibility be dictated to Germany.
To adopt any one of them, therefore, is
equivalent to rejecting the treaty.

The suggestion of the majority report that
the Peace Conference is still in session in
Paris and could continue now treated as a



THE SENATE AND THE PEACE TREATY

secured under a dictated peace. Among the concessions which the United States would sacrifice by the adoption of any amendment or the rejection of the treaty may be included the following:

First—Germany's acknowledgment of responsibility for the war and her promise to make restitution for damages resulting from it.

Second—Germany's promise to us in the treaty that she will not impose higher or other customs duties or charges on our goods than those charged to the most-favored nation and will not prohibit or restrict or discriminate against imports directly or indirectly from our country.

Third—Germany's promise to us in the treaty that she will make no discrimination in German ports on shipping bearing our flag, and that our shipping in German ports will be given as favorable treatment as German ships receive.

Fourth—That for six months after the treaty goes into effect no customs duty will be levied against imports from the United States except the lowest duties that were in force for the first six months of 1914.

Fifth—Germany's agreement with us that the United States shall have the privilege of reviving such of the treaties with Germany as were in existence prior to the war as we may alone desire.

Sixth—Germany's promise to us to restore the property of our citizens seized in Germany or to compensate the owners.

Seventh—Germany's very important validating all acts by the United States and by the Alien Property Custodian by which we seized and proceeded to liquidate \$800,000,000 worth of property in the United States belonging to German citizens.

Eighth—Germany's agreement that the proceeds of the sale of these properties may be used to compensate our citizens in Germany if Germany fails to do so, or to pay debts which Germany or Germans owe to American citizens, or to pay American pre-war claims against Germany for property destroyed and lives taken similar to the losses because of the destruction of the Lusitania.

Ninth—Germany's agreement that she will compensate her own citizens for property, patents, and other things belonging to them in the United States seized during the war by our Government.

Tenth—Germany's agreement that no claim can be made against the United States in respect to the use or sale during the war by our Government, or by persons acting for our Government, of any rights in industrial, literary, or artistic property, including patents.

Eleventh—Germany's agreement that the United States shall retain over 500,000 tons of German shipping, seized

in American ports, which must more than compensate us for shipping lost during the war.

Twelfth—We would lose our membership on the Reparations Commission, which will be the most powerful international body ever created and which will have enormous control over the trade and commerce of Germany with the rest of the world for years to come. It not only supervises the use of German economic resources and the payment of reparations, but it can restrict or expand Germany's imports and distribute much of her desirable exports, including dyes. In no way can the United States assure itself against discrimination in German imports and financial policies, unless we have a member upon this great Reparations Commission.

AMENDMENT SAME AS REJECTION

These are some, but by no means all, of the valuable concessions which the United States would inevitably sacrifice by failing to ratify the treaty. This failure would be just as complete if we adopt an amendment to it as if we rejected the treaty absolutely. In either event, we would find ourselves at the end of the war, it is true, but without any peace or terms of peace with Germany. We would have abandoned our disgusted associates and we would be reduced to the necessity of seeking a negotiated peace with an angry Germany on such terms as she would be willing to accord.

We are, therefore, without any qualifications against amendments.

We are aware that the claim has been set up that one of the proposed amendments, which relates only to the League of Nations, does not require the assent of Germany. This is based on the fact that Germany is not yet a member of the League of Nations and may not be for several years.

The answer is, however, that the League covenant is a part of the treaty, and the League, which is mentioned in many places in the treaty, has much to do with German affairs, even though Germany is not a member. Germany, in agreeing to the treaty, has assented to the provisions of the covenant, and one of the provisions is that it can only be amended by the action of the League, which has not yet started, ratified by all the members of the Council, which has not yet organized, as well as by a majority of the members of the Assembly. It is obvious, therefore, if it is to be amended in any other way, Germany's assent will be just as necessary as to any other article of the treaty.

RESERVATIONS

The reservations proposed by the majority of this committee are of such a character as at once betray their authorship. They are the work of Senators organized for the purpose of destroying the League and, if possible, de-

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tions of Germany which were not pro-
vided to be occupied in the armistice.

Senator Hitchcock interrupted to say
that the President made the armistice
and had the power to change it, the
armistice being a purely military pro-
ceeding.

Now there is another astounding propo-
sition, [Senator Fall resumed.]

Any Senator who holds such ideas as
those just expressed has an absolute con-
tempt for the Constitution of the United
States, an absolute contempt for the form
of government adopted by our fathers and
so far preserved by the sword of our peo-
ple, or else has no conception whatever
of what the form of government is, with
its three co-ordinate branches of govern-
ment. He has no conception, as I under-
stand it, of international law or of the
rules among civilized nations.

The Senator does not realize for a
moment that the armistice takes the
place of the treaty of peace for the time
being when it is in effect, and that a
violation of it by us would be as much
to be condemned as a violation of its
terms by Germany.

To Mr. Hitchcock's remark, "The Sen-
ator has shown no violation of it," Sen-
ator Fall replied:



SENATE DEBATE ON THE PEACE TREATY

who was the leader of the Republican group opposing textual amendments, reported seven reservations which were regarded as quite as effective qualifications of the treaty as any that had been agreed upon by Senator Lodge and the group favoring amendments. This action foreshadowed an agreement among the Republicans; it indicated that they would unanimously support the reservation program, which insured its adoption by the Senate.

REVISED RESERVATIONS REPORTED

The Foreign Relations Committee on Oct. 22 decided to report a series of revised reservations as substitutes for those of Sept. 10. The most important addition was a preamble specifying that all the reservations must be accepted by three of the four principal allied powers before they become effective. A significant feature of the meeting was the fact that Senator McCumber, the Republican leader of the group opposing amendments, voted for all the reservations, but cast his vote against the preamble on the ground that it was tantamount to an amendment. Senator Shields, Democrat, of Tennessee, voted for all the reservations and the preamble.

In all, the regular Republicans of the Foreign Relations Committee had thirteen reservations to be acted upon as part of the reservation program, but three were passed over until a later time.

Of the ten reservations accepted five touched upon points already covered in the four original reservations adopted by the committee six weeks ago. These pertained to withdrawal; Article X., concerning the guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence of members of the League; the mandate over weak nations, which was formerly part of the reservation on Article X.; the Monroe Doctrine and domestic questions, such as the tariff and immigration.

The reservation on Article X. was almost identical in phrasing with that which President Wilson denounced in his Salt Lake City speech as being a dagger thrust at the heart of the treaty. This reservation alone, if adopted, Senator Hitchcock said, would be enough to

impel the Administration forces to reject the treaty. In effect, he said, it constituted an amendment. Nearly all the other reservations, he also said, fell into the same category.

The Shantung reservation was fought out for a considerable time in the committee. As originally drawn, it provided that the United States should decline to recognize the validity of any titles which Germany assumed to have on the Shantung Peninsula, which, under the treaty, were turned over to Japan. This was struck out when Senator Lodge became convinced that it might not muster the support of the majority of the Senate.

Nine of the ten reservations were adopted by a vote of 11 to 6. On the preamble the vote was 10 to 7, with Senator McCumber switching his vote. The vote on the resolution providing that the United States shall accept no mandate except by consent of Congress was 12 to 2, Senators Shields and Williams voting in favor of it and Senators Smith and Pittman voting against it. Senators Hitchcock and Swanson did not vote.

TEXT OF RESERVATIONS

The preamble and reservations adopted by the committee read:

PREAMBLE.—The committee also reports the following reservations and understandings to be made a part and a condition of the resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said following reservations and understandings have been accepted as a part and a condition of said instrument of ratification by at least three of the four principal allied and associated powers, to wit, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan:

Reservation No. 1.—The United States understands and construes Article I. that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

Reservation No. 2.—The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X., or to

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expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States.

Reservation No. 10.—If the United States shall at any time adopt any plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article VIII., it reserves the right to increase such armament without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

Reservation No. 12.—The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article XVI. of the covenant of the League of Nations, to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

The three reservations passed over by the committee were:

Reservation No. 7.—The Congress of the United States by law will provide for the appointment of the representatives of the United States in the assembly and the council of the League of Nations, and may in its discretion provide for the participation of the United States in any commission, committee, tribunal, court, council, or conference, or in the selection of any members thereof and for the ap-



SENATE DEBATE ON THE PEACE TREATY

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Oct. 23 adopted four more reservations to the treaty, making fourteen in all. Included in these four was Reservation No. 7, as it is printed herewith, except that commissions, if any, are to be chosen by "The Senate" instead of by "The Congress." No. 12, as it appears above, was also adopted. The following new Reservation No. 13, offered by Senator Shields, Democrat, of Tennessee, was adopted by a vote of 10 to 7, one Republican member, Senator McCumber, voting No:

The United States declines to accept any interest as trustee, or in her own right, or to accept any responsibility, for the government or disposition of the overseas possessions of Germany to which Germany renounces her right and titles to the principal allied and associated powers under Articles 119 to 127, inclusive.

In putting the original Reservation No. 2 into No. 4, which provides that the United States reserves the right to determine what questions are within its

domestic jurisdiction, the committee voted to add to the latter reservation the phrase: "And the suppression of the traffic in women and children, and in opium and other dangerous drugs."

Senator Shields also moved that the Chairman be instructed to draw a reservation covering the "national honor and vital interests" of the United States. This is the language of the Root treaties of 1908, and was suggested by Senator Reed of Missouri, a Democrat, but not a member of the committee. This motion was passed, 10 to 5, and the wording of the reservation was left to Senator Lodge, who offered the following on Oct. 24 as Reservation No. 14:

The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions affect its honor or its vital interests and declares that such questions are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

New Zealand's Premier on the Treaty

THE Prime Minister of New Zealand, William F. Massey, who had represented his dominion (with Sir Joseph Ward) at the Peace Conference in Paris, gave an account of his stewardship to a large audience at Wanganui, New Zealand, on Sept. 6, 1919. He said the Paris Conference was the most important the British dominions had ever taken part in, and they had been admitted on terms of equality with the empire and the allied nations.

When war broke out, Germany held two important strategical islands in the Pacific. New Zealand now held one—Samoa—and Australia the other—Rabaul.

Coming to the question of Nauru Island, Mr. Massey explained that it was

the most important phosphates-bearing island in the Pacific. It was in Germany's hands when war broke out, and a company of Germans and British were working the deposits. New Zealanders had had their eyes on the island for many years, and when it was seen that Germany was going to lose the island, some New Zealanders, of whom Mr. Massey was one, thought New Zealand should get it. Australian and New Zealand delegates did not agree as to who should have the mandate over the island, so it was eventually decided, on Mr. Massey's proposal, that Great Britain should take the mandate.

So far as the New Hebrides was concerned, Mr. Massey hoped the Condominium would be ended as soon as possible.



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with the Democrats; Senator Shields,
Democrat, of Tennessee, would have
voted aye, but was paired with Senator
Martin (Dem., Va.), who was ill.

On Nov. 8, after a stubborn fight by
the minority, the Senate, by a vote of 50
to 35, adopted the reservation offered by
the Foreign Relations Committee ma-
jority, under which the United States
claims the right to be the sole judge, in
the event of its withdrawal from the
League of Nations, as to whether its
obligations to the League have been ful-
filled.

Had all the Senators who were unable
to vote because of being paired or absent
cast their votes, the result would have
shown every one of the forty-nine Re-
publican Senators in favor of the reser-
vation, together with six Democrats,
making an aggregate of fifty-five Sena-
tors for the reservation and forty-one
against it.



DEFEAT OF RATIFICATION

offered by Senator Thomas, Democrat, of Colorado, was defeated by a vote of 48 to 36, four Democrats—Gore, Reed, Smith of Georgia, and Walsh—voting with the Republicans. The debate continued on Nov. 11 and 12. On the 13th the reservation precisely as recommended by the Foreign Relations Committee was adopted by a vote of 46 to 33. On this crucial ballot all the Republicans voted aye, together with four Democrats, Senators Gore, Reed, Smith of Georgia, and Walsh of Massachusetts. Senator Shields, Democrat, of Tennessee, was also paired in the affirmative.

INVOKING CLOSURE RULE

After the reservation had been adopted, Senator Lodge, the majority leader, offered a petition, signed by thirty Republican Senators, to invoke the closure rule, so as to limit further debate on the treaty. Under the rules the petition went over until Nov. 15, when it was to be voted on without debate. The Senate took a recess over Nov. 14 on account of the funeral of Senator Martin.

Senator Lodge's move for closure came after a similar attempt made by Senator Hitchcock, the minority leader, under which debate on the reservations alone would have been restricted. This effort of Mr. Hitchcock failed, when the Senate sustained a ruling by Senator Cummins, Republican, of Iowa, who was in the chair, that the closure, if invoked, must operate as to the entire treaty and not the reservations alone.

Among the reservations offered by Senator Hitchcock was one, touching upon Article X., to provide that the advice which the League of Nations Council might give to members of the League respecting the use of their military forces might be considered by the members as only advisory and that, for itself, the United States reserved the right, through Congress, to decide whether to accept the advice. The minority reservation on Article X. was offered by Senator Hitchcock as a substitute for the committee reservation before the latter was finally voted upon. It was defeated by a vote of 44 to 52.

Nov. 15 was a field day for voting.

The closure rule was first adopted by a vote of 78 to 16, whereby all further debate on any question regarding the treaty was limited to one hour for each Senator. The Foreign Relations Committee reservations were then offered in quick succession, and ten were adopted during the day by votes overaging 53 to 40, the Republicans voting solidly for each reservation; various Democrats voted with them, as many as thirteen breaking party lines in certain cases.

On Nov. 17 two reservations offered, respectively, by Senators Owen and Reed, both Democrats, were voted down. One of them rejected participation in the disposal of the German colonies, and the other excluded the League of Nations from action affecting the "honor and vital interests" of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE

Senator Hitchcock announced on the same day that President Wilson had informed him that he would "pocket" the treaty if the Lodge resolution of ratification, with the majority reservations as a part of it, were adopted. Various minor reservations offered by different Senators were quickly voted down at this session, the majority indicating that no further reservations would be adopted. During the session of Nov. 18, preceding the final vote on the ratifying clauses, a number of reservations were offered, but each in turn was defeated by a decisive majority.

On Nov. 19 the way was clear for final and decisive action on the treaty. The Democrats held a conference before the Senate assembled, at which the following letter from President Wilson to Senator Hitchcock was read:

My Dear Senator: You were good enough to bring me word that the Democratic Senators supporting the treaty expected to hold a conference between the final vote on the Lodge resolution of ratification and that they would be glad to receive a word of counsel from me.

I should hesitate to offer it in any detail, but I assume that the Senators only desire my judgment upon the all-important question of the final vote on the resolution containing the many reservations of Senator Lodge. On that I cannot hesitate, for, in my opinion, the resolution in that form does not provide

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own through parliamentary points of or-
der, Mr. Lodge allowed the Underwood
resolution to come to a vote.

Seven Democratic Senators voted
against it and one Republican Senator,
Mr. McCumber of North Dakota, voted
for it. The vote on the resolution ended
the efforts of the minority to save the
treaty.

The defeat of the treaty was witnessed
by crowded galleries which followed the
various manoeuvres with acute interest.
Crowds stood in the corridors leading to
the galleries, unable to get into the Sen-
ate Chamber.

In the votes on ratification, the full
voting strength of the Senate was re-
corded except that of Senator Fall, who
was at his home in New Mexico. He
would have voted to reject the treaty.

VOTE ON LODGE RESOLUTION

The vote on the Lodge resolution of
ratification came at 5:30 P. M., after the
Senate had debated the treaty for five
and a half hours. Senator McCumber
of North Dakota had just made a four-



DEFEAT OF RATIFICATION

Page,
Penrose,
Phipps,
Smoot,
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Sutherland,
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Watson.

Democrats—4.

Gore, Smith, Ga.,
Shields, Walsh, Mass.

AGAINST THE RESOLUTION—55.

Republicans—13.

Borah, La Follette,
Brandegge, McCormick,
Fernald, Moses,
France, Norris,
Gronna, Poindexter,
Johnson, Cal., Sherman,
Knox,

Democrats—42.

Ashurst, Overman,
Bankhead, Owen,
Beckham, Phelan,
Chamberlain, Pittman,
Culberson, Pomerene,
Dial, Ransdell,
Fletcher, Reed,
Gay, Robinson,
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Harris, Simmons,
Harrison, Smith, Ariz.,
Henderson, Smith, Md.,
Hitchcock, Smith, S. C.,
Johnson, S. D., Stanley,
Jones, N. M., Swanson,
Kendrick, Thomas,
King, Trammell,
Kirby, Underwood,
McKellar, Walsh, Mon.,
Myers, Williams,
Nugent, Wolcott.

A motion was immediately made by Senator Reed to reconsider the vote in order to bring the resolution of ratification again before the Senate; it prevailed by a vote of 62 to 30. Various parliamentary moves followed, but the Republican majority voted down all efforts to outmanoeuvre them in their position. The second vote on the Lodge resolution, which followed, resulted in defeat by 41 to 50.

Senator Pomerene, Democrat, of Ohio, who in the meantime had been in conference with the Administration leaders, moved that the treaty, along with the majority resolution of ratification, be referred to a "Committee of Conciliation," composed of six Senators to be appointed by the President of the Senate. Those on the committee, he proposed, should comprise the majority leader, Senator Lodge, who would be

Chairman of the committee; Senator Hitchcock, the minority leader, and four other Senators to be named by the Chair. Under Senator Pomerene's proposal the committee would "prepare and report to the Senate such a resolution of ratification and reservation as, in their judgment, will meet the approval of not less than two-thirds of the Senate. Senator La Follette, Republican, of Wisconsin, moved to lay the resolution on the table and his motion was carried, 48 to 42.

The motion for unconditional ratification offered by Senator Underwood was defeated by 38 to 53. Senator McCumber, Republican, voted aye; Senators Gore, Reed, Shields, Smith (Ga.), Thomas, Trammell, Walsh (Mass.), all Democrats, voted no with the Republicans.

THE RATIFYING RESOLUTION

The following is the official text of the ratifying resolution offered by Senator Lodge, which met defeat:

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said reservations and understandings adopted by the Senate have been accepted by an exchange of notes as a part and a condition of this resolution of ratification by at least three of the four principal allied and associated powers, to wit, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan:

1. The United States so understands and construes Article I. that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

2. The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X., or to employ the military or

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of such representatives have been defined by law, no person shall represent the United States under either said League of Nations or the treaty of peace with Germany or be authorized to perform any act for or on behalf of the United States thereunder, and no citizen of the United States shall be selected or appointed as a member of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences except with the approval of the Senate of the United States.

8. The United States understands that the Reparations Commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

9. The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the League of Nations or under the treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States.

10. If the United States shall at any time



DEFEAT OF RATIFICATION

governed and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

14. The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any election, decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate have cast more than one vote, and assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League if such member, or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

RESOLUTION TO DECLARE THE WAR ENDED

The following resolution offered by Senator Lodge just before the Senate adjourned was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Whereas by resolution of Congress adopted April 6, 1917, and by reason of acts committed by the then German Government, a state of war was declared to exist between that Government and the United States; and

Whereas the said acts of the German Government have long since ceased; and

Whereas by an armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918, hostilities between Germany and the allied and associated powers were terminated; and

Whereas by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles Germany is to be at peace with all the nations engaged in war against her whenever three Governments, designated therein, have ratified said treaty; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the said state of war between Germany and the United States is hereby declared to be at an end.

Following the adjournment of the Senate there was great activity among the friends of the treaty to bring about a compromise. President Wilson made no public utterance regarding the matter. In European countries general regret was expressed over the failure of the Senate to accept the treaty, but the feeling persisted that at the following session some compromise would be reached whereby the United States would ratify the treaty with reservations that would prove acceptable.

Late in January a series of bipartisan conferences was held by seven leading Senators—four Democrats and three Re-

publicans—representing the views of opposing groups respecting the treaty, and some progress was made on minor reservations; no agreement, however, could be reached on Article X., which guarantees the territorial integrity of all members of the League of Nations against foreign aggression. A compromise was reached on a modified preamble, whereby the reservations as adopted would not require specific acceptance by the powers, their silent acquiescence being deemed sufficient.

FAILURE OF CONFERENCES

It was announced on Jan. 30 that the bipartisan conferences had ended in failure. Senator Lodge then made the following announcement:

Speaking for myself alone, I have only this to say, that I was unable to agree to any change in reservations Nos. 2 and 5 dealing with Article X. and the Monroe Doctrine. In my opinion reservation No. 2, which provides that we shall assume no obligation of any kind under Article X. except the one mentioned in the treaty, that we should ourselves respect the boundaries of other nations, cannot possibly permit of change.

The change proposed in reservation No. 5 in regard to the Monroe Doctrine was an absolutely vital one because it was asserted as an official interpretation by the representatives of Great Britain that the Monroe Doctrine under the treaty was to be interpreted by the League. To this I for one could never assent; and in view of the statement made in Paris by the British delegation, to which I have referred, I regard the line which it was proposed to strike out as absolutely necessary.

The United States has always interpreted the Monroe Doctrine alone. It is our policy. No one else has ever attempted to interpret it, and it is something which in my judgment ought never to be permitted even by the most remote implication.

If we should strike out that phrase now after it has been accepted by the Senate it would lead to a direct inference that we left that question open. The right to interpret the Monroe Doctrine pertaining to the United States alone must never be open to question.

TREATY AGAIN CONSIDERED

Notice was given in the Senate Chamber on Jan. 31 that on Tuesday, Feb. 10, Senator Hitchcock would move to bring up the treaty in the Senate for consideration. This move on the part of the Democrats was countered by the Re-



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been unable personally to meet the Presi-
dent, on account of the latter's illness,
but it was known that he was in close
conference with Senators representing
all shades of opinion on the treaty ques-
tion, and was engaged in sounding the
best public sentiment in the country on
treaty issues. His letter was regarded
as a unique departure from diplomatic
procedure. Though in his letter Lord
Grey dissociated himself from his official
rôle, it was clear, and subsequently vir-
tually acknowledged, that his views had
previously been laid before the British
Cabinet, and that their publication had
had Governmental sanction as represent-
ing the guiding lines along which British
policy would be formulated when the
question came before it.

EFFECT AT WHITE HOUSE

While no specific statement regarding
the letter emanated from the White
House, the declarations of the secretary
to the President indicated that Mr. Wil-
son was not at all pleased by the action
of Viscount Grey, and there was a broad





THE SENATE AND THE PEACE TREATY

Nothing, it seems to me, is more desirable in international politics than a good understanding between the democracy of the United States, on the one hand, and the democracies of Great Britain and the self-governing dominions, and, I hope, we may add Ireland, on the other. Nothing would be more disastrous than a misunderstanding and estrangement.

There are some aspects of the position in the United States with regard to the League of Nations which are not wholly understood in Great Britain. In the hope that as a result of my recent stay in Washington I may be able to make that position better understood, I venture to offer the following observations. They represent only my own personal opinion and nothing more, and they are given simply as those of a private individual.

In Great Britain and the allied countries there is naturally impatience and disappointment at the delay of the United States in ratifying the Peace Treaty and the covenant of the League of Nations. It is perhaps not so generally recognized here [in England] that there is also great impatience and disappointment in the United States. Nowhere is the impasse caused by the deadlock between the President and the Senate more keenly regretted than in the United States, where there is a strong and even urgent desire in the public opinion to see a way out of that impasse found which will be both honorable to the United States and helpful to the world. It would be well to understand the real difficulties with which the people of the United States have been confronted. In the clear light of right understanding what seemed the disagreeable features of the situation will assume a more favorable and intelligent aspect.

"NO CHARGE OF BAD FAITH"

Let us first get rid of one possible misunderstanding. No charge of bad faith or repudiating signatures can be brought against the action of the United States Senate. By the American Constitution it is an independent body, an independent element in the treaty-making power. Its refusal to ratify the treaty cannot expose either itself or the country to a charge of bad faith or repudiation.

Nor is it fair to represent the United States as holding up the treaty solely from motives of party politics and thereby sacrificing the interests of the other nations for this petty consideration.

It is true that there are party politics and personal animosities in the United States. An American who saw much of England between 1880 and 1890 said that the present conditions of politics in the United States reminded him of what he had observed in London when Gladstone first advocated home rule for Ireland.

Nor is it true to say that the United States is moved solely by self-interest to the disregard of higher ideals. In the Party politics and personal animosities arising out of them operate in every democratic country. They are factors varying from time to time in degree, but always more or less active, and they operate upon every public question which is at all controversial. They are, however, not the sole or even the prime cause of the difficulty in the United States about the League of Nations.

United States, as in other countries, there are cross-currents and backwaters in the national life and motives. When the nation was roused by the war these cross-currents and backwaters were swept into the main stream of action and obliterated, as they were in other countries. With the reaction to peace and more normal conditions they are again apparent, as they are in other countries. But an American might fairly reply that, whereas the self-interest of other countries which have conquered in the war is now apparent in the desire to secure special territorial advantages, the self-interest of the United States takes the less aggressive form of desiring to keep itself free from undesirable entanglements, and that it does not lie with other countries to reproach the United States.

It would be well, therefore, for the reasons both of truth and expediency, to concentrate our attention on the real underlying causes of the Senate's insistence upon reservations in ratifying the covenant of the League of Nations.

FORCE OF AMERICAN TRADITION

1. There is in the United States a real conservative feeling for the traditional policy, and one of those traditions consecrated by the advice of Washington is to abstain from foreign and particularly from European entanglements. Even for nations which have been used to European alliances the League of Nations is felt to be something of a new departure.

This is still more true for the United States, which has hitherto held aloof from all outside alliances. For the League of Nations is not merely a plunge into the unknown, but a plunge into something of which historical advice and traditions have hitherto positively disapproved. It does not say that it will not make this new departure. It recognizes that world conditions have changed, but it desires time to consider, to feel its way and to act with caution. Hence this desire for some qualification and reservation.

2. The American Constitution not only makes possible, but under certain conditions renders inevitable, a conflict between Executive and Legislatures. It would be possible, as the covenant of the League of Nations stands, for a Presi-

to commit the American representative to the League without the Legislature's approval, which cannot be done without the Government's approval. The representative of the League of Nations is a conflict between the Government and the League of Nations. The Government must decide itself by im-

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It would be a mistake to suppose that the American people are prepared or wish to withdraw their influence in world affairs. Americans differ among themselves as to whether they could or ought to have entered the war sooner than they did. It is neither necessary nor profitable for foreigners to discuss this point now. What is common to all Americans and to all foreigners who know the facts is the unselfish, wholehearted spirit in which the American Nation acted when it came into the war. The immediate adoption of compulsory military service and, even more, the rationing of food and fuel in those millions and millions of households over such a vast area, not by compulsion

THE SENATE AND THE PEACE TREATY

had the longest experience of political affairs and especially of treaties know best how often it happens that difficulties which seem most formidable in anticipation and on paper never arise in practice. I think this is likely to be particularly true in the working of the League of Nations. The difficulties and dangers which the Americans foresee in it will probably never arise or be felt by them when they are once in the League. And in the same way the weakening and injury to the League which some of its best friends apprehend from the American reservations would not be felt in practice.

If the outcome of the long controversy in the Senate has been to offer co-operation in the League of Nations it would be the greatest mistake to refuse that co-operation because conditions are attached to it, and when that co-operation is accepted let it not be accepted in a spirit of pessimism.

The most vital considerations are that representatives should be appointed to the Council of the League of Nations by all the nations that are members of the Council, that these representatives should be men who are inspired by the ideals for which we entered the war, and that these representatives should be instructed and supported in that same spirit of equity and freedom by the Governments and public opinion of the countries who are now partners in peace. If that be the spirit in which the Council of the League of Nations deals with the business that comes before it there need be no fear that the representative of the United States on that Council will not take part in realizing the hopes with which the League has been founded.

DOMINIONS' RIGHT TO VOTES

There is one particular reservation which must give rise to some difficulty in Great Britain and self-governing dominions. It is that which has reference to the six British votes in the Assembly of the League of Nations. The self-governing dominions are full members of the League. They will admit, and Great Britain can admit, no qualification whatever of that right. Whatever the self-governing dominions may be in the theory and the letter of the Constitution, they have in effect ceased to be colonies in the old sense of the word. They are free communities, independent as regards all their own affairs, and partners in those which concern the empire at large.

It is a special status, and there can be no derogation from it. To any provision which makes it clear that none of the British votes can be used in a dispute likely to lead to rupture in which any part of the British Empire is involved, no

exception can be taken. That is only a reasonable interpretation of the covenant as it now stands. If any part of the British Empire is involved in a dispute with the United States, the United States will be unable to vote and all parts of the British Empire, precisely because they are partners, will be parties to that dispute and equally unable to vote. But as regards this right to vote where they are not parties to the dispute there can be no qualification, and there is very general admission that the votes of the self-governing dominions would in most cases be found on the same side as that of the United States.

It must not be supposed that in the United States there is any tendency to grudge the fact that Canada and the other self-governing dominions of the British Empire have votes, but any person with the smallest understanding of public audiences must realize the feeling created by the statement that the United States with several million more English-speaking citizens than there are in the whole of the British Empire has only one to six votes. I am not concerned to discuss here how this problem of equality of voting may be adjusted in practice. It will not be important. In sentiment and political feeling it is a very powerful factor. We can neither give way about the votes for the self-governing dominions nor can we ignore the real political difficulty in the United States.

It may be sufficient to observe that the reservation of the United States, as far as known at the time of writing, does not in any way challenge the right of the self-governing dominions to exercise their votes, nor does it state that the United States will necessarily reject the decision to which these votes have been cast. It is therefore possible, I think it is even more than probable, that in practice no dispute will ever arise. Our object is to maintain the status of the self-governing dominions, not to secure a greater British than American vote, and we have no objection in principle to increase of the America vote.

Your obedient servant,
GREY OF FALLODON.

The letter was indorsed by the British and French press with practical unanimity. It was regarded as greatly strengthening the position of the Senators who were supporting strong reservations.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ATTITUDE

President Wilson had expressed himself to Senator Hitchcock regarding reservations in a letter written Jan. 26, five days before the Grey letter was published. In this communication the Presi-

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missible and advisable that any resolu-
tion giving notice of withdrawal should
be a joint rather than a concurrent reso-
lution.

I doubt whether the President can be
deprived of his veto power under the Con-
stitution, even with his own consent. The
use of a joint resolution would permit
the President, who is, of course, charged
by the Constitution with the conduct of
foreign policy, to merely exercise a voice
in saying whether so important a step
as withdrawal from the League of Na-
tions should be accomplished by a ma-
jority or by a two-thirds vote.

The Constitution itself providing that
the legislative body was to be consulted
in treaty-making and having prescribed
a two-thirds vote in such cases, it seems
to me that there should be no unneces-
sary departure from the method there
indicated.

I see no objection to a frank statement
that the United States can accept a man-
date with regard to any territory under
Article XIII., Part 1, or any other pro-
vision of the treaty of peace, only by the
direct authority and action of the Con-
gress of the United States.

The chief issue over the ratification
of the treaty when its consideration was

Senate's Rejection of the Treaty

By a Vote of 57 to 37 the United States Senate Again Refuses to Ratify the Peace of Versailles

THE United States Senate rejected the Peace Treaty with Germany on March 19, 1920. The vote on ratification lacked the necessary two-thirds majority by seven, the final vote, counting the pairs, being 57 for ratification, 37 against ratification. Politically the vote was divided as follows: For ratification, counting pairs, 34 Republicans, 23 Democrats; against, 15 Republicans, 24 Democrats. The vote took place late in the day. Immediately after the rejection a resolution was adopted, by a vote of 47 to 37, as follows:

That the Secretary of the Senate be instructed to return to the President the treaty of peace with Germany signed at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, and respectfully inform the President that the Senate has refused to advise and consent to its ratification, being unable to obtain the constitutional majority required therefor.

The effect of this action was to remove the treaty from the Senate and place the responsibility for any further initiative regarding peace with Germany upon the President.

The treaty had been laid before the Senate July 10, 1919, by the President. On Sept. 10 the Foreign Relations Committee had reported it to the Senate with certain reservations, which finally numbered fifteen. Meanwhile, President Wilson, in open conflict with the attitude of the Senate majority, began a speaking tour over the country in advocacy of the treaty without any reservations which would modify its meaning. This tour was discontinued Sept. 28 on account of the sudden illness of the President.

The Senate, on Nov. 19, voted on the treaty with the Fourteen Reservations that had been adopted, and it failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

In January the contending factions resumed their conferences, with a view to placing the treaty again before the Senate. On Feb. 9 the Senate reconsidered the vote by which ratification had been defeated, thus again bringing the question before that body, and the treaty was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. The President again let it be known that he was strongly opposed to any reservations which would alter the provisions of the treaty, and expressed a willingness to have the whole question passed upon by the people in the Presidential election in November.

On Feb. 10 the treaty was reported back to the Senate with the same reservations which had failed of ratification in November. The Senate resumed the debate on Feb. 16, and it proceeded almost daily from that date until the final action on March 19.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S LETTER

On March 8 the President again addressed Senator Hitchcock, who was leading the fight for the treaty, in a letter in which he reaffirmed his strong opposition to any changes in Article X. of the treaty, by which the signatories agreed to guarantee the territory of each other against external aggression. In this letter the President wrote:

Any reservation which seeks to deprive the League of Nations of the force of Article X. cuts at the very heart and life of the covenant itself. Any League of Nations which does not guarantee as a matter of incontestable right the political independence and integrity of each of its

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Adriatic were strategic arguments; that
is to say, military arguments, which had
at their back the thought of naval su-
premacy in that sea. For my own part,
I am as intolerant of imperialistic de-
signs on the part of other nations as I
was of such designs on the part of Ger-
many.

The choice is between two ideals; on
the one hand, the ideal of democracy,
which represents the right of free peoples
everywhere to govern themselves, and on
the other hand the ideal of imperialism
which seeks to dominate by force and un-
just power, an ideal which is by no means
dead and which is earnestly held in many
quarters still.

Every imperialistic influence in Europe
was hostile to the embodiment of Article
X. in the covenant of the League of Na-
tions, and its defeat now would mark the
complete consummation of their efforts to
nullify the treaty. I hold the doctrine of
Article X. as the essence of American-
ism. We cannot repudiate it or weaken
it without at the same time repudiating
our own principles.

The imperialist wants no League of Na-
tions, but if, in response to the universal
cry of the masses everywhere, there is to
be one, he is interested to secure one
suited to his own purposes, one that will
permit him to continue the historic

Peace Without a Treaty

Repeal of the Knox Resolution Aiming to End State of War With Germany

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 20, 1920]

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THE KNOX RESOLUTION

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Hungarian Government.*

RESOLVED, by the Senate and Ho
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1917, declaring a state of war to ex
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MAKING PEACE WITHOUT A TREATY

profession, trade, navigation, commerce and industrial property rights, and confirming to the United States all fines, forfeitures, penalties and seizures imposed or made by the United States during the war, whether in respect to the property of the German Government or German nationals, and waiving any pecuniary claim based on events which occurred at any time before the coming into force of such treaty, any existing treaty between the United States and Germany to the contrary notwithstanding.

To these ends, and for the purpose of establishing fully friendly relations and commercial intercourse between the United States and Germany, the President is hereby requested immediately to open negotiations with the Government of Germany.

Section 2—That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress, joint resolutions or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, the date when this resolution becomes effective, shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present war or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

Section 3—That until by treaty or act or joint resolution of Congress it shall be determined otherwise, the United States, although it has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles, does not waive any of the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages to which it and its nationals have become entitled under the terms of the armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof or which under the Treaty of Versailles have been stipulated for its benefit as one of the principal allied and associated powers and to which it is entitled.

Section 4—That the joint resolution of Congress, approved Dec. 7, 1917, declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government and the Government and people of the United States and making provisions to prosecute the same, be and the same is hereby repealed and said state of war is hereby declared at an end, and the President is hereby requested immediately to open negotiations with the successor or successors of said Government for the purpose of establishing fully friendly relations and commercial intercourse between the United States and the Governments and peoples of Austria and Hungary.

SENATOR KNOX'S ADDRESS

Senator Knox addressed the Senate on May 5 in support of the resolution.

After referring to the necessity of a state of peace in order to compose the revolutionary turmoil with which the world was seething he charged that President Wilson had maintained an "alleged state of war in order to coerce the Senate into accepting the Versailles Treaty, now "almost universally discredited in all of its parts," when as a matter of fact the declared enemy of the United States, the Imperial German Government, had disappeared. By this course, he said, the President had created a situation so "fraught with the possi-



PHILANDER C. KNOX
Senator from Pennsylvania and Author of
peace resolution
(© Harris & Ewing)

bility of disaster that one cannot reconcile it with the operations of sane statesmanship."

Senator Knox recalled that wars may be terminated in one of three ways. These are, first, abstention by both parties from further acts of war; second, a special treaty of peace; third, one of the belligerents may completely subjugate his adversary. The speaker cited the commonly named instances of the ending of war by the cessation of hostilities, including the war between Sweden and Poland, terminating in 1716;

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UGHT PEACE

SAYS TREATY AUTOMATICALLY ENDED WAR

The treaty itself, negotiated and signed by the President, Mr. Knox pointed out, specifically provided for the act which would terminate the war. The first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratification was to be drawn up as soon as the treaty had been ratified by Germany and by three of the principal allied and associated powers. It was the intention to terminate the war at that time.

Thus [the Senator went on] by the terms of the treaty itself, which treaty is now with our consent and by virtue of our stipulation come, in that respect, into full force and effect, the war has terminated; and in this connection I venture to observe that if, as the minority report to the House resolution contends, the making of peace is an Executive function, then the Executive has already acted. If it is not an Executive function, then Congress may, as to appropriate matters, act in a manner to bring peace.

It has resulted furthermore from the deposit of ratifications as above outlined that Germany and the other powers concerned are observing and carrying out the terms of the treaty in full detail. So far as I can



MAKING PEACE WITHOUT A TREATY

responsibility, continues to declare we are at war. But as a practical matter the only war which he wages is against American citizens and American industry. With Germany he wages no war. Not a single shot has been fired for more than eighteen months. He co-operates in the measures of those who are at peace with Germany and who are conducting relations under a treaty of peace. The situation is so anomalous and so iniquitous, is so fraught with injustice and with possibility of disaster, that one cannot reconcile it with the operations of a sane statesmanship.

SCOPE OF WAR POWER

Senator Knox next turned to the domestic condition in respect to war. The framers of the Constitution, he said, regarded the term war as having the meaning of violent struggle through the application of armed force—actual hostilities. He quoted from early decisions of the Supreme Court to show that it held the same view. The essence of war, as defined by all the authorities, he said, is armed conflict, and war *de facto* ceases when the armed contention stops.

He quoted the observations of Hamilton and Madison regarding the character, extent and purpose of the war powers, and continued:

Now, as war power is bestowed in order that war may be successfully carried on, it necessarily follows, and this is vital, that such powers exist only in time of war—that is, actual hostilities. Moreover, the extent to which the people are to be deprived of their liberties is dependent entirely on the nature and extent of the war exigency. The exclusive right to determine how great the need, to what extent these liberties shall be restrained and which of them shall be touched, is in the Congress.

The speaker contended that the ending of hostilities likewise caused the statutes conferring war powers to cease to be operative.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENTS

Summing up, he gave these four reasons why the war is ended:

1. The war is at an end by virtue of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, and of the amendments and renewals thereof, such armistice being in fact a capitulation ending hostilities by the virtual surrender of the enemy.

2. The war is at an end by the silent cessation of hostilities, which concluded the war in fact.

3. The war is at an end because the Gov-

ernment against which we specifically declared war has ceased to exist and the President avowed we had no quarrel with the people behind it. Since our declared enemy is non-existent we have no one with whom to fight, hence no war.

4. The war is at an end because we, together with our associates in the hostilities, negotiated with the people whom we had been fighting, now living under a new form of government, a treaty of peace which provided in terms that the war should terminate and diplomatic relations be resumed when the treaty came into force; and because the treaty, pursuant to its provisions, did come into force in January last when it was ratified by Germany on the one hand and three of the allied and associated powers on the other hand. By virtue of the treaty and these provisions of it, the whole world, including the United States, is at peace in fact and in law.

Thus, so far as our international relations are concerned, we are legally and in fact at peace.

In so far as the domestic situation is concerned, Senator Knox said he had shown that:

1. War is a state or condition of Governments contending by force, a violent struggle through the application of armed force—in other words, war is actual hostilities.

2. That it was so understood by our constitutional fathers, by the great Chief Justice and by our War Department.

3. That the power to declare war was exclusively in Congress, which created the status of war by a law which, like any other law, could be amended, modified or repealed.

4. That the purpose of the war powers of the Constitution was to give to the National Government the legal power and practical ability to conduct a successful war—that is, actual hostilities.

5. That, war powers being given to enable the Government successfully to wage actual hostilities, the powers could not be exercised before a war was legally declared or *de facto* existing, nor after actual hostilities had ceased, and that the very fact of ending hostilities ended the war powers without any action whatever by Congress.

6. That the powers of the President come from two sources—that of the Chief Executive and that of the Commander in Chief; that these two capacities were separate and distinct, wholly independent one from the other; that the powers of neither capacity could be invoked to augment the other; that he possessed no extraordinary powers as Chief Executive, save only and to the extent such powers were conferred by statute, which, to authorize action by him, must be duly and legally in operation.

TY NEEDED

tainained that we both international- without any fur- the executive or the Government. follows:

s juggling with ob- ly recognized prin- The answer is easy purpose has been to rove the Treaty of s almost universally s. The majority of thls. Its economic League of Nations n of the worst fea- d foolish Holy Al- It promises little st on such radical erate its identity.

rs should have con- making peace, and onditions permitted ll peoples, initiated ce to formulate for of the world, with m, an arrangement ion of international t a court of inter- outburst of war

the war at an end. That was abandoned for the Knox resolution of Dec. 12, which declared that peace existed, and which was given up in favor of a different Knox resolution which "neither declared the war at an end nor proclaimed the advent of peace." That, in turn, was set aside, Mr. Hitchcock said, for the Porter resolution, which the House passed, and which has now been superseded by the fifth attempt in the form of the present Knox resolution. He continued:

Altogether, the five desperate attempts to defy the Constitution and substitute a resolution for a treaty make a fine display of legislative experimentation. Resolved that the war has ended; resolved that peace exists; resolved that we force Germany to grant us what we might get if we signed the treaty; resolved that the President be requested to negotiate a separate peace; resolved that we will not give up German property; resolved that we will not waive any rights under the treaty—one and all of them foolish and futile attempts to invade the constitutional way of securing peace by ratifying the treaty negotiated in a constitutional way. All of them hopeless. All of them doomed to defeat. All of them attempted simply as a desperate means of



MAKING PEACE WITHOUT A TREATY

can do in the service of humanity; that it should therefore indorse and support the Versailles Treaty and condemn the Lodge reservations as utterly inconsistent with the nation's honor and destructive of the world leadership which it had established, and which all the free peoples of the world, including the great powers themselves, had shown themselves ready to welcome.

It is time that the party should proudly avow that it means to try, without flinching or turning at any time away from the path for reasons of expediency, to apply moral and Christian principles to the problems of the world. It is trying to accomplish social, political and international reforms, and is not daunted by any of the difficulties it has to contend with. Let us prove to our late associates in the war that at any rate the great majority party of the nation, the party which expresses the true hopes and purposes of the people of the country, intends to keep faith with them in peace as well as in war. They gave their treasure, their best blood and everything that they valued in order not merely to beat Germany but to effect a settlement and bring about arrangements of peace which they have now tried to formulate in the Treaty of Versailles. They are entitled to our support in this settlement and in the arrangements for which they have striven.

The League of Nations is the hope of the world. As a basis for the armistice I was authorized by all the great fighting nations to say to the enemy that it was our object in proposing peace to establish a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike, and the covenant of the League of Nations is the deliberate embodiment of that purpose in the treaty of peace.

The chief motives which led us to enter the war will be defeated unless that covenant is ratified and acted upon with vigor. We cannot in honor whittle it down or weaken it as the Republican leaders of the Senate have proposed to do. If we are to exercise the kind of leadership to which the founders of the Republic looked forward and which they depended upon their successors to establish, we must do this thing with courage and unalterable determination. They expected the United States to be always the leader in the defense of liberty and ordered peace throughout the world, and we are unworthy to call ourselves their successors unless we fulfill the great purpose which they entertained and proclaimed.

The true Americanism, the only true Americanism, is that which puts America at the front of free nations and redeems the great promises which we made the world when we entered the war, which was fought not for the advantage of any single nation or group of nations, but for the salvation of

all. It is in this way we shall redeem the sacred blood that was shed and make America the force she should be in the counsels of mankind. She cannot afford to sink into the place that nations have usually occupied and become merely one of those who scramble and look about for selfish advantage. The Democratic Party has now a great opportunity, to which it must measure up. The honor of the nation is in its hands.

WOODROW WILSON.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR McCUMBER

Senator McCumber, Republican, of North Dakota, in a Senate speech on May 11 declared that, while he was opposed to the Knox resolution, he felt that President Wilson had made a colossal blunder by injecting the treaty and the League of Nations into a political campaign. He said:

The thought of the people of this country is engrossed with the perplexities that surround us. We are this moment surrounded by a thousand imminent dangers demanding our immediate attention and solution. We stand almost helpless while debts, State, national, municipal and industrial, are piling mountain high. We behold the hours of idleness of our people ever increasing, production dangerously decreasing, currency becoming more and more inflated, the yoke of taxation ever growing greater and more galling, the prices of all necessities of life ever advancing.

We are now living in the midst of strikes and threats of strikes. We are living in imminent danger of having our industries paralyzed and the distribution of commodities on which our very lives depend stopped at any moment by lawless hands.

The very atmosphere is poisoned by the infectious breath of socialism, while anarchy, fevered by hate and envy, waits only the opportunity to work a reign of hell such as today is consuming agonized Russia.

Search as you will for excuses, the American people know where to lay the blame for this dire condition. The war is not the cause of this threatening situation. The American people are the victims of the new system of purchasing political support by enacting purely class legislation.

They are the victims of a policy of surrendering the interests of the unorganized and ineffective many to serve the demands of the organized and effective few. They are the victims of a policy of utilizing the Federal Treasury to meet the demands of organized classes, no matter how exorbitant or inequitable such demands.

The whole policy of the present Administration has been one of surrender to these demands. That course has been followed

NEW YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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We are asked to defend before the Ameri-
can people [he said] the proposal that
when this nation is engaged in war, and de-
fending itself against an invader, we cannot
raise a single soldier nor call into being a
single ship without the consent, the unani-
mous consent, of a council composed exclu-
sively of foreigners, sitting on the top of a
mountain in Switzerland, in the new capital
of the world. We are asked to sanction giv-
ing up what no nation or no man ever should
give up—the right of self-defense.

THE FINAL DEBATE

The resolution was amended on May
13 on motion of Senator Lodge, and was
agreed to without debate by eliminating
the request to the President that he ne-
gotiate a separate treaty with Germany.

The Senate voted on the Knox reso-
lution May 15, and passed it by a vote
of 43 to 38; three Democrats, Senators
Reed, Shields and Walsh of Massachu-
setts, voted aye; one Republican, Sen-
ator Nelson, voted no, and one Repub-
lican, Senator McCumber, was paired in
the negative; two Democratic Senators,
Gore and Smith of Georgia, and New-
berry (Rep.) of Michigan were not
paired and did not vote.



Veto of the Knox Peace Resolution

President's Message Rejecting the Congressional Plan of Peace With Germany—Attempt to Repeal War Laws

THE House of Representatives on May 21, by a vote of 228 to 139, adopted the Knox resolution declaring the war with Germany at an end—the text of which was printed in the June issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. Nineteen Democrats supported the resolution, and all the Republicans except two. President Wilson vetoed the measure six days later, with the following message:

To the House of Representatives:

I return herewith, without my signature, House Joint Resolution 327, intended to repeal the Joint Resolution of April 6, 1917, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Germany, and the Joint Resolution of Dec. 7, 1917,

declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and the Austro-Hungarian Government, and to declare a state of peace. I have not felt at liberty to sign this resolution because I cannot bring myself to become party to an action which would place ineffaceable stain upon the gallantry and honor of the United States.

The resolution seems to establish peace with the German Empire without exacting from the German Government any action by way of setting right the infinite wrongs which it did to the peoples whom it attacked and whom we professed it our purpose to assist when we entered the war. Have we sacrificed the lives of more than 100,000 Americans and ruined the lives of thousands of others and brought upon thousands of American families an unhap-

[AMERICAN CARTOON]



—New York Times

THE PORTRAIT PAINTER

PEACE: "Is that the best you could do after all these months?"



—Dayton Daily News

"THE MOUNTAIN LABORED AND BROUGHT FORTH A MOUSE"

to join in the effort to secure them?

We entered the war most reluctantly. Our people were profoundly disinclined to take part in a European war, and at last did so only because they became convinced that it could not in truth be regarded as only a European war, but must

by the Senate. It has been ratified, rejection and by effect declared apart and pursue

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DEFEAT OF PEACE TREATY IN U. S. SENATE

the future such outrages as Germany attempted and in part consummated.

We have now, in effect, declared that we do not care to take any further risks or to assume any further responsibilities with regard to the freedom of nations or the sacredness of international obligations or the safety of independent peoples. Such a peace with Germany—a peace in which none of the essential interests which we had at heart when we entered the war is safeguarded—is, or ought to be, inconceivable, as inconsistent with the dignity of the United States, with the rights and liberties of her citizens, and with the very fundamental conditions of civilization.

I hope that in these statements I have sufficiently set forth the reasons why I have felt it incumbent upon me to withhold my signature.

WOODROW WILSON.

The White House, May 27, 1920.

The day following a motion to override the veto was lost by a vote of 219 yeas to 152 nays, 29 less than the necessary two-thirds; 17 Democrats voted yea, 2 Republicans nay.

This action definitely ended all chances of final action on the Peace Treaty and League of Nations at that session of Congress, as it adjourned sine die on June 5; moreover it had the effect of making the question squarely a dominant political issue in the Presidential campaign.

RESOLUTION INTENDED TO REPEAL WAR LAWS

In consequence of the deadlock between the President and Congress with respect to a Peace Treaty with Germany, the House of Representatives on June 3, by a vote of 343 to 3, passed a

resolution repealing all the war laws excepting the Lever Food and Fuel Control act and the Trading with the Enemy act. The resolution was as follows:

That in the interpretation of any provision relating to the date of the termination of the present war or of the present or existing emergency in any acts of Congress, joint resolutions or proclamations of the President containing provisions contingent upon the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, or of the existence of a state of war, the date when this resolution becomes effective shall be construed and treated as the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency, notwithstanding any provision in any act of Congress or joint resolution providing any other mode of determining the date of the termination of the war or of the present or existing emergency.

Excepting, however, from the operation and effect of this resolution the following acts and proclamations, to wit, the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel," approved Aug. 10, 1917, the amendment thereto entitled "The Food Control and District of Columbia Rents act," approved Oct. 22, 1919, and the act known as the "Trading with the Enemy act," approved Oct. 6, 1917; also the proclamation issued under the authority conferred by the acts herein excepted from the effect and operation of this resolution.

The Senate on June 4 passed the resolution by viva voce vote, and it was sent to the President, but he failed to attach his signature and the resolution in consequence became inoperative.



OF ARMENIA. COVENANT 1920. WHEN PRESIDENT Wilson sent a special message to Congress on May 24 urging that it grant to the Executive power to accept for the United States a mandate over Armenia.

The President's message follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress:

On the 14th of May an official communication was received at the executive office from the Secretary of the Senate of the United States conveying the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, The testimony adduced at the hearings conducted by the sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has clearly established the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered; and

"Whereas, The people of the United States are deeply impressed by the deplorable conditions of insecurity, starvation and misery now prevalent in Armenia; and

"Whereas, The independence of the Republic of Armenia has been duly recognized by the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference and by the Government of the United States of America; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the sincere congratulations of the Senate of the United States are hereby extended to the people of Armenia on the recognition of the independence of the Republic of Armenia, without prejudice respecting the territorial boundaries involved; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Senate of the United States hereby expresses the hope that a stable Government, proper protection of individual liberties and rights, and the full realization of nationalistic aspirations may soon be attained by the Armenian people; and be it further

"Resolved, That in order to afford necessary protection for the lives and property of

victims and see and intimidating it seemed to them t

I cannot but re and not as a r that almost at th information that men now sitting purpose of work peace with the C was not feasible ference at Paris, to address a defi ernment to acce menia.

They were at did this "not fo evade any obliga be expected to the responsibility ready obliged to the disposition c Empire will strain uttermost, and b the appearance o emancipated from the Old World w fidence and affor stability in the selection of any

Early in the was agreed that t ritories which, a late war, have o sovereignty of th governed them, a by peoples not ye selves under the the modern world the principle that velopment of suc trust of civilizati for the performa



NO AMERICAN MANDATE FOR ARMENIA

statesmen conferring at San Remo have formally requested this Government to assume the duties of mandatariness in Armenia.

I may add, for the information of the Congress, that at the same sitting it was resolved to request the President of the United States to undertake to arbitrate the difficult question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and it was agreed to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulation he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent State of Armenia.

In pursuance of this action it was resolved to embody in the treaty with Turkey, now under final consideration, a provision that "Turkey and Armenia and the other high contracting parties agree to refer to the arbitration of the President of the United States of America the question of the boundary between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis, and to accept his decision thereupon, as well as any stipulations he may prescribe as to access to the sea for the independent State of Armenia"; pending that decision, the boundaries of Turkey and Armenia to remain as at present.

I have thought it my duty to accept this difficult and delicate task.

In response to the invitation of the Council at San Remo, I urgently advise and request that the Congress grant the executive power to accept for the United States a mandate over Armenia. I make this suggestion in the earnest belief that it will be the wish of the people of the United States that this should be done.

The sympathy with Armenia has proceeded from no single portion of our people, but has come with extraordinary spontaneity and sincerity from the whole of the great body of Christian men and women in this country, by whose free-will offerings Armenia has practically been saved at the most critical juncture of its existence. At their hearts, this great and generous people have made the cause of Armenia their own.

It is to this people and to their Government that the hopes and earnest expectations of the struggling people of Armenia turn as they now emerge from a period of indescribable suffering and peril, and I hope that the Congress will think it wise to meet this hope and expectation with the utmost liberality. I know from unmistakable evidence, given by responsible representatives of many peoples struggling toward independence and peaceful life again, that the Government of the United States is looked to with extraordinary trust and confidence, and I believe that it would do nothing less than arrest the hopeful processes of civilization if we were to refuse the request to become the

helpful friends and advisers of such of these people as we may be authoritatively and formally requested to guide and assist.

I am conscious that I am urging upon the Congress a very critical choice, but I make the suggestion in the confidence that I am speaking in the spirit and in accordance with the wishes of the greatest of the Christian peoples. The sympathy for Armenia among our people has sprung from untainted consciences, pure Christian faith and an earnest desire to see Christian people everywhere succored in their time of suffering and lifted from their abject subjection and distress and enabled to stand upon their feet and take their place among the free nations of the world. Our recognition of the independence of Armenia will mean genuine liberty and assured happiness for her people, if we fearlessly undertake the duties of guidance and assistance involved in the functions of a mandatariness.

It is therefore with the most earnest hopefulness and with the feeling that I am giving advice from which the Congress will not willingly turn away that I urge the acceptance of the invitation now formally and solemnly extended to us by the Council at San Remo, into whose hands has passed the difficult task of composing the many complexities and difficulties of government in the one-time Ottoman Empire, and the maintenance of order and tolerable conditions of life in those portions of that empire which it is no longer possible in the interest of civilization to leave under the government of the Turkish authorities themselves.

PROTEST OF ARMENIANS

The American Committee for Armenian Independence, following the publication of the message, issued a statement as follows:

President Wilson, in his message to Congress recommending the advisability of America assuming a mandate for Armenia, states that he will arbitrate the question of the boundaries between Turkey and Armenia in the vilayets of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van and Bitlis. This means that Armenia is to be despoiled of her most fertile provinces of Harport, Diarbekr, Sivas and Cilicia.

Characterizing Cilicia as the Armenian California, able alone to sustain 15,000,000 people, the statement asserted that it explained why "a certain power is ready to sell its soul to the devil and the Turk in order to get possession of the richest province, not only of Armenia, but of the entire world." The statement continued:

Diabek and the other southwestern provinces.

It is these richest provinces—really the heart and backbone of Armenia—that the Allies are hypocritically representing as poor and barren lands.

If the full rights of Armenia are not recognized an American mandate will simply mean that American soldiers will join the French and their protégés, the Turks, the British and their protégés, the Kurds, to prevent Armenians from coming into their own heritage.

Let it be known also that the Armenians can defend themselves if the Turkish soldiery is compelled to evacuate Armenia. The recent massacres in Cilicia would not have occurred had not the Armenians been disarmed by the French. The most salient proof of the Armenian national valor is that General Antranik at the head of his Armenian revolutionary bands fought against the Turks and the Turkish Government for thirty years and was never vanquished; it was the British who prevailed upon him to cease fighting after the armistice.

Whatever money America advances for the rehabilitation of an Armenia that includes all her territories can and will be repaid by the Armenians. The required expenditure for such assistance will not amount to more than the loss which America will otherwise sustain on account of future wars that will certainly happen if Armenia is left a prey to Turkish persecution and allied rapacity.

SENATE REJECTS THE MANDATE

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 27, by a vote of 11 to 4, voted to reject the President's recom-

the resolution was vote. Several twenty-three who were opposed in 1 but voted against they objected to

Senator Lodge resolution, stated

I do not desire the world the im sympathize with They are a gall deserve aid, but to give them al United States.

The motion to that the President to accept the 1 Senator Brandegeticut, who said h for it, but offer Democrats on re proposition of a who voted for Senators Ashurs Kellar, Phelan Sheppard, Simm Smith of South Democratic Le among those vot

By a vote of jected a substitut King, Democrat ernational nego "proper protecti great powers.



NO AMERICAN MANDATE FOR ARMENIA

dent's request. A minority report was submitted, signed by Representatives Flood of Virginia, Linthicum of Maryland and Stedman of North Carolina, urging that no action be taken until the Peace Treaty had been disposed of. The report defended the request for the mandate. Attention was called to the fact that the mandate would apply to a territory of 56,000 square miles instead of 343,000 square miles, which was the original designated Armenian territory as reported upon by General Harbord, much of the opposition growing out of this report. It was published in full in the May issue of this magazine. The General estimated the cost to our Government for the mandate for three years at \$756,014,000, which would include an American army of 59,000. The minority report in discussing the mandate for the restricted Armenia (20,000

square miles in Transcaucasia and 36,000 square miles in the four vilayets of Van, Erzerum, Bitlis and Trebizond) explained that the estimated population was 3,000,000 and the military help to be extended would not be formidable, and the presence of the American flag there would have a restraining effect on hostile neighbors. The report called attention to the fact that there is an Armenian army capable of defending the territory, that the adjacent territory would be demilitarized, that the maximum Turkish army under the treaty would be 50,000, and that as the United States would control the Armenian finances it would be in a position to reimburse itself for any sums spent by it under the mandate.

The House took no further action, the vote in the Senate having determined the matter so far as this session of Congress was concerned.

ARMENIA

(From Talbot Mundy's "The Eye of Zettoun")

First of the Christian nations; the first of us all to feel
The fire of infidel hatred, the weight of the pagan heel;
Faithful lest down the ages tending the light that burned,
Tortured and trodden therefore, spat on and slain and spurned;
Branded for others' vices, robbed of your rightful fame,
Clinging to Truth in a truthless land in the name of the ancient Name;
Generous, courteous, gentle, patient under the yoke,
Decent (hennamed in a harem land ye were ever a one-wife folk);
Royal and brave and ancient—haply an hour has struck
When the new fad-fangled peoples shall weary of raking muck,
And turning from coward counsels and loathing the parish lies,
In shame and sackcloth offer up the only sacrifice.
Then thou who hast been neglected, who hast called o'er a world in vain
To the deaf deceitful traders' ears in tune to the voice of gain,
Thou Cinderella nation, starved that our faults might live,
When we come with a hand outstretched at last—accept it, and forgive!



GAZETTEER OF THE WORLD WAR

AACHEN, the German name of Aix-la-Chapelle (q. v.).

ABBEVILLE, a prosperous manufacturing town in the French Department of the Somme, 12 miles from its mouth and 49 miles south of Boulogne. Pop. 20,000.

ABRUZZO, or Abruzzi, a district of Central Italy, the northeast corner of the former Kingdom of Naples, in the loftiest portion of the Apennines. The jagged mountain groups reach in the Gran Sasso d'Italia 9,600 feet.

ADRIANOPLE, a city formerly belonging to Turkey on the navigable Maritza River, 137 miles northwest of Constantinople. Founded or greatly improved by the Emperor Hadrian, Adrianople was the seat of the Ottoman Sultanate from 1366 to 1453. After the capture of the Turkish army defending the Shipka Pass in 1878, the Russians entered the city unopposed, and an armistice was there concluded. Taken after a five months' siege by the Bulgarians in 1913, it was recovered by the Turks in the same year. It is now under Greek sovereignty by the decision of the Peace Conference. Pop., 81,000.

ADRIATIC SEA, a large arm of the Mediterranean Sea, extending 450 miles northwesterly between Italy and the Balkan Peninsula and terminating to the south of the Strait of Otranto. On the eastern side are the coasts of Illyria, Croatia, Dalmatia and Albania. The total area of the sea, including islands, is calculated at 52,220 square miles, the area of the islands being 1,290, the mean depth is 110 fathoms, the greatest depth 565 fathoms. The chief rivers flowing into it are the Adige and the Po. Venice, Trieste, Fiume, Ancona, Bari and Brindisi are the chief ports.

AEGEAN SEA, the gulf between Asia

Minor and Greece. Its waters are relatively shallow and studded with islands, and its shores are greatly indented. The greatest depth, between Samos and Chios, is 640 fathoms.

AERSCHOT or **AARSCHOT**, a town in Belgium, Province of South Brabant, 23 miles N. E. of Brussels. Captured by the Germans Aug. 19, 1914.

AGADIR or **SANTA CRUZ**, the most southern port of Morocco. It was formerly a considerable seaport. Population (1910), 700.

AGRAM (Croatian Zagreb), capital of the former Hungarian Province of Croatia and Slavonia, lies at the foot of a range of mountains, 2 miles from the Save, and 142 miles N. E. of Fiume by rail. Population (1910), 79,038. It is now included in the Jugoslavic State.

AISNE, a river in France, rises in the Department of Meuse, passes Soissons, and is joined by the Oise near Compiègne. Length, 175 miles. It was to this river that the Germans retreated after their defeat on the Marne in September, 1914.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE (German Aachen), a town of Rhenish Prussia, is situated 39 miles W. by S. of Cologne. Population (1910), 156,044, of whom not 7 per cent. are Protestants. Charlemagne founded its worldwide celebrity; in 814 it became his place of burial.

ALAND ISLANDS, archipelago of 280 inhabited islands, and a vast number of rocks and islets, in the Gulf of Bothnia, at its entrance, forming part of Finland. Population about 24,000, mostly Swedes.

The Aland Islands were taken from Sweden by Russia in 1809. The principal island, Alan, has a population of about 12,000, and con-

Senate Discussion of Amendments

Prolonged Contest Over Proposed Amendments to Accompany Ratification—Text of New Reservations

THE United States continued the long debate over ratification of the German Peace Treaty throughout September and October. At every session there were speeches for or against the amendments and reservations offered by the Foreign Relations Committee in the preceding month. Continuous efforts were made by the Republican leaders to reach a unanimous agreement. The Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator H. C. Lodge of Massachusetts, the Republican leader, strongly supported direct amendment of the treaty, and this position was sustained by thirty-six Republican Senators and two Democratic Senators, the latter being Senator Reed of Missouri and Senator Gore of Oklahoma. Another group, comprising twelve Republicans and three Democrats, opposed direct amendments, but favored specific and effective qualifying reservations. A third group, numbering forty, headed by Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, the former Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, all known as "Administration Democrats," opposed any amendments to the text of the treaty, and the greater number strongly opposed any qualifying reservations whatsoever. Nearly all the members of the Senate participated in the debate, which at times grew acrimonious.

THE GORE AMENDMENTS

The first specific issue voted on was that of thirty-five textual amendments to the treaty offered by Senator Fall, Republican, of New Mexico, intended to eliminate American participation on the commissions established under the treaty, excepting the Reparations Commission. The vote on these amendments was *taken on Oct. 2 and resulted in their defeat by a decisive majority.*

On the first test between the opposing sides, which came on the amendment to take the United States out of the commission to fix the Belgian boundaries, the vote was 30 in favor of to 58 against. All the middle-ground Senators except Mr. McLean of Connecticut voted against the amendment.

MIDDLE-GROUNDERS IN CONTROL

On three other roll calls taken on the amendments there were slight changes in the attitude of the middle-ground Senators influenced by the points involved. On two roll calls, one to eliminate the United States from participation in the Sarre Valley Commission and the other pertaining to the commission to govern Upper Silesia, where a plebiscite as to future government is to be held, the opposition mustered 31 votes, that being their maximum strength.

The alignment found Senator Gore of Oklahoma voting with the Republicans on all amendments, while Senator Thomas of Colorado joined them in two roll calls. Senator Jones, Republican, of Washington, voted with the Democrats on two amendments, and later switched to the opposition.

The voting gave evidence that the middle-ground Senators controlled the situation, both as to amendments and reservations. From speeches made by five of this group, Capper, Hale, Cummins, Lenroot and Smoot, it seemed evident that, although opposed to textual amendments, they would vote against the treaty unless reservations were adopted with its ratification.

The vote on the amendment to eliminate the United States from participation in the Commission to Establish the Boundary Lines of Belgium, the first vote taken, follows:



ALGERIA (Fr. Algérie), a country on the north coast of Africa, which has since 1830 been a French possession, and is now regarded as an outlying part of France rather than as a colony. It lies between Morocco and Tunis, and is usually defined as extending from the Mediterranean to about the 30th parallel of N. lat. on the south. But the southern boundary, separating the Algerian Sahara from the rest of French Sahara (which now extends southward to a line drawn west from Lake Chad to the Niger), is very arbitrary. The total area, with the northern or Algerian Sahara, is about 255,000 sq. miles, or more than twice the size of Great Britain and Ireland. Algeria has two divisions—northern and southern. Population (1911), Southern Algeria, 494,306; Northern Algeria, 5,069,522. Total, 5,563,828.

ALGIERS, the capital of Algeria, was built about 935 A. D. by an Arab chief. It is strongly fortified, and is an important coaling station. Population (1906) 138,240; with suburbs, 154,049—not quite half French.

ALLENSTEIN, a town in East Prussia, 65 miles S. of Königsberg. Population (1910) 33,070; about 50 per cent. of which are Roman Catholics.

Taken by the Russians on Aug. 27, 1914, but afterward retaken by Germans.

ALOST (or Aalst), a town of Belgium in East Flanders, 19 miles by rail, N. W. of Brussels. Population (1908) 33,496.

Battle of Alost, Sept. 4, 1914.

ALSACE-LORRAINE (German Elsass-Lothringen), since 1871 a State or "imperial territory" of the German Empire, bounded west by France, east by Baden, and south by Switzerland. Its utmost length, from north to south, is 123 miles; its breadth varies between 22 and 105 miles, and its area is 5,580 sq. miles. of which 1,353 belong to Upper Alsace (in the south), 1,844 to Lower Alsace (N. E.), and 2,383 to Lorraine (N. W.)

Population (1871) 1,549,738, (1910) 1,874,014, of whom 1,400,000 are Catholics and 80 per cent. German speaking, the French-speaking population being mainly in the larger towns and in Lorraine. The Rhine flows 115 miles north by eastward along all the eastern boundary, and receives, below Strasburg, the Ill from Alsace, 127 miles long. Other rivers are the Moselle, flowing through Lorraine past Metz, and its affluent the Saar. West of the Rhine rise the Vosges Mountains, culminating at a height of 4,677 feet, rich in mines, iron and coal. Alsace-Lorraine contains the important cities of Strasburg, Mühlhausen, Metz and Colmar.

In Caesar's time Alsace-Lorraine was occupied by Celtic tribes and formed part of ancient Gaul; thereafter largely Germanized, from the 10th century it formed part of the German Empire, till a part of it was ceded to France at the Peace of Westphalia (1648), and the rest fell a prey to the aggressions of Louis XIV., who seized Strasburg (1681) by surprise in time of peace. By the Peace of Ryswick (1697), the cession of the whole was ratified. In 1814-15 Russia would not hear of the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine to Germany, and it was not till 1871, after the Franco-German war, that Alsace and German Lorraine were, by the Treaty of Frankfort, incorporated in the new German Empire. The great mass of the population were strongly against the change, and 160,000 elected to be French, though only 50,000 went into actual exile, refusing to become German subjects. For, at least since the era of the Revolution, Alsace in sentiment was wholly French. To France she gave the bravest of her sons—Kellermann, Kleber, and many another hero; Strasburg first heard the "Marseillaise," and MM. Erckmann and Chatrian, Lorrainers both, faithfully represented their countrymen's love of La Patrie in the days of the second as of the first Na-

YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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Russians, mingled with Finns and Samoyeds. It includes part of Karelia and of Russian Lapland, and the island of Nova Zembla. The White Sea occupies a large space in its centre.

ARCHANGEL, capital of the province of Archangel, founded in 1584, is situated on the Dwina R., about 25 miles from its embouchure in the Bay of Archangel and 670 miles N. E. of Petrograd. It is the only large seaport in the extreme North, and the most northerly point in the European railroad system. The harbor is usually free from ice only from July to September. Population (over 35,000 before the war).

ARGONNE, Forest of, a region in France in the Department of Meuse and Ardennes. It forms a small plateau, partly covered with wood, extending from Toul to Mézières, and separating the basins of the Aisne and the Marne. Captured by Americans, Sep.-Oct. 1918.

begins here, connects the Vistula and the Niemen. Population (1897) 12,746.

AVLONA (or Valona), a seaport of Albania, on the Gulf of Avlona, in the Adriatic Sea, is 33 miles S. W. of Berat.

The population (about 6,000 before the war) consisted of Turks, Christians, and Jews.

It is the best harbor on the Albanian coast. Up to 1691 the town belonged to the Venetians.

BAGDAD, on both sides of the Tigris R., 240 miles N. W. of its junction with the Euphrates. The whole city is surrounded by an enormous brick wall, strengthened by round towers, above which rise the minarets of numerous mosques. The city was for ages the centre of commerce for all the surrounding cities. The city, built on the ruins of Ctesiphon and Selencia, was founded by the Caliph Al-Mansur about 762, and was the splendid capital of the Abbasside Caliphate until its extinction (1258). It was a great centre of Arab learning, and in the Middle Ages was one of the largest and most flourishing cities of the world. It has been held by the Turks since 1638. Population 145,000.

The Bagdad Railroad was begun in 1899, when the Turkish Government granted its concession to the Societe du chemin de fer d'Anaholu. It was captured by the British on March 11, 1917.

BAIKAL LAKE (Mongolian Dalainor—Holy Lake), the largest lake in Asia (exclusive of the Caspian and Ural Seas), situated in the extreme southern part of Siberia. It is a crescent-shaped double basin, with a sharp dividing ridge rising up from the bottom to within nearly 200 feet of the surface.

Length—from N. E. to S. W. 375 miles.

Average breadth—about 37 miles.

Areas—13,500 square miles.

Height above sea level—1,560 feet.

Maximum depth—5,618 feet.

Average depth—860 feet.

Its basin is inclosed by the Baikal Mountains, which often rise up precipitously from the shore. The lake, which has volcanic surroundings, receives affluents and contains many islands. The surface is frozen from December to April. Seal, sturgeon and herring fisheries are very valuable.

BAKU, a Transcaucasian seaport on the west coast of the Caspian Sea, 558 miles by rail E. S. E. of Batum on the Black Sea. The petroleum trade (1,500 wells), flourishing since 1870, has made of the city one of the most important commercial towns of the region. The average depth of the wells is about 1,000 feet, the greatest some 600 feet more. Production in 1901 about 50,000,000 barrels.

In ancient times Baku was held in the highest veneration by the Parsees. It is still frequented by thousands of pilgrims. Baku is still the best port on the Caspian Sea.

Population (1915) 179,133.

BAPAUME, a town in France in Pas-de-Calais, 14 miles S. S. E. of Arras. There a battle took place on the 2d and 3d of January, 1871, between the German General von Goeben and the French General Louis Leon Faidherbe (1818-1889), who was defeated. Twice captured and recaptured in late war.

BASRA (or Bassora or Bassurah, or Busra), a frontier city and riverport on the Shat-el-Arab, Asiatic Turkey, about 60 miles from the Persian Gulf and 270 miles S. E. of Bagdad. By the middle of the nineteenth century the population had declined to a few thousands, it now numbers about 50,000 inhabitants.

It was founded in 636 by the Chalif Omar and was included in their Empire by the Turks in 1538.

BATUM (or Batoum), strongly fortified Transcaucasian seaport on the east shore of the Black Sea, 201 miles W. of Tiflis. It is connected by rail-

way with Baku. The city was ceded by the Turks to the Russians in 1878. Population (1915) 30,080.

BELGRADE (or Belgrad), capital of Serbia, on the right bank of the Danube, at the confluence of the Save. The old Turkish quarters have disappeared, one single Mohammedan place of worship remaining. Modern aspect. While the manufactures of Belgrade are still in their infancy, its commerce is extensive. The climate is about the same as that of the city of New York.

Belgrade was long an object of fierce contention between the Hungarians and the Turks. It was besieged by the latter in 1456. From 1522 to 1688 it remained in the hands of the Hungarians. In 1690 it became Turkish again. In 1717 Prince Eugene, the Austrian general took the town after a brilliant victory over the Turks. In 1791 it became Turkish again. The Turkish garrison was definitely withdrawn in 1867.

The city has a university, a museum, several colleges, seven churches (one Protestant), two synagogues. Population (1910) 84,235.

BESSARABIA, former province of Southwestern Russia, bounded on the north and northeast by Podolia, on the east by Kherron, on the southeast by the Black Sea, and on the south and west by Rumania, from which it is separated by the Danube and Pruth Rivers along its northern and eastern borders. Area about 18,000 square miles. Flat country, except in the north, where the country is crossed by some of the ridges of the Carpathians.

Kishineff is the capital.

Climate healthful, soil very fertile. Wheat, barley, maize, tobacco, hemp, flax, fruit and wine are the principal products. Bessarabia was ceded by Turkey to Russia in 1812.

About 50 per cent. of the population (1907) of 2,302,100 are Rumanians. The rest consists of Russians and other Slavic tribes, Jews, Tar-

tars, gypsies, Greeks, Armenians and Germans. Now joined to kingdom of Rumania.

BLAGOVERSHTSHENK, capital of the Amur Province, is the seat of a Bishop, Oriental Institution, foundries, and other large manufacturing plants.

Population (1909) 57,500.

BOCCHEDI CATTARO, see CATTARO.

BORDEAUX, a city in the southwestern part of France, capital of the Department of the Gironde, on the left bank of the Garonne River, 60 miles from its mouth, and 358 miles S. S. W. of Paris.

It is one of the most flourishing cities of France. In the old part of the city the streets are crooked and narrow. It contains the Cathedral of St. André, with a detached bell tower (or campanile). The great theatre, built by Louis XVI., is one of the finest in Europe. Some of the old gates of the city are still preserved. There is also a great university.

Bordeaux ranks next after Marseilles and Havre among the ports of France. There are extensive shipbuilding yards, and the port is especially noted as a shipping place for wine. It is the seat of an Archbishop. Population 261,768.

BOSNA, a river in Bosnia, which, after a tortuous northward course of 150 miles, joins the Save, 24 miles east of Brod.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA was handed over by the Great Powers at the close of the Turkish War of 1877-78 to Austria-Hungary, to be held and occupied by her for an indefinite period. Area, 19,700 square miles.

Boundaries, on the north, Croatia and Slavonia; on the east, Serbia; on the S. E., Montenegro; on the southwest and west, Dalmatia and Croatia. Main Rivers—Save, Narenta (flowing into the Adriatic Sea), Unna, Vrba, Bosna and Drina. Half of the surface of the country is covered with fine forests, but the stock of fur-bearing animals is steadily decreasing. Vast quantities

of fruit are raised; plums (25,000,000 lb. per year are exported) enjoy a special reputation. Excellent pastures, but the area under cultivation is not very great. Large numbers of cattle, sheep, goats and swine are reared. Good wines are produced in Bosnia, and the tobacco of Herzegovina is of good quality.

There are large coal mines; the other mineral products comprise iron, silver, quicksilver, &c.

Climate, on the whole, temperate and healthy, although in some parts of Herzegovina the mercury sometimes rises to the height of 100 degrees and over.

Population (1910), 1,893,683, mostly belonging to the Serbian stock, 43.6 per cent. to the Greek-Oriental Church (1 Archbishopric in Serajevo, 3 Archbishoprics in Banjaluka, Dolnja Tuzla and Mostar); 22 per cent. are Roman Catholics (1 Archbishopric at Serajevo, 2 Bishoprics at Banjaluka and Mostar), 25.2 per cent., mostly belonging to the prosperous classes in towns and country, are Mohammedans, 6 per cent. are Jews.

School status (1906), 4 general colleges, 1 technical college, 9 commercial colleges, 1 normal school for teachers, 362 primary schools. The whole social and commercial life presents a curious blending of the East and the West. Figured as a Slavic kingdom, it was permanently conquered by the Turks in 1463. There were bloody insurrections in 1850-51 and 1875-76. The Mohammedans offered a fierce resistance to the Austrian occupation under General Philippovitch in 1878. The territory on Oct. 5, 1908, was definitely incorporated with the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Now incorporated in Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

BOULOGNE-sur-MER, a fortified seaport in France, in the Department of Pas-de-Calais, on the English Channel, 140 miles, N. N. W. of Paris and 20 miles S. W. of Calais. From

the hilly part of the town the English coast is distinctly visible.

Boulogne has many English churches, some English boarding houses, a large library, an enormous foreign trade, and extensive fisheries, and is the main French centre of steel pen manufacture.

Two miles from Boulogne, on the road to Calais, is Napoleon's Column, 172 feet in height, which was erected in 1804 to commemorate his proposed expedition against England. Population (1906) 51,201.

BREST-LITOVSK, a strongly fortified town in Russia, 131 miles south of Grodno, on the Bug River and at the junction of several rivers. It is the seat of an Armenian Bishop, who is head of the Catholic (United) Armenians of Russia, and of a Greek Bishop.

Near the town is a royal castle belonging to the former Kings of Poland.

It is now famous as the seat of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of 1918. The town, whose population was in 1909 53,300 (75 per cent. Jews), has an extended trade by river, canal and railway.

BRIEY, a town in France, in the Department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, 14 miles N. W. of Metz. Noted for its iron industries. Population 2,000 to 3,000.

BRINDISI, a seaport of Southern Italy, 44 miles E. N. E. of Taranto, the only good harbor on this part of the Italian coast.

Brindisi was anciently one of the most important maritime cities of Italy and its chief port for commerce with Greece. It has had of late some of its pristine activity and wealth. Population (1915) 25,317.

BRODY, a town in Galicia, 89 miles E. N. E. of Lemberg. Population (1910) 18,055 (75 per cent. Jews).

BUDAPEST, capital of the Republic of Hungary, on the Danube, 173 miles by rail from Vienna. It consists of the two cities of Pest and Buda (German Ofen), situated, respec-

tively, on the left and right banks of the Danube, and which were united in 1873, together with Old Buda and Kobanga (Steinbruch) in the one city of Budapest. It is a modern and exceedingly beautiful city. The university was attended in 1909 by 6,835 students and has a teaching body of 450. Of considerable importance is the Joseph Polytechnic Institute.

BUKAREST (also Bucharest), capital of the kingdom of Rumania, situated in a swampy plain on both sides of the Dimbovita, which is spanned by a dozen bridges substantially built of iron and stone. Until recently Bukarest resembled a vast overgrown village, but recently the semi-Oriental quarters have given way to modern streets, and with the cupolas of the numerous Greek churches and the large number of beautiful gardens the city offers a beautiful aspect. It is often called by its inhabitants "The Paris of the East."

There is a university and an Academy of Sciences.

Much of the trade is in the hands of the Germans and the Jews.

Two treaties make the city famous in history; that of 1812 between Russia and Rumania, and that of 1918 between the then victorious Central Powers and the unfortunate betrayed kingdom.

About 1470 the city was the capital of Wallachia, and from 1789 to 1791 it was in Austrian hands. In 1861 it became the capital of Rumania. Population (1909), 291,836 (15,000 Jews, about 50,000 foreigners).

BUKOWINA or **BUKOVINA**. former crownland of Austria-Hungary, bounded north and northwest by Galicia; on the east by Russia and Moldavia, and on the west by Transylvania and Hungary proper. Area 4,031 square miles.

The Province is fertile and covered with extensive forests (43.2 per cent. of the area). The name itself is derived from the abundance of *Buchen* (*beech trees*).

Population (1908), 802,102. Ruthenians 41.2 per cent., Rumanians 31.6 per cent., Germans (colonists) 22.1 per cent. As to religion, there are 68.6 per cent. Greek orthodox, 15.1 per cent. Roman Catholics, 13.2 per cent. Jews.

After forming for some centuries a part of Moldavia, Bukowina was annexed to Austria in 1775.

Sixty-five per cent. of the people are illiterate. There are nine colleges and one university (German) in the capital—Czernowitz. It is now part of the Kingdom of Rumania.

BULGARIA, a Balkan kingdom bounded on the N. by Rumania, on the E. by the Black Sea, on the S. and S. W. by Turkey, and on the W. by Serbia. Area 37,200 square miles. Most of the surface is mountainous or hilly. The lower Danube forms most of the boundary with Rumania. The historically (Turko-Russian War of 1877-78) noted among the Balkan passes is the Shipka Pass. The principal affluent of the Danube is the Timok, forming part of the boundary between Bulgaria and Serbia. The principal stream, flowing into the Black Sea, is the Kamtschik.

Bulgaria, in its most elevated parts, is covered with extensive forests, wherein game of all kinds abounds—bears, wolves, wild boars, lynxes, deers and badgers.

The soil and climate are adapted to the growth of all kinds of European crops. The Summers are short and dry; Spring and Autumn bring copious rains; the Winters are cold. Buffaloes are often used in tillage. There are immense numbers of sheep and goats. In brief, Bulgaria is almost entirely an agricultural country. Population (1910) 4,329,108. Ethnic composition in 1905: 3,200,000 Bulgarians, 574,658 Turks, 67,396 Gypsies, 88,109 Rumanians, 69,820 Greeks, 36,446 Greek and 36,444 Spanish Jews, 5,039 Germans. Religion: 3,344,806 Greek orthodox, 603,867 Mohammedans,



37,656 Jews, 29,864 Roman Catholics and 5,644 Protestants.

Motherland: Slavs 79.8 per cent., Turkish 12.8 per cent., Rumanians 2.2 per cent. In 1905, 72 per cent. illiterates. In 1906-07, 20 colleges (gymnasias), 1 university in the capital (Sofia), and 4,581 primary schools, with 415,681 pupils.

The Bulgars came about 500 A. D. from the Volga to the lower Danube, conquering the Slav population living there. In 679 they founded their own kingdom. They gradually amalgamated with the conquered people, adopted their language and in 864 also the Greek form of Christianity. Prince Simeon (893-927) extended his empire from the Adriatic to the Black Sea.

In 1393 began the rule of the Turks. The Berlin Congress (1878) practically freed Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke. Prince Alexander, through Russian intrigues, was forced to abdicate Sept. 7, 1886. His successor, the late Czar Ferdinand, started his rule in August, 1887. After the assassination of Premier Stambuloff (1895) Ferdinand gradually reconciled himself with Russia. Oct. 9, 1908, Bulgaria was declared a kingdom, and Ferdinand assumed the title of Czar.

The Bulgarians are classed as a Slavic people because they speak a Slavic tongue, but they belong, to a great extent, to the Turanian stock.

Bulgaria entered the war Oct. 14, 1915; surrendered Sept. 29, 1918.

CALAIS, a town in France, in the Department of Pas-de-Calais, situated on the Strait of Dover, 21 miles E. S. E. of Dover and 20 miles N. E. of Boulogne. It is strongly fortified. By means of sluices the whole adjacent country may be laid under water.

The older sections of the town present a Flemish character. It is one of the principal ports for the debarkation of travelers from England to France. In 1347 Calais was taken by Edward III. of England after a siege of eleven months, re-

maining in the hands of the English until 1558. It was Spanish from 1595 to 1598. Off Calais the English conquered the Spanish Armada in 1588. Population (1906) 60,680.

CAMBRAI (or Cambray), a fortified town in France, in the Department of the Nord (French Flanders), on the River Scheldt, 32 miles S. S. E. of Lille. Population (1906) 24,919.

It is the seat of an Archbishop; its cathedral contains a monument to Fénélon. It has long been famous for its linen—called cambric. It was an old Roman colony; in the Middle Ages it was part of the German Empire. It has belonged to France since 1678. Dec. 10, 1508, the League of Cambrai was concluded there between Maximilian I., Louis XII. of France and Ferdinand, the Catholic Doge of Venice. Occupied by allied forces Oct. 9, 1918.

CAMERON (German—Kemerun, meaning Crab River), from 1884 to 1918 a German colony of Western Equatorial Africa, extending northwestward to Lake Tchad.

Area—about 190,000 square miles.

It is generally low near the coast. The interior is a series of high plateaus, 3,000 to 4,000 feet in elevation and adapted to cattle raising. The soil near the coast is of volcanic origin, and is exceedingly fertile, producing cocoa, coffee, tobacco, palm oil and kernels, ivory and india rubber. The rivers of the country, owing to the falls and cataraacts, are navigable only for short distances.

The seat of the former Imperial Government was at Buea. Population (1910) 2,000,000 to 3,000,000; 1,284 white people. The natives are mostly Sudan negroes, Bantus, Kanuri and Haussa. Now a mandatory of the League of Nations.

CARINTHIA (German—Kaernten), former crownland and titular duchy of Austria. It is bounded by the duchies of Salzburg, Styria, Carniola and the counties of Goerz and Gradisca.

Area—4,005 square miles. Capital—Klagenfurt. Population (1910) 394,735; three-quarters Germans; one-quarter Slovenes, a Jugoslavic race who have lived in the land since the sixth century.

Principal river is the Drave.

The duchy became a permanent possession of the House of Austria in 1335. Now incorporated in the Jugoslavic State.

CARNIOLA, former crownland and titular duchy of Austria. Inclosed by Styria, Istria, Goerz and Gradisca and Carinthia. It is traversed by ranges of the Alps and abounds in caverns.

Area—3,856 square miles.

Quicksilver mines, iron, lead and zinc are the main metallic products.

Population (1910) 525,083, mostly Slovenes.

Capital—Laibach. Now incorporated in kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

CAROLINE ISLANDS (or New Philippines), a large archipelago (about 680 small islands in 48 groups) of the Pacific Ocean. Together with the Pelew Islands, or Western Carolines, they were sold by Spain to Germany for about \$5,000,000 in 1899. Japan took possession of them October, 1914. Most of the islands are of coral origin; some volcanic. Temperate climate.

Copra is the main product.

Area—560 square miles. Population (1906-1907) 41,400 (159 white people). The islands were discovered in 1527. They are now a mandatory under the League of Nations.

CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS, mountain system of east-central Europe, constituting the link between the Alps and the Balkans. The system is largely constructed of granite masses. On its inner sides, which face Hungary, some heterogeneous chains, such as the Matra and the famous wine growing heights of Tokai-Eperies, are of volcanic origin. Forming in their main contour *a vast crescent, they begin at Pres-*

burg, the present capital of Slovakia, and, encircling the greater part of the Hungarian basin, end at Orsova, on the Rumanian frontier.

Length—about 800 miles. Width—10 to 200 miles. Highest point—8,642 ft. The Carpathians form the water parting between the basins of the Baltic and Black Seas. Abound in grand and rugged scenery. Evidences of past glacial action are abundant, but there are no existing glaciers in the entire system now. The latter is largely a region of rich vegetable growth, with magnificent woods and forests of evergreens, oaks and beeches. Fauna—wolf, bear, lynx, chamois, ibex and the bearded vulture (Laemmergeier).

The population of the Carpathians is composed of Magyars, Slovaks, Poles, Germans, Ruthenians and Rumanians.

The best-known passes: The Yablunka Pass (1,805 ft.), on the railroad connecting Budapest with Breslau; the Tarmon Pass (2,630 ft.), the Vereczke Pass, on the route from Munkacs to Lemberg, and the famous Roterturm Pass, across the Southern Transylvanian Alps (1,198 ft.).

The Carpathians contain more mineral wealth (gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, salt, coal, &c.) than any other mountain system of Europe.

The Baths of Mehadia, not far from the Rumanian frontier, are a famous watering place.

The Carpathian rivers (March, Waag, Neutra, Gran, Theiss, Aluta, Sereth and Pruth) flow into the Danube, Oder, Vistula and Dniester.

CARSO PLATEAU (Karst), occupying broadly the region between Carnilla and the Adriatic Sea. Noted for its large number of underground water courses.

Mining (mostly quicksilver)—only in the northwest. The sparse population's (Slovenes and Croatians) main occupations are agriculture and cattle raising.

CATTARO, a strongly fortified seaport in Dalmatia, 38 miles S. E. of Ra-



gusa. It is situated at the foot of steep limestone rocks, the buttresses of the Montenegrin mountains. Its spacious harbor is one of the most picturesque in Europe, Cattaro stands on the site of the Roman Acrivium. A costly mountain road leads into Montenegro. In the Middle Ages it constituted a little republic. In 1910 it had a population of 6,041.

CETTINJE, capital of the Kingdom of Montenegro, 17 miles E. N. E. of Cattaro (2 v.) and about 25 miles N. of the seaport of Autivari (9 v.). It is situated in a narrow valley, at an elevation of about 2,000 ft. and consists in part of an old fortified monastery. It has an arsenal, a theatre, including the State library and a museum, a theological seminary, a college (gymnasium) and a girls' high school, which had been supported by the late Empress of Russia. Population 4,500.

CHALONS-SUR-MARNE (ancient Catalaunum), city in France, capital of the Dept. of the Marne in a plain of Champagne, on the railway from Paris to Strasbourg. It is situated on the right bank of the Marne, 107 miles E. of Paris by rail. The population has dwindled from 60,000 in the 13th century to 27,000 in the 20th century. Near Châlons the Romans and Goths in A. D. 451 defeated Attila and his Huns. In 1856 Napoleon III. formed the celebrated camp of Châlons, 16½ miles N. E. of the town. Population (1906) 27,670.

CHAMPAGNE, old French province of which the capital was Troyes. The territory is now included in the Departments of Marne, Ardennes, Aube, and Haute-Marne.

In the Middle Ages it was a powerful feudal State, governed by Counts. It was united to the Crown of France in 1361. The region is famous for its wine. Epernay, Chalons and Rheims alone exported in 1910 over 41,000,000 bottles.

CHARLEROI, town of Belgium, in Hainault, on the Sambre, at the junction of many railways, 23 miles E. of Mons.

It is situated in the midst of a great coal region, and is connected with Brussels by canal extensions.

It has iron foundries, machine shops, &c. Population (1908) 27,687.

CHARLEVILLE, a town of France, Department of Ardennes, on the Meuse, opposite Mézières, with which it virtually forms one town. It has manufactories of firearms and metal wares. Population (1906) 20,673.

Scene of German victory Aug. 25, 1914.

CHATAIJA, a small town of European Turkey about 25 miles W. N. W. of Constantinople.

CHATEAU-THIERRY, a town in the French department of Aisne, 59 miles E. by N. of Paris by rail. Here Napoleon defeated Prussians and Russians in 1814. Population 7,000. Scene of great Allied and American victory in 1918.

CHITA, or Tchita, capital of Transbaikalia, on the Chita River and Trans-Siberian Railway, 545 miles E. of Irkutsk. Population 39,117.

COMPIEGNE (Com-pee-en), a town in the French Department of Oise, on the River Oise, a little below its junction with the Aisne, 52 miles N. N. E. of Paris. It has a palace, rebuilt by Louis XV. and splendidly fitted up by Napoleon. The beautiful Forest of Compiègne, 30,000 acres in area, was a favorite hunting-ground of the Kings of France. It was at the siege of Compiègne, in 1430, that the Maid of Orleans was captured; and here, in 1810, Napoleon first met Maria Louisa of Austria. The armistice with Germany was signed here, Nov. 11, 1918.

CONSTANZA (see Kustendji).

CORFU, the most northerly and important of the Ionian Islands at the entrance of the Adriatic, separated from the mainland of Greece and Albania by a channel 2 to 12 miles broad. It is 40 miles long, 3½ to 20 miles broad. The principal town, Corfu (pop. 30,000), is finely situated on the east coast, and has a good harbor. It is the seat of a Greek Archbishop and of a Catholic Bishop, and has a royal palace, an Ionian academy, founded by Lord Guildford in 1823, with a library of 35,000 volumes; a gymnasium, theatre, &c. Area 270 square miles. Population 100,000.

COURLAND, or Kurland (Koor-land), one of the Baltic provinces. Mostly level, with many lakes and forests, it was formerly an independent duchy, and belonged, along with Livonia, to the Teutonic Knights. It was formerly under Poland's sovereignty, but in 1795 Courland was united to Russia. Area 10,535

square miles. Population 740,000, mostly Protestants. Mitau and Libau are the most flourishing towns. It has seceded from Russia and claimed independence.

CRACOW or KRAKOW, fortified city of Western Galicia, former capital, 1305-1587, of the Kingdom of Poland (population in 1910, 150,318), situated on a broad plain on the left side of the Vistula, 158 miles southwest of Warsaw. In the Gothic, so-called, Stanislas Cathedral, adorning the old royal castle (Wawel-berg), which was transformed in 1846 into barracks and a military hospital, are the tombs of a long line of Polish Kings and of famous Polish church dignitaries, statesmen, Generals, scholars and artists.

The so-called Jagellon University (students in 1913, 2,541) was founded in 1364 by Casimir the Great, and during the fifteenth century it was one of the chief centres of learning in Europe. Instruction is given in the Polish language. Its library has 350,000 volumes.

The city, which is still considered the intellectual centre of the Polish nation, is the seat of a famous Academy of Sciences (founded in 1874), and the Czartoryski Museum is distinguished for its vast collection of precious manuscripts (about 5,000), mainly relating to the history of Poland.

The city, in whose neighborhood are important coal and zinc mines, is more important as a trading than an industrial centre, being, on account of its location, the natural exchange market of Silesia, Hungary and Russian Poland.

Founded, according to tradition, about A. D. 700 by the mythical Polish Prince, Krak. During the latter part of the tenth century Cracow was annexed to Bohemia, recaptured in 999 by Boleslaus Chrobry, who made it the seat of a bishopric. Ruined by the Tartars in 1241, it remained the coronation and burial place of the Polish Kings until 1764. On the third partition of Poland (1795), Cracow became Austrian, but was, in 1809, incorporated with the Duchy of Warsaw by Napoleon. From 1815 to 1831 it was a free city, and was again incorporated with Austria in 1846.

CROATIA and SLAVONIA (Hungarian, Horvat - Szlavonország), formed, from 1881 to the end of the World War, together with their former "Military Frontier," a crown-land belonging to the Hungarian section

of Austria, lying between the Adriatic Sea on the S.W., where Croatia has a seaboard of about 84 miles, and Hungary on the N.E. Area 16,352 square miles. The most important rivers are the Drave and Slave. Warm mineral springs are numerous, and earthquakes, especially about Agram, the capital, are frequent. The Adriatic coast is poorly supplied with harbors. Incorporated in Jugoslav State in 1919. Population about 2,600,000.

CRONSTADT, strongly fortified seaport, 20 miles W. of Petrograd, on a narrow island 7 miles long, at the narrowest part of the Gulf of Finland, and over against the mouth of the Neva. Founded by Peter the Great in 1710, it was at once a great naval station and the most flourishing commercial port of Russia. It was the seat of the Russian Admiralty; has three harbors; and since 1884 has been connected with Petrograd by a ship canal 207 feet wide and 22 feet deep. Population, 62,000.

CZENSTOCHAU (Tchen-sto-how) or Czenstochowa, a town of Poland, 148 miles S. W. of Warsaw by rail. Its Catholic monastery (1382), a famous place of pilgrimage, possesses the "Black Virgin," a Byzantine painting ascribed to St. Luke. Population 70,000.

CZERNOWITZ (Tcher-no-vitz), capital of the province of Bukovina, near the right bank of the Pruth, 165 miles S.E. of Lemberg by rail. It has several beautiful churches and cathedrals. The university was founded in 1875. Population, 90,000.

DALMATIA, a narrow strip of territory extending along the Adriatic. Area 4,940 square miles. The coast is steep and rocky, and the chief towns, all on the coast, are Zara, Sebenico, Lissa, Spalato, Brassa, Ragusa and Cattaro. Only the coast strip is arable. Population 646,000.

DANUBE (ancient Danubius and Ister, German Donau, Hungarian Duna), the largest river in Europe after the Volga. Rises in the Black Forest, near Donaueschingen, and, after a course generally speaking from west to east, of about 1,800 miles (direct line, 1,000 miles), passing through Ulm, Ratisbon, Passau (Bavaria), Linz, Vienna, Budapest (Austria-Hungary), Belgrade, Orsova, Rustschuk, Siestria, Galatz (Balkans), throws itself into the Black Sea by

three mouths. From Belgrade and Orsova it forms the boundary between Serbia and Hungary, from Orsova to Silistria that between Rumania and Bulgaria.

The Danube is joined in its course by over 100 large tributaries, of which about 35 are navigable.

The Ludwigs Kanal, 108 miles long, near Bamberg, Bavaria, connects the Danube with the Rhine.

DANZIG or DANTZIC (Polish Gdansk), seaport and fortress, capital of West Prussia, on the left bank of the western branch of the Vistula, 284 miles N. E. of Berlin and 4 from the river's mouth in the shallow Gulf of Danzig, an inlet of the Baltic. In 1454 it became a free city under Poland. In 1793 it fell to Prussia. Among the most noteworthy buildings are the large Church of St. Mary (1343-1502) and the Church of St. Catherine (1326-30.) Once a great Hanse town, Danzig is still one of the chief commercial cities of Northern Europe. Has been made a free city by Peace Treaty. Population 170,000.

DARDANELLES (Turkish Bahr Sefed Boghazi), the strait (40 miles long from northeast to southwest and an average breadth of 14-5 miles) in ancient times called the Hellespont, uniting the Sea of Marmora with the Aegean. Its name is derived from the two castles protecting the narrowest part which preserved the name of the City of Dardanus in the Troad, where, in 84 B. C., the treaty between the Roman General Sulla and King Mithridates of Pontus was concluded. The northwest shores form the peninsula of Gallipoli (q. v.); the southeastern shores are part of the mainland of Asia Minor.

The strategical importance of the Dardanelles lies in the command of the approach to Constantinople from the Mediterranean. In spite of its tremendous fortifications, a Russian squadron under Admiral Elphinston, in 1777, and the English Admiral, Sir J. T. Duckworth, in 1807, forced the passage of the strait. According to the London Treaty of 1841, confirmed by the Paris Peace of 1856, no foreign warship could enter except by Turkish permission, and even merchant vessels were only allowed to pass the castle of Chanak-Kalehsi during the day.

The Dardanelles is famous in history for the passage between Systos and Abydos, of King Xerxes of Persia (481 B. C.) by a pontoon bridge and of Alexander the Great (334 B. C.) and of the feat of the legendary loving couple, Hero, priestess of Aphrodite at Sestos, and Leander.

living in the opposite Abydos. In 1801, imitating the swimming feat of Leander, Lord Byron crossed the strait in 1 hour and 10 minutes. The strait has now been internationalized under the supervision of the League of Nations.

DAR-ES-SALAAM, a seaport of the former German East Africa, 45 miles S. of Zanzibar. Population 25,000.

DARSTADT, a town of Germany, capital of the former grand-duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, is situated on the River Darm, 15 miles S. of Frankfort-on-Main. Population 87,000.

DEMIR-HISSAR (Iron Castle), a town of Greek Macedonia, on a tributary of the Struma, 45 miles N. E. of Saloniki. Population 8,000.

DENAIN (Deh-nan), a town in the French department of Nord, near the Scheldt and the Selle rivers, 20 miles N. N. E. of Cambrai by rail. Centre of an extensive coal field, manufactures of iron, beet-root sugar and brandy. An obelisk marks the scene of Marshal Villars's victory over the Allies under Prince Eugene, July 27, 1912. Population 22,000.

DINANT, a town of Belgium, 17 miles S. of Namur by rail. Population 8,000.

DINA'RIC ALPS, connecting the Julian Alps with the Balkan system; the main range, stretching S. E., separates Dalmatia from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The highest summits are Orjen (6,225) and Dinara (5,940).

DNIEPER (Russian Dniepr, ancient Borysthenes, later Danaprie). River of Russia, third greatest in Europe (length, including the windings, about 1,400 miles). Rises in the government of Smolensk, flows generally south, and after passing Smolensk, Mohilev, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav and Kherson, enters the Black Sea on the north by several mouths. Chief affluents on the right: Beresina, Pripet and Ingulets; the Samara is one of its left affluents.

Its drainage area is about 200,000 square miles. During the Spring floods the river reaches at Kiev a maximum depth of 55 feet. It is connected with the Baltic Sea through the Düna, Niemen and Vistula and their canals.

DNIESTER (Russian Dniestr, ancient Tyras, afterwards Danastris or Danaster). Navigable river of Austria and Russia (length, including windings, 800 miles). It rises in the Carpathian Mountains in Galicia.

and after passing in easterly, southerly, easterly course, Halicz, Mohilev, Bender and Akerman, enters the Black Sea on the northwest. It forms the boundary between Bessarabia and the Governments of Podolia and Kherson. Chief affluent on the right, Stry, on the left, Sereth.

Though very tortuous and in Summer quite shallow, the Dniester affords extensive steamboat navigation. Area of basin, 30,000 square miles.

DOBRUDJA (also spelled Dobruja, Dobrudscha, Dotbrogea), the south-eastern portion of Rumania between the lower Danube and the Black Sea, transferred to Rumania by the Berlin Congress of 1878. The south-western part was ceded by Bulgaria in 1913. The northeast is occupied by marshes and the Danube delta; the rest is mostly a treeless steppe.

DOGBERBANK, extensive flat sand bank in the German Ocean, between England and Denmark, 100 miles off the Yorkshire coast. It is 170 miles long by 65 broad, with a depth of from 8 to 16 fathoms. Valuable fisheries. In October, 1904, a Russian fleet on its way to the China Seas fired on English trawlers off the Doggerbank, creating the "Doggerbank incident." Scene of British naval victory over German fleet, Jan. 24, 1915.

DORPAT (or Derpt, Russian Jurjev), a town in Livonia, on the Embach, 165 miles (247 by rail) S. W. of Petrograd. The university, founded in 1632 by Gustavus Adolphus, was re-established by Alexander I. in 1802, and since has been thoroughly Russianized. Dorpat was a Hanse town in the 14th and 15th centuries, and until 1704 was alternately captured by Swedes, Poles and (finally) Russians. Population 44,000—80 per cent. German.

DORTMUND (Dort'moont), chief town of Westphalia, 74 miles N. N. E. of Cologne by rail. Mining headquarters of Westphalia and important railway centre; iron and steel works. Was one of the Hanse towns, but was ceded to Prussia in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna. An aged linden marked the site of the famous Vehmgericht. Since the walls were removed, in 1863, the general aspect of the town has become quite modern. Population (1910) 214,226.

DOUAI (French Doo-ay'), a town in the French Department of Nord, on the River Scarpe, 20 miles S. of Lille by rail. A great military town, it is strongly fortified, contains an im-

portant arsenal, a cannon foundry and a school of artillery. Population about 36,000. Wrecked by Germans in their retreat, 1918.

DRAVE (German Drau), a river rising in Tyrol, at an altitude of 5,477 feet, and flowing 447 miles E. S. E. through or along the borders of Styria, Croatia, Slavonia and Hungary till, 10 miles below Essek, it falls into the Danube.

DRINA River (length about 160 miles), forming a great part of the boundary between Bosnia and Servia. It empties into the Save about 60 miles west of Belgrade.

DUNA, see Dwina.

DUNABURG (Dünaboorg), a fortified town of Western Russia, the capital formerly of Polish Livonia, on the Duna, in the Government of Vitebsk, 127 miles S. E. of Riga by rail. Population 110,354.

DUNKIRK, or Dunkerque, the most northerly seaport of France, on the Straits of Dover, in the Department of Nord, 189 miles N. of Paris by rail and 67 W. of Ghent. Important naval and mercantile seaport. The character of the town is Flemish rather than French; its principal features are the Gothic Church of St. Eloi and the fine detached belfry (196 feet). It became a free port in 1826. Population about 40,000.

Dunkirk is said to owe its origin to the church built by St. Eloi in the 7th century, in the midst of the dreary sandhills or dunes, and hence its name, "Church of the Dunes." It was burned by the English in 1388, taken by Cromwell in 1658, but sold to Louis XIV. by Charles II. in 1662.

DURAZZO, a port of Albania on the Adriatic, 50 miles S. of Scutari, coveted by Serbia in 1912. Population 1,200.

DUSSELDORF, chief town in Rhenish Prussia, on the right bank of the Rhine at the influx of the Düssel, 24 miles N. N. W. of Cologne. Düsseldorf has developed its trade and industries, but its chief importance is still as an art centre. In the market place rises a colossal equestrian statue of the Elector Johann Wilhelm, who founded a famous picture gallery here in 1690, most of which, however, was removed to Munich in 1805. The Düsseldorf Academy was founded in 1767, and attained great eminence during 1822-59, under the management of Cornelius and Schadow. The Art Hall (1881-1902) contains a gallery of modern paint-

ings. Population (1910) 358,725, mostly Catholics. Made a town by the Duke of Berg in 1288. Düsseldorf became the capital of the Duchy in 1385; in 1609 passed to the Palatinate, and in 1815 it was united to Prussia. The brothers Jacobi, Heine, Varnhagen von Ense, and Cornelius were natives.

DWINA, two important rivers of Russia:

(1) The Northern Dwina is formed by the Suchona and the Jug, two streams rising in the Government of Vologda, and uniting in 60 degrees 46 minutes N. latitude, 46 degrees 20 minutes E. longitude. It flows northwestward through a flat country to the Gulf of Archangel, which it enters by three principal mouths, of which only the easternmost is navigable. Its length is 450 miles (with the Suchona 760). The chief tributaries are the Vaga, Emza, Pinega and Vytchegda, the last 625 miles long (500 navigable). The river is free from ice from May to October. Its waters are rich in fish. (2) The Western Dwina (Ger. Duna) rises in the Government of Tver, not far from the sources of the Volga and the Dnieper, and flows 580 miles W. S. W. and W. N. W. to the Gulf of Riga, being navigable from the Mezha's confluence, although shallows and rapids greatly impede traffic. It is connected by canals with the Black Sea the Caspian and the Gulf of Finland.

ERIVAN, the fortified capital of a Transcaucasian Government, on the elevated plain to the north of Ararat, on the River Sanga, 3,432 feet above sea level. The town dates probably from the 7th century A. D. In later years it was held alternately by Persians and Turks. Population 29,000. The province has an area of 10,165 sq. miles and a population of 1,000,000, nearly all Armenians and Tartars. See Etchmiadzin.

ESSEK, the capital of Slavonia, on the right bank of the Drave, 12 miles above its confluence with the Danube and 189 S. of Pesth by rail. It has been the seat of a bishopric since 335 A. D. Population 31,000.

ESSEN, town in Rhenish Prussia, 22 miles by rail N.E. of Düsseldorf, stands in the midst of a rich coal and iron district. It is the seat of the celebrated Krupp works. Population 300,000.

ESTHONIA, called by the natives Wir-oma, the most northerly of the Baltic provinces, is bounded S. by Livonia, W. and N. by the Baltic.

Area 7,600 sq. miles. Population 467,000. A large part of the surface is covered with forests, moors, and small lakes; rivers are numerous, but small and sluggish. The population consists of two divisions, the Esths and the Esthlanders. The latter are a mixed race of immigrants, the German element strongly preponderating. The Esths, a people of Finnish race, constitute the peasantry, some 366,000 in number, and the original possessors of the soil. In religion they are mostly Lutherans, though the Russians are making strenuous efforts to bring them over to the Greek Church. Esthonia was conquered by Walde- mar II. of Denmark in 1219; but in 1346 it was sold to the Teutonic Knights, and incorporated with Li- vonia. From 1561 it belonged to Sweden, in 1710 it was seized by Peter the Great. Has seceded from Russia and formed an independent Government.

ETCHMIADZIN, a monastery near Erivan, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the Armenians since 302 A. D.

EUPHRATES, the largest river in West- ern Asia, has its source in the heart of Armenia. It breaks through the Taurus in a succession of rapids and cataracts for about 40 miles. Flow- ing S. and then S.E., it separates Mesopotamia from Syria and the deserts of Syrian Arabia, and is joined by the Tigris at Kurna. The joint river, taking the name of the Shat-el-Arab, empties itself by several arms into the Persian Gulf 60 miles below Basra, after a course of fully 1,700 miles. Numerous re- mains of ancient cities are still to be traced near the banks, such as the famous site of Babylon and the Birs Nimrud. Sir W. Wilcocks planned (1900-5) a railway from the Medi- terranean by Tadmor to the Euphrates and Bagdad. The Ger- man Bagdad railway of the 20th cen- tury crosses the Euphrates and fol- lows the Tigris valley.

FALKLAND ISLANDS, a British colony in the South Atlantic, 250 miles E. of Patagonia. The group consists of East Falkland and West Falk- land, with about 100 small islands, besides the dependencies of South Georgia, the South Shetlands, the South Orkneys, the South Sandwich group, and Graham Land. Many of the islands are occupied only by myriads of penguins. Population 3,300.

The capital is Stanley (pop. 800), on East Falkland.

The group, sighted by Davis in 1592, was renamed in 1689 by Captain Strong after his friend Lord Falkland. It was definitely occupied by Great Britain in 1833, and utilized as a penal colony until 1852. Scene of British naval victory over Germans, Dec. 8, 1914.

FASH'ODA, a town in Shilluk, on an island in the White Nile.

FIUME, a great seaport formerly of Hungary, at the mouth of the Fiumara, 142 miles W.S.W. of Agram by rail, and 35 miles E. S. E. of Trieste, stands at the head of the Gulf of Quarnero, in the Adriatic. Fiume's chief importance is as the entrepôt of a great and steadily increasing commerce. A free port from 1717 till 1891. Population, 50,000. Claimed at Peace Conference by Italy and Jugoslavia.

GALLIPOLI, a seaport of European Turkey, on the peninsula of the same name (the ancient Thracian Chersonesus), at the N.E. extremity of the Dardanelles, 90 miles S. of Adrianople and 130 miles W.S.W. of Constantinople. Population 30,000.

GHEENT (Flemish Gent; French Gand), principal town of East Flanders, situated at the confluence of the Schelde and the Lys, and built upon a large number of islands in the latter river. A canal goes to Bruges and Ostend. Population (1910) 165,149. It has 55 churches, a university, an Academy of Arts. Flourished in the 16th century.

Principal industries spinning and weaving of linen and cotton, lace-making, construction of machinery, cultivation of ornamental plants.

GRADISCA, a town on the Isonzo, 25 miles N. W. of Trieste, which came to Austria in 1511, and in 1754 was united to Goerz. Population 4,000.

GRAUDENZ, an old town in the Province of West Prussia, on the Vistula, 37 miles N. of Thorn. About a mile north of it on a hill (282 feet) is the fortress of Graudenz (1776), since 1874 a barrack and military prison. Population, above 40,000.

GRODNO, the capital of a Russian province, on the Niemen's right bank, 148 miles by rail N. E. of Warsaw. Population 55,000.

GUMBINNEN, a town of East Prussia, 72 miles E. of Königsberg. Dating from 1724, it owes its prosperity to the settlement here in 1732 of many Protestant Salzburgers. Captured by Russians on their first invasion of East Prussia. Population 15,000.

HAIFA, a seaport of Syria, at the foot

of Mount Carmel. A railway to Damascus was opened in 1905. Population 6,000.

HAITI, a negro republic of the West Indies, with an area of approximately 11,072 square miles. Its population in 1912 was estimated at 2,500,000. Its capital is Port au Prince. On June 17, 1917, Haiti severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

HALICZ, a town of Galicia, on the Dniester, 69 miles S. S. E. of Lemberg by rail. On a neighboring hill is the ruined twelfth century castle of the rulers of the former principality of Halicz. From this word the name Galicia is derived. Population 5,000.

HAM, a town in the French Department of Somme, on the River Somme, 12 miles S. W. of St. Quentin. Its ancient fortress (rebuilt in 1470) is used as a State prison. It was the place of confinement of Joan of Arc and Napoleon III. Population 3,000.

HAMADAN, a town of Persia, at the northern base of Mount Elwend, 160 miles W. S. W. of Teheran. It contains some notable tombs—e. g., Avicenna's and others affirmed to be those of Mordecai and Esther. It is the centre of converging routes from Bagdad, Erivan, Teheran and Ispahan. Population 40,000.

HARTLEPOOL, a municipal borough and seaport in the County of Durham, England, is situated on a small peninsula north of the estuary of the Tees, 12 miles N.N.E. of Stockton, and 18 E.S.E. of Durham. The local industries are iron, ship-building, marine engineering and cement manufacture. Population of municipal borough (1911), 20,618.

HAVRE (a contraction of the original name, Le Havre de Notre Dame de Grâce), a seaport of France, second only to Marseilles, in the department of Seine-Inférieure, on the north side of the Seine's estuary, 143 miles N.W. of Paris. Havre possesses excellent harbor accommodations, having nine separate dock basins; two new drydocks were opened in 1889. Population (1911) 136,159. Down to 1516 Havre was only a fishing village. Its history as a seaport dates from the reign of Francis I. Havre was held for some months in 1562 by the English, who were expelled by Charles IX. after a hot siege. Louis XIV. made it a strong citadel, and it was several times bombarded by the English in the 17th and 18th centuries. The town walls were demolished in the middle of the 19th century.

HEBRON, one of the oldest cities in

Palestine, 21 miles S.S.W. of Jerusalem. It was the seven years' residence of King David before he conquered Jerusalem. The modern town, El Khalil ("the friend" of God, Abraham), is a poor place, with some 18,000 inhabitants. It lies low down in a narrow valley—the Valley of Eshcol, famous now, as of old, for its grapes. The church erected by the Empress Helena and converted into a mosque called El-Haram ("sanctuary") inclosed the cave which is the traditional burial place of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

HEDJAZ, see Arabia.

HELGOLAND, an island of Germany, in the North Sea, off the mouth of the Elbe and Weser, 28 miles from the nearest point in the mainland. It has an area of about one-fifth of a square mile, with a population (1900) of 2,307. From 1807 to 1890 it was a British possession, and was ceded to Germany in the last named year in exchange for territories in Africa. Since 1892 the island has formed part of the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein.

The island has been strongly fortified by the Germans, and although its harbors are not of sufficient size to admit battleships, it is an ideal station for small cruisers and torpedo craft. The island commands the entrance to the Kiel Canal. The Winters there are stormy.

During the Summer some 20,000 people visit the island for sea bathing. Among themselves the natives speak a Frisian dialect. There is regular communication with Bremen and Hamburg.

Under the provisions of the Peace Treaty Heligoland has been dismantled of its fortifications.

HELSINGFORS, a fortified seaport and naval station, capital of the Republic of Finland, is situated on a peninsula, surrounded by islands and rocky cliffs, in the Gulf of Finland, 191 miles W. of Petrograd by sea and 256 by rail. Helsingfors is the largest and handsomest town of Finland. Of the public buildings the most striking are the house in which the Diet meets, the Senate House and the university buildings. The university, removed hither from Abo in 1828, has over 2,500 students, a library of 300,000 volumes, a hospital, a botanic garden and observatory. Helsingfors, truly "a slumless city," is a favorite bathing

place. It carries on trade in Baltic produce; exports timber, paper and butter, and imports iron and steel goods, machinery, colonial wares, &c. Population (1910), 147,369. Helsingfors was founded by Gustavus I. of Sweden in the 16th century.

HONDURAS, a Central American republic containing 44,374 square miles. Its capital is Tegucigalpa. In 1913, the population was stated as 592,675. Honduras broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on May 17, 1917.

HORODENKA, a town of Austria, in East Galicia, 106 miles S. E. of Lemberg. Population 13,000.

IRKUTSK, a mountainous government of Southern Siberia, to the N. W. of Lake Baikal, occupies an area of 240,500 square miles. The population, 657,000 in 1910, consists of Buriats, Tunguses and Russians (one-third), exiles. Irkutsk, the capital, on the Angara, is the residence of the Governor General of Eastern Siberia. Although 3,722 miles from Petrograd (and 40 from Lake Baikal), Irkutsk is the best-built town in Siberia. Population 108,000. Irkutsk was founded by a Cossack chief in 1652. Owing to its position on the great Siberian railway between China and Russia, it is the commercial centre of Siberia, especially for the tea trade.

ISTRIA, a former Austrian margraviate, forming a mountainous peninsula in the northeast corner of the Adriatic, between the Gulf of Trieste and the Gulf of Fiume, or Quarnero. Population 403,200. Capital, Rovigno.

ITALIA IRREDENTA. ("Unredeemed Italy.") When the present kingdom of Italy was established (1861), the Papal States, Venetia, the district around Trieste, and Trent, were still—although inhabited mainly or in part by Italians—not parts of the kingdom. Venetia and the Papal States were annexed in 1866 and 1870. After 1870 the term "Italia irredenta" was, therefore, applied exclusively to Trieste and Trentino. Irredentism declined after Italy joined Austria and Germany in the Triple Alliance (1882), but has steadily gained in force since 1908, when Austria, backed by Germany, annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina without consulting Italy, and contrary to her interests and in violation of the Treaty of Berlin (1878). The territory is now under Italian sovereignty.

JAROSLAV, (Yaroslaw), capital of a Russian Government on the Volga, 173 miles N. E. of Moscow; population 110,000. Population of Government 1,220,000.

JASSY, the capital of Moldavia, the northern division of Rumania, stands 5 miles W. of the Pruth, 205 by rail N. W. of Odessa, and 289 N. N. E. of Bucharest. Population 80,000. Jassy was the residence of the Moldavian Princes from 1565.

JOHANNISBERG, a village of Prussia, overlooking the Rhine, 13 miles W. S. W. of Wiesbaden. It is noteworthy chiefly for the castle (1732) of the Metternich family. Population 2,000.

JUTLAND, Peninsula of Europe, has since early in the 10th century formed a portion of the Kingdom of Denmark (q. v.). Area 9,754 square miles; population (1911) 1,198,457. In the 5th century it was inhabited by the Jutes, who took part in the expedition of the Saxons to England, and the Jutes were succeeded by the Danes.

KAISER WILHELMSLAND, a former German colony in the northeastern mountainous part of New Guinea, area 181,650 square kilometers and 110,000 inhabitants. The Empress Augusta River and the Ramu (rediscovered in 1896) are the principal rivers of the colony, which was taken from Germany by Australian troops in September, 1914. It is now a mandatarly under the League of Nations.

KAMERUN, (so-called after the river Kamerun; Portuguese "Rio dos Camarões," Crab River). Former German colony on the western coast of Central Africa, bounded by Lake Tchad on the north and the French Congo on the east. Area 190,600 square miles; number of inhabitants, mostly Duallas Sudan negroes, Bantus and Harssas, two to three millions. (White, 1,284 in 1910). Most of them are advanced in agriculture.

The climate along the swampy coast is unhealthy. Flora: virgin forests, vast tree and grass savannas, palms and bananas. Rich tropical fauna in the interior.

The average annual temperature on the coast is 77° F. Extremely heavy rainfall, especially in the cool period, from June to September.

Exports: rubber, cocoa, palm oil, ivory, wood, tobacco, cattle, &c.

Importations: textiles, food products, hardware, soap, beer, &c.

The German Government acquired the country in 1881 from the

two Hamburg firms of Woermann and Jantzen-Thormälen.

The colony was under the administration of a Governor appointed by the Emperor. His council consisted of three representative merchants. Military force was 1,100 colored troops and 100 whites.

Scandals in connection with maladministration and the oppression of natives came to light in 1906.

The country was taken by Anglo-Belgian-French forces in February, 1916, and is being held by France and Great Britain jointly.

KARS, a fortress of former Russian Armenia, 110 miles N. E. of Erzerum. It is situated on a tableland over 6,000 feet above the sea. Population 25,000, mostly Armenians. Kars, long a bulwark of the Ottoman Empire in Asia, was taken by the Russians in 1828, resisted them for six months in 1855, and was stormed by them in 1877. It was ceded to Russia by the Berlin Congress in 1878, and its fortifications have been since augmented.

KAVALA, a seaport of Greece (1913), opposite Thasos.

KERMAN, or Karman, one of the eastern provinces of Persia, lying south from Khorassan. Area 59,000 square miles; population 300,000. Kerman, the chief town, has a population of 70,000. In 1722 the Afghans destroyed it; in 1794 it was pillaged by Aga Mohammed, and 30,000 of the inhabitants made slaves. But the chief cause of the decline of its trade was the fall of Combroon, its port, before the rising prosperity of Bushire.

KHARKOFF, capital of a Russian Government and one of the chief towns of the Ukraine, is by rail 312 miles N. W. of Taganrog and 465 S. by W. of Moscow. It is the seat of a Greek Bishop. Population 221,500.

KIAO-CHIAO, or Kiao-chow, a city inland from the bay of the same name, in the Chinese promontory of Shantung. In 1898 the town (pop. 173,000) was leased to Germany for ninety-nine years, forming a German protectorate. The foreign settlement and port are at Tsing-tao, on the same bay. Its control has been ceded to Japan, which promised at a later date to restore it to China.

KIEL CANAL, OR KAISER WILHELM CANAL. It was opened in 1895. It connects the German harbor and naval base at Kiel, on the Baltic, with the North Sea at the mouth of the Elbe. The width and depth of the canal, determined originally by

the size of the largest German battleships, were not sufficient to admit the vessels of the dreadnought type, hence the canal was widened and deepened and was reopened on a scale able to accommodate the greatest modern ships on July 1, 1914. It has now been placed under the supervision of the League of Nations.

KIELCE, Polish town, 152 miles by rail south of Warsaw, and 64 miles north northeast of Cracow, situated in a picturesque, hilly country. Population (1909) 30,540. It is a station on the Ivanorod-Dombrowa R. R. line.

The town was founded in 1173 by a Bishop of Cracow. Its old castle (1638), for some time inhabited by King Charles XII. of Sweden, was renowned for its portrait gallery and library. The old copper mines are no longer worked.

KIEV, capital of the Ukraine, situated on the right bank of the Dnieper, 628 miles by rail southwest of Moscow, and 406 miles by rail north northeast of Odessa. Population (1910) 382,500.

One of the oldest (founded, according to tradition in 864) and most beautiful cities of Europe. Its Cathedral of St. Sophia is the oldest cathedral in the whole of the former Russian Empire. It was founded in 1037 by Prince Yaroslav (1019-1054) in gratitude for his victory over the Turkish tribe of the Petchenegs. Kiev was the seat of the first Christian school and the first library in Russia. The Petcherskaya Lavra monastery (founded, according to tradition, in the 11th century) is visited yearly by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims, for the catacombs contain the bodies of numerous saints.

The educational and scientific institutions of Kiev (university, Polytechnic, 12 colleges, etc.) rank next to those of Petrograd and Moscow. The city is the centre of the Russian sugar industry.

From 1240-1320 the city was subject to the Mongols; from 1320-1569 it belonged to Lithuania; from 1569-1654 to Poland. It became finally Russian in 1686.

KIMPOLUNG, (1) a town of Wallachia, stands in a valley at the foot of the Carpathians, 80 miles NW. from Bucharest. Population 9,090. (2) A town in the extreme south of Bukovina. Population 5,534.

KOLA, on Kola Peninsula, till the founding of Alexandrovsk, with its naval harbor (1895), on Kola Bay, was

capital of Russian Lapland, and most northern town of European Russia.

KOLOMEA, a town of Austrian Galicia on the Pruth, 43 miles by rail NW. of Czernowitz. Population 43,000.

KOENIGSBERG, (1) a town and fortress in East Prussia, on the River Pregel, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Frisches Haff and 366 by rail NE. of Berlin. The nucleus of the place was the block house built in 1255 by the Teutonic Knights, but Königsberg is quite a modern town. The castle, chiefly of the 16th century and 18th century, was the headquarters of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and from 1525 to 1618 the residence of the Dukes of Prussia. In the castle chapel (1592) Frederick I. crowned himself first King of Prussia in 1701. Kant lies buried there. Population (1910) 245,853.

KOSSOVO, a plain in Serbia, west of the Prishtina (Turkish till 1912-13), the scene of two Turkish victories. (1) Of Sultan Murad I. over the Serbian Tsar Lazar in 1389, when both sovereigns fell, and the Serbians lost their independence; (2) of Sultan Murad II. over the great Hungarian General, Hunyady, in 1448.

KOVNO, capital of the Russian Government of Kovno, stands near the confluence of the Vilia and the Niemen, 523 miles by rail SW. of Petrograd and 94 ENE. of Königsberg. It was long a stronghold of the Teutonic knights, and was taken by Russia from Lithuania in 1795. Population 88,000.

KRAGUJEVATZ, a town of Serbia, 61 miles S. of Belgrade. Till 1842 it was the residence of the Serbian Princes. Population 18,500.

KRASNOYARSK, the chief town of the Siberian Government of Yeniseisk, on the Upper Yenisei, 370 miles E. from Tomsk. Population 63,000.

KRONSTADT, a town in the extreme SE. of Transylvania; population 41,000. For the Russian Kronstadt, see Cronstadt.

KURLAND, see Courland.

KURSK, chief town of a Russian Government, 312 miles by rail S. by W. of Moscow and 274 NNE. of Kiev. Population 82,000.

KUSTENDJI, or more properly since 1878 Constanza, a seaport in the Dobrudja, Rumania, stands on the Black Sea, at the end of Trajan's Wall and of the railway to Tchernavoda on the Danube. Population 22,600. Not far distant from Tombs the place of Ovid's banishment.

KUT-EL-AMARA, a city in Mesopotamia about 100 miles below Bagdad, occupied by the British in November, 1915, during an unsuccessful advance upon Bagdad. The British force under Gen. Townshend was besieged for 143 days. In spite of a Russian column proceeding from Erzerum to Kermanshah looking toward a junction with the British at Bagdad or Kut, and in spite of a British relief force moving upon Kut from the south, Gen. Townshend was starved into surrender April 28-29, 1916. The city was reoccupied by the British under Gen. Maude, Feb. 24, 1917.

LAON (La ong), chief town of the French Department of Aisne, is situated on a steep isolated hill (594 feet), 87 miles by rail N.E. of Paris. Occupying a naturally strong position, it has been a fortress since the 5th century, was capital of the Kings of the West Franks, and from 515 to 1790 was the seat of a Bishop. At Laon, in March, 1814, Napoleon was repulsed by Blücher and Bulow; and it surrendered to a German force on Sept. 9, 1870, when the explosion of the powder magazine by a French soldier cost 500 lives. Population 10,000.

LE CATEAU, town in French dep. of Nord, 14 miles ESE. of Cambria. Here in 1559 a treaty was concluded between France and Spain. Pop. 10,000.

LEMBERG, the capital of the province of Galicia and Lodomeria, is situated on a small tributary of the Bug, in a narrow basin among the hills, 212 miles E. of Cracow. Pop. (1910) 206,574. Founded in 1259, Lemberg was an important Polish city from 1340. It fell to Austria at the first partition of Poland.

LENCZIZA, an ancient Polish town, 80 miles WSW. of Warsaw. Pop. 15,546.

LENS, chief town of Department of Pas-de-Calais. Population (1906) 27,744. It is situated on la Souchez, affluent of the Lys river, and on the Lens canal; it is a station on the Arras-Bethune R. R. It is the centre of rich coal fields. In 1096, a certain Hugues was the lord of the castle of Lens. In 1477, Louis XI. of France and Maximilian of Austria signed a treaty of peace here. Since 1659 it is French. It was utterly ruined by the Germans in 1918, the coal mines being wrecked and flooded and the buildings razed.

LİBAU, a seaport and watering-place of

Courland, in Russia, on the Baltic, 146 miles by rail W. by S. of Riga. Pop. 85,000.

LIEGE (Flemish Luik; German Lüttich), one of the principal industrial towns of Belgium, situated on the Meuse. Population (1910) 174,768. Old churches and City Hall (tenth and eleventh centuries). Palais de Justice (1508-1540); Citadel (1650). Seat of Bishop since 720. Flourished fifteenth century. The great industrial prosperity of the town is due to the neighboring coal mines. Principal manufacture: firearms.

LIBERIA, a negro republic on the Pepper Coast (Guinea) of West Africa, extending 300 miles N.W. of Cape Palmas, and reaching 200 miles inland. The population amounts to 2,068,000, of whom 18,000 are liberated American slaves and their descendants, the remainder indigenous negroes, including the Kroomen. Capital, Monrovia, pop. 5,000, now greatly decayed. Liberia owes its origin to the American Colonizing Society, which in 1821 bought land here and settled a small body of freed African slaves. The Constitution is modeled on that of the United States, with a President, a House of Representatives and a Senate. No white man is allowed to acquire citizen's rights or to hold property. There is no standing army, but all citizens capable of bearing arms are enrolled in the militia. Complete religious toleration exists, the Methodist forms prevailing.

LILLE, a manufacturing town and first-class fortress of France, chief town of the Department of Nord, is situated on a sub-tributary of the Scheldt, 66 miles by rail S.E. of Calais. Lille derives its name from the 11th century castle of the Counts of Flanders, around which it arose, and which from its position in the midst of marshes was called L'Isle. Burgundian from 1365, Lille was conquered by Louis XIV. in 1667, and finally handed over to France in 1713. Its defenses consist of Vauban's pentagonal citadel, and a series of seven forts encircling the town. The old fortifications were mostly leveled from 1858 onward. Pop. (1911) 217,507.

LITHUANIA, a former grand duchy, corresponding to the portion of Russia between the Baltic and the upper Dnieper (including Livonia, Courland, Kovno, Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, Mohilev, Smolensk and Vitebsk). From the 14th century on it became closely associated with Po-

land (q. v.), with which it was finally united in 1569; in the 15th century it extended as far south as Odessa and the Sea of Azov, and as far east as the Moskva. The Lithuanians, a race to whom belong the Letts of Livonia, the Cours of Courland and the Borussians or ancient inhabitants of East Prussia, constitute a main division of the Indo-European stock (akin to the Slavs) numbering some $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions in all. It is now independent under a republican form of government.

LIVONIA (Ger. Livland), formerly one of the three former Baltic provinces of Russia, forms the eastern side of the Gulf of Riga, and is separated from Courland by the Dwina. Area, 18,153 square miles; pop. (1910), 1,455,400, of whom 43% are Letts, 41½% Estonians. The Livonians proper, a Finnic race akin to the Estonians, have dwindled to about 2,400. Capital, Riga.

LODZ, sometimes called "the Manchester of Poland," lies 76 miles S.W. of Warsaw. Population (1911), with an enlargement of the boundaries, 400,000.

LAMZA, the capital of a Polish Government, 80 miles N.E. of Warsaw. Pop. 28,000.

LONGWY, a small town in the extreme north of the French Department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, 18 miles W.S.W. of Luxemburg. Its fortress capitulated to the Prussians in 1792, 1815 and 1871. Population 10,000.

L'ORIENT (Lor-yon), a seaport in the French department of Morbihan, 116 miles by rail N.W. of Nantes, with a deep and spacious harbor. It was founded in 1664 by the French East India Company, but, after the ruin of their trade by the English, their plant was acquired by the Government, who since 1815 have made L'Orient the principal naval ship-building yard in France. The inhabitants are also engaged in fishing (especially sardines). Pop. (1911) 49,039. Off this port a British fleet defeated a French one, June 23d, 1795.

LOUVAIN, a city in the Belgian province of Brabant, 19 miles by rail E. of Brussels. In 1382 the townsmen revolted against their rulers, and the harsh punishment meted out to them drove large numbers away to England. Pop. (1910) 41,923. Was sacked and in part burned by the Germans in 1914.

LUBLIN, the capital of a Polish Government, on a sub-tributary of the Vistula, 96 miles by rail S.E. of War-

saw. It was plundered by the Mongols in 1240, 1344 and 1477. From the end of the 14th to that of the 16th century it was the chief commercial town between the Vistula and the Dnieper. The population is over 60,000.

LUXEMBURG, GRAND DUCHY OF.

Area, 998 square miles; population, mostly Catholic (1900), 259,891. It separates Germany from Belgium; on its southern side the frontiers of France and Germany meet. Except on the east, where the Moselle and Sauer, with its affluent, the Our, form the border, it has no natural boundaries. In the northern part, which lies on the plateau connecting the Ardennes and the Eifel, the soil is poor and the general aspect sombre and rugged; in the southern section, which is known as the "Bon Pays," and is a continuation of the Lorraine Plateau, the valleys are covered with rich alluvium. The deep and narrow valleys present a beautiful scenery. The forest of Grunwald is said to be the largest in Central Europe. There are rich deposits of iron in the south. Lead, antimony, alabaster of peculiar whiteness and excellent slates add to the wealth of the country.

The people are Teutonic in origin and language, although modified by the admixture of other races. French is the official language, the former being more generally used, but the people speak a common Low German dialect.

In Roman times the territory was a part of Belgica Prima; it subsequently belonged to Lorraine and Austria; in 1795 the little country became the French Département des Forêts; the Congress of Vienna (1815) erected it into a Grand Duchy and gave it to the King of the Netherlands. In 1839 (Treaty of London) the greater part of Luxemburg fell to Belgium; Grand Duke Adolf, 1890-1905; William, 1905-1912; Grand Duchess Mary Adelaide, 1912-1919; Grand Duchess Charlotte, 1919—.

The Government is a constitutional monarchy, with a Parliament of one chamber (53 Deputies).

Agriculture and wine culture occupy the greater part of the population. Luxemburg is a member of the German Zollverein. The main railway, crossing the country north and south, is a link on the through line from Belgium to Switzerland.

The capital of the Grand Duchy, of the same name (population, 1910, 20,848), occupies a very strong position at the confluence of the Pet-

russe with the Alzette. Vauban (1633-1707) fortified the town. Seat of Bishop.

LYS, or Leye, flows 130 miles N. E. to the Scheldt at Ghent.

MACEDONIA, an ancient kingdom, long part of Turkey, now Serbian and Greek, lying N. W. of the Aegean Sea. Philip II. became (338 B. C.) master of Greece; his son, Alexander the Great (356-323) conquered half the known world. The present population is largely Bulgarian, with Greeks on the coast and in some districts, as well as Serbs, Vlachs and Jews; the Turks are not numerous. In consequence of the oppression of the Christian population and the failure of Turkey to carry out promised reforms, there were troubles and threatened revolt in 1875-1912. In 1912-1913 the country was conquered by the Balkan allies, Bulgaria losing her share by the war of 1913. Greece took the seaboard and Serbia the inland part.

MANNHEIM, once capital of the Rhenish Palatinate, and now the chief trading town in Baden, on the right bank of the Rhine, here joined by the Neckar, 53 miles S. of Frankfurt. Population (1910) 141,131, of whom about 70,000 were Catholics. Mannheim was a mere village till 1606, when a castle was built by the elector-palatine, around which a town grew up, peopled chiefly by Protestant refugees from the Low Countries. It was totally destroyed by the French in 1689, rebuilt and strongly fortified, and in 1795 severely bombarded by the Austrians.

MARNE (Marn), a river of France, rises in the plateau of Langres, and flows 326 miles N. W. by W., past Châlons and Epernay to the Seine at Charenton, a few miles above Paris. It is navigable for 126 miles up to St. Dizier. Scene of notable Allied victories in 1914 and 1918.

MARNE, a department of Northeastern France formed out of the old Province of Champagne, is traversed by the River Marne and to a less extent by the Seine and Aisne. Area, 3,159 square miles; population 436,000. Its arrondissements are Châlons-sur-Marne (the capital), Epernay, Rheims, Sainte-Menhould and Vitry-le-François.

MAUBEUGE, a fortified town in the French Department of Nord, 4 miles from the Belgian frontier of 23 E. S. E. of Valenciennes. Pop. 14,000. Captured by the Germans in 1914.

MECCA, is one of the oldest cities of Arabia and the capital of the Hed-

jaz, and as the birthplace of Mohammed a holy city and focus of pilgrimage for Islam. The population is probably under 60,000, but is annually reinforced by at least as many pilgrims. The Great Mosque stands in the broadest part of the valley, and is capable of holding 35,000 persons.

MEMEL, a fortified Prussian seaport, lies at the northern extremity of the Kurisches Haff, at its opening into the Baltic, 70 miles N. E. of Danzig. Founded in 1252, and almost totally destroyed by fire in 1854, it has a fine harbor. Population 21,500. For the River Memel, see Niemmen.

MESOPOTAMIA (between the rivers), the district between the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates, extending from the foot of the Armenian mountains southeastward to near Bagdad. It has an area of about 55,000 square miles. The soil of the great plain is sandy, but when well watered or, as it was in ancient times, well irrigated it develops extraordinary fertility. Under the Turks (since 1515) it has fallen more and more a prey to barrenness and neglect, but irrigation schemes are now on foot. Held successively by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs and Turks, it has been the battle ground of these mighty empires, and among its historic cities may be mentioned Harran, Serug (Scrij), Apamea, Edessa, Nisibis, Nicephorium (Rakka), Hit (Is), Mardin, Mosul (Nineveh), Amid (Diarbekr), and Thapsacus. In Summer excessive heat (up to 122 degrees F.) prevails; in Winter the thermometer may go down to 14 degrees F. Has been made a mandatory of Great Britain under the supervision of the League of Nations.

MEURTHE, River of France (length about 100 miles). Rises in the Vosges, southeast of St. Dié, and joins the Moselle, 5 miles north of Nancy.

MEUSE (Dutch Maas), River of Europe (length 575 miles; navigable for about 400 miles). Rises in the French department of Haute-Marne, northeast of Langres; traverses the department of Vosges where it disappears underground near Bazoilles, reappearing at the end of 4 miles, near Neufchâteau. After passing Verdun (where it becomes navigable) Sedan, Mézières and Civet, the river traverses Belgium in a north-eastern direction (Dinant, Namur,

Huy, Liège), flows north and west through the Netherlands and near Gorkum joins the Waal, a left branch of the Rhine. The united stream bearing the name of Merwede, after forming a number of islands, enters the North Sea by several mouths. Affluent on the left: Sambre; on the right: Semoy, Ourthe. Various canals unite the river with the Moselle, Oise and other streams.

MINSK, the chief town of a Russian Government, on an affluent of the Beresina, 436 miles by rail W. S. W. of Moscow and 331 E. N. E. of Warsaw. Population 100,000.

MONASTIR, or Bitolia (anc. Pelagonia), a town of Serbia (Turkey till 1912), 90 miles N. W. of Saloniki. Population 60,000.

MONS, the capital of the Belgian Province of Hainault, on the Trouille, 38 miles S. S. W. of Brussels. Its fortifications were demolished in 1862; but the country around can be laid under water. Population 30,000.

MONTENEGRO (Italian "Black Mountain"; Serbian, Tchernagora, having the same significance), bounded on the southeast by Albania, on the southwest by Dalmatia, and on the west and north by Herzegovina. It borders for a short distance on the Adriatic. Area about 3,600 square miles. Population (1910) 250,000. Surface of the country is formed by a series of elevated ridges of limestone rocks with elevated mountain peaks (Durmitor in the north, 9,000 feet). The principal streams are the Maratcha and the Zeta, whose united waters fall into the Lake of Scutari, which is partly in Montenegro, partly in Albania.

Cultivation of the soil only possible in tiny patches: cereals, potatoes, tobacco; the vine and figs are the principal products. There are olive groves in the parts nearest to the sea. Numerous flocks of goats, sheep and cattle. Fish (from the Lake of Scutari) is the staple food. There are rich deposits of iron. The communication is mainly by means of bridle paths. The principal cities are Cetinje (q. v.), Podgoritz, Nikshitch, Dulcigno and Antivari.

It was originally part of the great Serbian Kingdom. From 1562 to the close of the 17th century the country was ruled by elective Prince-Bishops (Vladika). For a century and a half this dignity was held in hereditary succession by the family

of Petrovitch Nyegush. In 1852 Danilo separated the ecclesiastical and the worldly governmental unity, proclaiming himself Prince. In 1910 Prince Nicholas was raised to the royal dignity. Montenegro is now part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

MORAVA (ancient Margus), principal river of Serbia (length about 250 miles), being formed by the junction of the Southern and Western Moravia, 33 miles northwest of Nish. It flows through the centre of the country in a northwestern direction, joining the Danube near Semendria. Its principal tributary is the Ibar.

MORAVIA (Czech, Morava; German Mahrn), bounded on the east by Hungary, on the south by lower Austria, on the west by Bohemia, and on the north by Silesia. Area: 8,583 square miles. Population (1910), 2,620,914, of which 71% are Czechs. The Germans (about 27%) are mostly found in the larger towns and in the border districts.

The country is a mountainous plateau sloping from north to south and is traversed, in a course of 140 miles, by its principal stream, the March (Czech: Morava from which the name of the province is derived), which rises within its territory, in the Sudetes, and throws itself into the Danube, near Presburg (Upper Hungary), while the weather is rigorous in the mountain districts, the vine and maize are successfully cultivated in the southern plains; 54% of the area is arable land, 27.4% forests, 7% meadows, 5.7% pasturages, 1.2% gardens, 0.5% vineyards.

Principal products: corn, oats, barley, potatoes, rye, beetroot, hemp and flax. Good breeds of sheep and horses. Rich in coal and iron. It has an important wool, linen and cotton industry.

The capital is Brunn (Czech: Brno) with (1910) 125,008 inhabitants (1-3 Czechs). The most important towns are: Olmutz, seat of an Archbishop, and former seat of a university (closed in 1855), best known on account of its old fortress and as ancient capital (1050) of the Bohemian dynasty of Przemysl; Iglau, Kremsic, Znaim, Prerau, Prossnitz and Mahrtsch Ostrau.

The oldest known inhabitants were the Boii, a Celtic race which gave its name to Bohemia. They were successfully replaced by the German Quadi (1st century B. C.), the Rugii, Heruli and Lombards.

The latter had, in the middle of the 6th century A. D., to make room for the Slavs. For their help to Charlemagne (768-814), in his war with the Avars, the Moravian Princes received a part of Avar Kingdom, corresponding to Upper Hungary, seat of the Slovaks of today. In 863, the two apostles of Moravia, Cyril and Methodius, started to convert the country to Christianity.

The most powerful Prince of Moravia was Svatopluk (died 894) who extended his kingdom to the Oder on the west and to the Gran on the east. At that time, already, there was a tendency to unite the northwestern and southeastern Slavs, but the Germans, supporting the invasion of the Magyars (10th century) occupying the corridor separating the two sections, made an end of the ambitious plan.

In 1029, the country was incorporated with Bohemia, and usually assigned as an appanage to younger members of the royal house. In 1526 it became a part of the dominions of the house of Hapsburg. During the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), Moravia became so depopulated that the States-General, by edict, introduced polygamy. From the end of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) to 1849, the province was united with Austrian Silesia. The nobility and the cities (for instance, Iglau and Znaim) were Protestant in the 16th century. After the defeat of the Czechs at the White Mountain (1620) the country was forced to embrace Roman Catholicism.

MOROCCO, ("the farthest west"), a Sultanate in N. W. Africa, bounded E. by Algeria and S. by Cape Nun and the Wad Draa, is now mainly a French protectorate, a northern zone being Spanish, as is Ifni, while Tangier and its district are internationalized. The population has been variously estimated at from 2,500,000 to 13,000,000, the actual number being perhaps between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000.

MOSELLE (German Mosel), a river of France and Germany (length 320 miles), rises in the southeastern part of the French Department of Vosges; passes Epinal, Pont-à-Mousson, Metz and Diedenhofen (Thionville), separates Luxemburg from Rhenish Prussia, and, after passing Treves, joins the Rhine on the left of Coblenz. Chief affluents in France: *Meurthe and Seille*.

MOSUL, a decayed town in Mesopotamia, on the right bank of the Tigris, opposite the ruins of Nineveh, 200 miles up the river from Bagdad. Population 70,000.

MULHAUSEN (Fr. Mulhouse), a town of Alsace-Lorraine, on the Ill and the Rhone and Rhine Canal, 68 miles by rail S. S. W. of Strasburg and 20 N. W. of Basle. Pop. (1910) 95,041. Mulhausen, a free imperial city in 1273, joined the Swiss Confederation in 1515; in 1798 it was incorporated with France, and came to the front as an industrial place after 1829, and it became German after the war of 1870-1871. It is now again in the possession of France.

MUNSTER, a town in Alsace, 12 miles S. W. of Colmar by rail; pop. 5,000.

NABLUS, a town of Palestine, between Mounts Ebal and Gerizim. The Samaritans' religious centre, it was Justin Martyr's birthplace.

NAMUR, a city of Belgium, at the confluence of the Sambre with the Meuse, 35 miles by rail S. E. of Brussels. Population 32,000. The Province of Namur, on the French frontier, lying between the Belgian Provinces of Hainault and Luxemburg, has an area of 1,400 square miles. Population 363,000.

NAREMTA (Slavic Naretya) River (length 140 miles) which rises in the Dinaric Alps, in Herzegovina, passes Mostar, traverses the southern part of Dalmatia, and enters the Adriatic by a number of channels.

NAREV (W) River of Russia and Poland. Rises in the Government of Grodno, and joins the Bug 18 miles north of Warsaw, after a western and southwestern course of more than 200 miles. Chief affluent the Bobr.

NAZARETH, the home of Jesus, anciently in the district of Galilee, 21 miles S. E. of Acre, is still a small but flourishing town of Palestine. The principal building is the Latin convent, on the supposed scene of the Annunciation. Population, 10,000, of whom 6,500 are Christians (mostly Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics) and 3,500 Moslems.

NEUCHÂTEL, or Neufchâtel, a canton in the west of Switzerland, between Lake Neuchâtel and the French frontier. Population (1910), 132,184, of whom three-fourths speak French, and four-fifths are Protestants. Neuchâtel was associated with Prussia from 1707 till 1806, when Napoleon bestowed it upon General Berthier; in 1814 it was re-

stored to the House of Brandenburg. A republican Constitution was adopted in 1848; and there was civil war in 1856. The connection with Prussia was dissolved in 1857, and Neuchâtel became a member of the Swiss Confederation.

NEUCHÂTEL, chief town of the canton, occupies a site on the northwest shore of the Lake of Neuchâtel, eighty-five miles by rail N. N. E. of Geneva. Population (1910) 23,505.

NEW GUINEA, the largest island next after the Australian continent, from which it is separated by the shallow island-studded Torres Strait, eighty to ninety miles wide at its narrowest part. New Guinea appears to have been first sighted by D'Abrea in 1511; it received its present name in 1546 from Retez (Roda), who was struck by the resemblance of its inhabitants to those of the Guinea coast. In 1793 the East India Company occupied the island of Manasari in Geelvink Bay. In 1848 the Dutch proclaimed their sovereignty over the western half of the island as far as 141 degrees east longitude, and this meridian was accordingly taken as the western boundary of the eastern half in 1884, when that section was divided between Great Britain and Germany. Now a mandatory under the League of Nations.

NIEMEN, A river (length 550 miles; navigable 450 miles) of Russia and Prussia, where it bears the name of Memel. It rises in the Government of Minsk, flows northwest through the Government of Grodno, and, in its further course, through East Prussia, entering the Kurisches Haff 30 miles west of Tilsit. Near Grodno a canal connects the Niemen with the Bober, a 250 mile long river of Prussian Silesia and Brandenburg, and the Vistula.

NISCH, or Nish, the chief town of central Serbia, 152 miles by rail S. E. of Belgrade, conspicuous in the Turkish wars from 1375 to 1878, when it was regained by Serbia. Population 25,000.

NOVOGEORGIEVSK, a Russian fortress of the first rank, on the Vistula, 20 miles N. W. of Warsaw. With Warsaw, Ivangoord and Brest-Litovsk, it forms the Polish Quadrilateral.

NOYON, a town in the French department of Oise, 67 miles N. N. E. of Paris by rail. Pop. 8,000. Noyon was a residence of Charlemagne and Hugo Capet, and the birthplace of Calvin. Twice captured and recaptured in the late war.

OCHRIDA, LAKE OF. Principal lake of Albania. Latitude 41 degrees N., longitude 20 degrees 45 minutes E. Length, from north to south, 18 miles; extreme breadth, 3 miles. Depth, 938 feet. Surrounded by lofty mountains, and is very picturesque.

ODESSA, the fourth city of Russia, on the Black Sea, midway between the estuaries of the Dniester and Dnieper, by rail 967 miles S. S. W. of Moscow and 381 miles S. of Kieff. Odessa was founded only in 1794, near a Turkish fort that fell into Russian hands in 1789, but it quickly became the port of the corn-growing districts of South Russia. Population 500,000 (very many Jews and some Greeks) in 1912.

OESSEL, a Baltic island belonging to Livonia, and lying across the mouth of the Gulf of Riga. It is 45 miles long from N. E. to S. W. and has an area of 1,000 square miles, with a population (chiefly Esthonian) of 60,000. Long governed by the Teutonic Knights, Oesel became Danish in 1559, Swedish in 1645 and Russian in 1721.

OISE, a department in the north of France, separated from the English Channel by Seine-Inférieure. Pop. (1901) 411,028. The rivers are the Oise, a tributary of the Seine, 150 miles long, with its affluents the Aisne and Therain.

OMSK, chief town of the Siberian Province of Akmolinsk, at the Om's confluence with the Irtysh, 1,800 miles E. of Moscow. Population 90,000. Seat in 1919 of the All-Russian Government.

ORENBURG, a town of Russia, on the River Ural, by rail 727 miles E. S. E. of Moscow. Pop. 100,000.

OSTEND, a fashionable watering place in the Belgian Province of West Flanders, on the German Ocean, 77 miles by rail W. N. W. of Brussels. The population is about 44,000. Dating from 1072, Ostend is memorable for the protracted siege by the Spaniards which it underwent from July 7, 1601, to Sept. 20, 1604. Twice again it surrendered—to the Allies in 1706 and to the French in 1745. It was the scene of a brilliant British naval exploit in May, 1918.

OSTERODE, a town of Hanover, at the western base of the Harz Mountains, on the Söse, an affluent of the Leine, 30 miles by rail N. W. of Nordhausen. Its Church of St. Giles (724; rebuilt 1578) contains the graves of the Dukes of Gruben-

YORK TIMES CURRENT HISTORY

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(more than 50 per cent. are Poles).
The country, dotted with many
small lakes, ponds and marshes, is a
low plateau, intersected by the beds
of the Netze, the Warthe and Obra,
all three of which drain into the
Oder. Upward of 61 per cent. of
the area is under tillage; 13 per
cent. is occupied by pastures and
meadows, and 20 per cent. by for-
ests, mostly fir. Principal crops are
rye, wheat, oats, barley, potatoes,
beets and hops. Mineral resources
are practically restricted to lignite
and salt.

The majority of the population is
rural. There are very few large
towns, i. e., of 20,000 inhabitants
and over. Posen, the capital, Gnesen
(up to 1320 coronation town of the
Polish Kings), Bromberg, etc.

Posen was part of the Prussian
booty in the division of Poland
(1772-1793). In 1807, after the
peace of Tilsit, the province was in-
corporated with the grand duchy of
Warsaw, but reverted to Prussia in
1815. In 1848, the Polish inhabitants
revolted against Prussia, which at-
tempted to crush their national as-
pirations. In the latter part of the
19th century, the boundaries of Ger-
many were constantly driven back

rail S. W. of Berlin. The Garrison Church contains the tombs of Frederick William I. and Frederick William II., and the Friedenskirche the tombs of Frederick William IV. and the Emperor Frederick III. Alexander von Humboldt was a native. Population 62,000.

PRAGUE (Bohemian Praha; German Prag) capital of the Czechoslovak Republic, situated on both banks of the River Vltava (German Moldau), 150 miles N. W. of Vienna, and 75 miles S. S. E. of Dresden. Population (1910): 224,721, of which 8.15 per cent. are Germans (the German percentage in 1855 was 57 per cent.).

On the earliest inhabited spot within the precinct of the present city, the hill Vyshehrad (Acropolis), on the right bank of the river, the semi-mythical princess Libussa and her husband the peasant, Przemysl, are said to have lived. During the reign of King Vratislav (1061-1092), many Germans were attracted to the town, which owes its aggrandizement mainly to King Ottakar II. (1253-1378) who, for some time, was the real ruler of Austria, and Emperor Charles IV. (1346-1378), the founder of the Prague University (1348), the oldest university in Germany. During the Hussite War, two of the greatest battles (1420) were fought on the outskirts of the town, the Slavic element came to its own. The antagonism between the Bohemian Protestants and the Catholic dynasty of Hapsburgs, which reached its height under Ferdinand I. (1526-1564), ended in unconditional submission on the part of the capital, which was deprived of many of its liberties and privileges; the Burgomaster was decapitated, Aug. 20, 1547, and on that very day, Ferdinand summoned a meeting of the estates which is known in the history of Bohemia as the "Bloody Diet" (Krvavy Snem).

The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) started at Prague when, on May 23 of the first named year, the Protestant nobles threw from the windows of the council-chamber of the Hradtchany Palace two anti-Bohemian imperial councillors. On Nov. 8, 1620, the day of the battle on the White Mountain, near Prague, is the blackest day in Bohemian history; the utter defeat of the patriots by the imperialist army marked the loss of the country's independence, which practically was not recovered before the proclamation of the present Czechoslovak Republic.

In 1757, the second year of the Seven Years' War, Prague was besieged by Frederick the Great; in 1866 (July 8) the victorious troops of King William I. of Prussia, after the battle of Sadowa, occupied the capital of Bohemia and here the treaty was signed between Austria and Prussia, on Aug. 23.

Prague is rich in ancient and architecturally remarkable monuments; the oldest parts of the famous Town Hall, the tower and the chapel of St. Lawrence were built in 1381. The Tyn Church completed in the 15th century during the reign of the national King, George of Podgebrad, was the religious centre of the Hussite movement; from its pulpit the Hussite Archbishop, John of Rokycan, preached, and one of its greatest historical monuments is the tomb of the famous astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601).

The synagogue in the Josephstradt is one of the oldest Jewish houses of prayer in Europe. World famous is the Hradshin Hill crowned by the palace of the ancient Kings of Bohemia, who were crowned in its nearby church, the Cathedral of St. Vitus.

PREGEL. River of East Prussia (length 180 miles), flows west, and enters the Frisches Haff at its extreme northeastern extremity.

PRIPET MARSHES. Along the old-time frontier, between the ancient kingdom of Poland and Russia proper, the Polish plain dips into a region which apparently was once a vast lake which drained into the Dnieper. The natural outlet becoming choked, the stagnant water formed into the immense morasses known as the Pripet Marshes, forming over two-fifths of the province of Minsk and covering an area of over 600 square miles. Even after 6,000,000 acres had been drained, the German armies often met with marshes extending continuously for over 200 miles.

Over these bogs hang unhealthy vapors, and in the Autumn the stillness of death reigns among the rank reeds there.

PRISREND, a town of Serbia, 72 miles E. by N. of Scutari, Turkish till 1912-1913. Population 20,000.

PRISTINA, a town of Serbia, 59 miles by rail N. of Uskub, Turkish till 1912-1913. Population 18,000.

PRUTH, a left-hand affluent of the Danube, rises in Galicia, on the N. E. side of the Carpathian Mountains, and flows 520 miles eastward past Kolomea and Czernowitz, from where it leaves Austrian territory.

to its mouth in the Danube at Reni, 13 miles below Galatz; it forms the boundary between Russian Bessarabia and Rumania. It is navigable from near Jassy.

PRZEMYSL, a town of Austrian Galicia, on an affluent of the Vistula, 61 miles W. of Lemberg by rail. Since 1874 it has been strongly fortified. Population 54,600, about one-third Jews.

PULTUSK, a town of Poland, 32 miles N. of Warsaw. Here Charles XII. of Sweden defeated the Saxons in 1703, and here in 1806 the French defeated the Russians. The town was destroyed by fire in 1875. Population 20,000.

RADOM, a town of Poland, on a tributary of the Vistula, 60 miles S. of Warsaw. Population 40,000.

RETHEL, a French town (department of Ardennes), 24 miles N. E. of Rheims. Population 5,000.

REVAL, or Revel, a former Russian seaport, capital of Esthonia, stands on a small bay on the south side of the Gulf of Finland, opposite Helsingfors (52 miles distant) and 232 miles by rail W. S. W. of Petrograd. Population 80,000, one-half being Esthonians, and one-fourth of German descent. Founded by Waldemar II. of Denmark in 1219. Reval became a flourishing Hanse town. It was long held (from 1346) by the Livonian Knights, was made over to Sweden in 1561, and was annexed to Russia in 1710.

RHEIMS, a city in the French department of Marne, situated on the Vesle (a tributary of the Aisne), 100 miles E. N. E. of Paris by rail. Strongly fortified with detached forts since the Franco-German war, when it was for a time the German headquarters. Under the Frank rule it was a place of much importance, and in 496 it was the scene of the baptism of Clovis and his chief officers by the Bishop St. Remy. About 360 it became a bishopric, and in the 8th century an archbishopric. From 1179, when Philip Augustus was crowned here, it was the coronation place of the Kings of France, who were anointed from a vessel of sacred oil, the Sainte Ampoule, said to have been carried to St. Remy from heaven by a dove. Joan of Arc brought the Dauphin hither, and the only sovereigns down to 1825 not crowned at Rheims were Henry IV., Napoleon I. and Louis XVIII. In 1793 the cathedral was attacked by the populace and the Sainte Ampoule *smashed by a sansculotte*. Rheims

is one of the principal entrepôts for wines of Champagne. Population (1911) 115,178. Its great cathedral was practically ruined by German artillery during the late war.

RIGA, capital of Livonia, and next after Petrograd and Odessa the third seaport of former Russia, lies on the Dwina, 7 miles from its mouth, and 350 by rail S. W. of Petrograd. The population is about 350,000. Nearly one-half are Germans (with German-speaking Jews), one-fourth Russians, and one-fourth Letts. Riga was founded in 1201, and soon became a first-rate commercial place and Hanse town. It belonged to Poland from 1561, in 1621 was taken by Gustavus Adolphus, and in 1710 was annexed to Russia.

ROSTOFF, (1) a town of South Russia, at the head of the delta of the Don and on the railway from Moscow to the Caucasus. Population 121,300. (2) One of the oldest towns of Russia, 129 miles by rail N. N. E. of Moscow. Population 15,000.

SAARBRUCK, or Saarbrücken, a town of Rhenish Prussia, on the Saar. 40 miles S. E. of Treves, is the centre of a coalfield. Population 105,000. Here, on Aug. 2, 1870, in the first engagement of the Franco-German war, the Germans retreated.

ST. QUENTIN, a town in the French department of Aisne, on the Somme, 95 miles N. E. of Paris and 33 S. of Cambrai. The town is a centre of cotton industries which give employment to 130,000 hands. The population is about 55,600. The Spaniards and an English contingent inflicted a crushing defeat upon the French in 1557. Shortly afterward the town, after a brilliant defense by Coligny, capitulated to the Spanish army. In 1871 the Germans routed the army of Faidherbe here. It formed part of the famous Hindenburg line in the late war.

SALONICA, or Saloniki, a great commercial city of Greece, in Macedonia, at the head of the Gulf of Salonica, 820 miles S. S. E. of Vienna by rail (1889), via Belgrade, Uskub and Nisch. Population 150,000, one-half Jews of Spanish descent. Salonica is the ancient Thessalonica to whose Christian community St. Paul addressed two epistles. Here Cicero dwelt for a time. Thessalonica was built by Cassander about 315 B. C. on the site of the older Therme, and was called after his wife, sister of Alexander the Great. It soon became the principal harbor of Macedonia. Under Byzantine Emperors

it successfully withstood the Goths and the Slavs, but was captured by the Moslems from Africa in 1904, and by the Normans of South Italy in 1185. From the Venetians the Turks took it in 1430. It was the headquarters of the young Turk movement (1908). The Greeks took it in 1912 and retained it in spite of Bulgarian rivalry.

SAMARA, a town of European Russia, on the Volga's left bank, at the influx of the Samara, 656 miles E. S. E. of Moscow by rail. Population (1911) 125,000.

SAMARIA, the capital of the northern kingdom of Israel, after Israel (the Ten Tribes) and Judah became two independent States. It was founded by Omri, on the long flat summit of an isolated hill (1,450 feet), about 5 miles N. W. of Shechem and near the middle of Palestine. About 721 B. C. it fell before the three years' persistency of the Assyrian monarchs, Shalmaneser and Sargon, who carried away nearly all the Hebrew inhabitants of Samaria and Israel captive into Babylonia, sending in their place Assyrian colonists. The new settlers adopted many of the religious practices and beliefs of the remnant of the Israelites among whom they dwelt. When the Jews returned from the captivity and set about the rebuilding of the temple the Samaritans desired to share in the work, but the Jews rejected their assistance, and the Samaritans built (409 B. C.) on Mount Gerizim beyond Shechem a sanctuary to Jehovah as a rival to the temple at Jerusalem. This converted them into bitter enemies, so that henceforward the "Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans." The Samaritans adhered to the revised Pentateuch of Ezra as their sole religious code book. At the present day there still survive 150 of them, collected at Nâblus, the ancient Shechem. The Samaritan language is an archaic Hebrew-Aramaic dialect, and in it are written very ancient versions of the Pentateuch, certain chronicles, hymns and books of religious devotion. Samaria was taken by Alexander the Great and colonized by Macedonians and Hellenized. Twice it was besieged and taken—by Ptolemy I. (312 B. C.) and by Demetrius Poliorcetes (c. 296). The Jewish Captain, John Hyrcanus, laid siege to it (c. 110 B. C.), and at the end of a year destroyed it utterly. Nevertheless, the Samaritans joined the Jews in of-

fering fierce resistance to the Romans, who again destroyed the city. Herod refounded it under the name of Sebaste; and on its site, now called Sebastiya, there still exist parts of a colonnade of the age of Herod, remains of a temple to Augustus and an old crusading church (now a mosque) built over the tomb of John the Baptist. The tombs of six or eight (Omri, Ahab, Jehu, &c.) of the Kings of Israel and those of the prophets Obadiah and Elisha were also at Samaria.

SAMBRE (ancient Sabis). River running through France and Belgium (length 100 miles). It rises in the French Department of Aisne, flows E. by N. E. and joins the Meuse at Namur.

SAMOA. The Samoa, or Navigators' Islands, are a group of islands in the Western Pacific, crossed by 170 degrees W. and 14 degrees S., between 400 and 500 miles N. E. of Fiji. The group consists of nine islands, besides rocks and islets. All except Rose Island are volcanic and are for the most part surrounded with coral reefs. The islands were visited by Bougainville in 1768, and from him they received the name of Illes des Navigateurs as a tribute to the skill of the native boatmen. After 1889 Great Britain, Germany and the United States recognized the independence of the Samoan Government, making provision for a supreme court and the regulation of taxation and land claims. By a further agreement between Britain, Germany and the United States (1899-1900) Upolu and Savaii were assigned absolutely to Germany and the other islands to the United States. Population about 42,000, of whom 35,500 are in the German islands. They are now under the supervision of the League of Nations.

SAN GIOVANNI DI MEDUA, an Albanian port at the mouth of the Drin, 20 miles S. of Scutari.

SAVE. A river of Austria-Hungary (length 500 miles). It is one of the principal affluents of the Danube and rises in the northern part of Carinthia, flowing southeast a long part of the boundary between Carinthia and Styria, and after going through Croatia and touching Slavonia, Bosnia and Serbia, joins the Danube at Belgrade. Its chief affluents are the Unna, Bosna and Drina. The principal city on its banks is Agram, the capital of Croatia.

SCARBOROUGH, the "Queen of Watering Places," in the North Riding of Yorkshire, 54 miles N. of Hull, 21 S. S. E. of Whitby, 43 N. E. of York and 273 N. of London. Population 37,200.

SCARPE. Navigable river in France (length 25 miles). It rises in the Department of Pas-de-Calais and flows east past Arras and Douai, then joins the Schelde at Mortagne, on the frontier of Belgium.

SCHELDE or **SCHELDT** (French Escaut.) It crosses the low and level country of Western Belgium; Tournay, Oudenard, Ghent, Termonde and Antwerp are the principal towns situated on its banks. The river is regulated as far as Ghent, below which it flows into the sea. The Rupel, one of its chief right bank tributaries, is formed by the junction of the Dyle and the Nethe. The Lys, on the left bank, is canalized.

SCUTARI. (1) A town of Asiatic Turkey, on the eastern shore of the Bosphorus, opposite Constantinople. The population is variously estimated at from 40,000 to 60,000. During the Crimean war the barracks on the southern outskirts were occupied as barracks and hospital by the English troops. (2) A town of Albania, at the southern end of the Lake of Scutari, 16 miles from the Adriatic. It was besieged and taken by the Montenegrins in 1912-13 and evacuated under pressure from the powers. Population 30,000.

SEBASTOPOL, a Russian seaport and fortress, is situated near the southwest extremity of the Crimea, on the southern side of one of the finest natural harbors in the world, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from east to west and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile across. The place is celebrated for its eleven months' siege by the allies during the Crimean war of 1854-55. It sustained repeated bombardments until the capture of the Malakoff and Redan works forced the Russians to evacuate the lines and retire to the north side. The town was completely ruined, the docks and forts still standing were blown up by the French and English engineers, and by the Treaty of Paris (1856) were not to be restored; but the restrictions were removed by the conference of London (1871). Since 1885 the Russian Government has restored fortifications and reconstructed the docks, mainly for the imperial navy. Population 65,000.

SEDAN, a frontier town of France, department of Ardennes, stands on the *Meuse*, 64 miles by rail N. E. of *Rheims*. The population is about

20,000. The citadel capitulated to the Germans in 1815; but Sedan is chiefly noted for the surrender (Sept. 2, 1870) of Napoleon III. and 83,000 men to the Germans. The fortress was dismantled after 1875. Marshals Turenne and Macdonald were born here. Previous to its incorporation with France (1642), Sedan was the capital of an independent principality and a Protestant stronghold. Its industrial prosperity was largely due to the influx of Huguenots.

SEMLIN, a frontier town of Slavonia, stands at the junction of the Save and the Danube, above Belgrade. It contains the ruined castle of John Hunyady, who died here. Population 16,000.

SENLIS, a very ancient town of France, department of Oise, 33 miles N. N. E. of Paris. Senlis ceased to be a Bishop's seat in 1801. Population 7,000.

SERAJEVO, capital of Bosnia, 166 miles S. W. by rail of Bosna-Brod, on the Danube, and 100 E. by rail (1891) of Metkovich, a port near the mouth of the Nerenta, in the Adriatic. Population 52,000, nearly all Bosnians by race and more than half Mohammedans, with almost equal numbers of Greek and Roman Catholics, and many Jews. The murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at this place in 1914 was made the occasion of Austria's ultimatum to Serbia.

SERETH. River of Bukowina and Russia (length: about 270 miles). It rises in the Carpathians, 40 miles southwest of Czernowitz. Flows mostly south by south east, and joins the Danube 5 miles west of Galatz (Rumania). Its principal affluents are: Suczava, Moldava, Bistritza.

SIEDLCE, a town of Poland, 57 miles by rail E. by S. of Warsaw. Population 25,000.

SILESIA (Austrian). Bounded on the east by Galicia, on the south by Hungary and Moravia, on the west and north by Prussian Silesia. Area: 1,987 square miles. Population (1910): 756,590, of which 44.7 per cent. is German, 22 per cent. Czech and 33.2 per cent. Polish. A great proportion of the surface is occupied by the offshoots of the Sudetic (W.) and the Carpathian Mountains (E.). The Vistula, which rises in the latter, and the Oder are the principal rivers of the country. Mean annual temperature: 50 F. 49.4 per cent. arable land, 34.2 per cent. forests, 6.2 per cent. pasturages, 5.8 per cent. meadows, 1.3 per cent. gardens,

Dairy farming, rearing of large herds of geese and pigeons, hunting and fishing, mining of coal, iron, marble, and slate are among the principal resources of the industrious little territory whose capital is Troppau (1910: 30,686 inhabitants).

History:—About the year 1000, the whole of Silesia formed part of Poland, to which it belonged until 1201. Since the middle of the 12th century, large German colonists occupied the vacant domains, and by the end of the 13th century Silesia had virtually become German, placing itself, at that time, under the protection of the German kings of Bohemia so as to escape the consequences of a régime of anarchy which threatened the country through the ceaseless quarrels of its many petty rulers.

At the outbreak of the Hussite Wars (1420) the Silesians supported King Sigismund against the Bohemian rebels whom they regarded as dangerous to their German nationality. The Bohemians, in the course of several invasions (1425-1435), devastated the country, whose upper part, from that time, lost forever its exclusive German character. By 1457, the year of ascension to the Bohemian throne of the Hussite, Georg Podiebrad, a complete restitution of the Slavic nationality seemed imminent.

The outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) brought Silesia to the verge of ruin. Its inhabitants, this time, had joined hands with the Bohemian insurgents, renouncing their allegiance to their Austrian ruler. The country remained a principal objective of the various contending armies and was, thereby, gradually reduced to a state of helpless misery, which lasted, almost unmitigated by the efforts of Emperor Charles VI., until the middle of the 18th century. In 1740, Frederick II., of Prussia, basing his claims on testamentary arrangements, entered into, in 1537, between the (Silesian) Duke of Liegnitz and the elector of Brandenburg, invaded Lower Silesia, and Empress Maria Theresa, at that time involved with other enemies, had to cede the larger part of her Silesian duchy to the Prussian king in 1741, attempting in vain, during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), with the help of France and Russia, to reconquer it.

SILESIA (Prussian), bounded by Brandenburg, Posen, the former Russian Poland, Galicia, Austrian Silesia,

Moravia, Bohemia and Saxony. Area, 15,576 square miles. Population (1910), 5,225,962 (with more than 1,000,000 Poles).

The famous Schneekoppe, the highest peak of the Riesengebirge ("Giant Mountains") is 5,260 feet high. Nearly the whole of the country lies within the basin of the Oder, flowing in a southeasterly direction, and dividing the province into two approximately equal parts.

Fifty-six per cent. is occupied by arable land; 10.2 per cent. by pastures and meadows, and nearly 29 per cent. by forests. Silesia is a land of large estates, some extending to 50,000-100,000 acres. Large quantities of game and productive fisheries. The Silesian breed of the merino sheep enjoys a great reputation. Enormously rich coal mines, the output of 1905 (over 34,000,000 tons) represented more than a quarter of the entire yield of Germany. Silesia's zinc deposits are perhaps the richest in the world.

Weaving has been practiced in Silesia on a large scale since the 14th century. Silesian linen still maintains its reputation; cotton and woolen goods of all kinds are produced in great quantities.

In 1900 the percentage of illiterate recruits was .05.

The capital is Breslau, whose population in 1910 was 511,891 inhabitants. Other important towns are Görlitz, Liegnitz, Königshütte, Beuthen, Schweidnitz, Neisse, Glogau.

SINAI, the sacred mountain on which Moses received the tables of the Ten Commandments, is an individual peak in a vast rocky mass that almost fills the peninsula of Sinai. This treeless peninsula is situated on the northwest of Arabia, between the Gulfs of Suez and Akaba, and shut in on the north by the desert.

SINGAPORE, a British dependency in Asia, the most important of the Straits Settlements (q. v.), consists of the islands of Singapore (27 miles long, 14 broad), separated from the southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula by a strait only half a mile wide at its narrowest, and of a great number of very small islands along its shores. This island was purchased in 1824 from the Sultan of Johore. Population of island about 312,000, consisting more largely of Chinese than of Malays and Hindus. Capital, Singapore (Sansk. *Sinhapura*, "Lion City"), occupies a fine site on the SE. coast, little more than

1 degree N. of the equator, on the Strait of Singapore, the principal waterway for vessels trading between Eastern Asia and India and Europe. This city was founded by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819 as an emporium for British trade in the East Indies, and has grown to be the most important trading place in the southeast of Asia. Population about 230,000, three-fourths Chinese.

SKAGER-RAK, an arm of the North Sea, between Denmark and Norway.

SOISSONS, a fortified town of France, department of Aisne, on the River Aisne, 65 miles NE. of Paris by rail, the key of Paris for an army invading France from the Netherlands. Population 12,000. Augusta Suessionum was long the most important Roman town in Northern Gaul. Near it Clovis overthrew Syagrius, the Roman commander, in 486. The same Prince made Soissons the seat of the Frankish monarchy of Neustria. It has been repeatedly captured—e. g., six times during the Hundred Years' War by the Armagnac party in 1414, by Charles V. (1544), the Huguenots (1565), three times in 1814, and by the Germans in 1870. Twice captured and recaptured in the World War.

SOLOMON ISLANDS. Group of mostly oblong and mountainous isles in the Pacific, extending in a direction from northwest to southwest, between latitude 5 and 11 degrees S., and longitude 154 degrees 40 minutes and 162 degrees 30 minutes E. Area about 17,000 square miles. Flora is luxuriant. Frequent earthquakes. Climate is hot, moist and unhealthy.

Melanesian population about 200,000. Principal articles of export—copra, pearl shell and sandalwood.

In 1885 the island group was divided between Great Britain and Germany. The latter was ousted out of her possessions September, 1914, by Australian troops. It was made a mandatory of the League of Nations in 1919.

SOMME, a river of Northern France, rises not far from St. Quentin in the Dep. of Aisne, and flows 150 miles SW. and NW. to the English Channel near St. Valéry.

SOMME, a department of France, formerly part of Picardy, touches the English Channel on the northwest. There are the five arrondissements of Abbeville, Amiens (the capital), Doullens, Montdidier and Péronne. *Population (1911) 520,161.*

STANISLAWOW, or Stanislau, an Austrian town in Galicia, 87 miles SE. of Lemberg. Population 33,000 (about one-half Jews).

STUTTGART, the capital of Württemberg, is situated 2 miles from the Neckar and 189 by rail WNW. of Munich, 127 SSE. of Frankfort. Hegel and Hauff were natives. Population (including Cannstatt) 286,000. Stuttgart has been the capital since 1482.

STYR. River in Galicia, right affluent of the Pripet, joining it after a course of about 250 miles through the Russian Governments of Volhynia and Minsk, 22 miles east of Pinsk.

TABRIZ, a city of Persia, capital of Azerbaïjan province, 40 miles E. of Lake Urmia. Population 170,000.

TARNOPOL, a town of Austrian Galicia, 80 miles ESE. of Lemberg. Population 34,000 (half Jews).

TARNOW, a city of Austrian Galicia, 50 miles E. of Cracow. Population 37,000.

THIONVILLE (Ger. Diedenhofen), a fortified town of Lorraine, 18 miles N. of Metz. Taken by Condé in 1643, it fell with Lorraine to France, but was besieged and taken by the Germans Nov. 9-25, 1870. Population 15,000.

THORN, a town of West Prussia, on the right bank of the Vistula, 31 miles by rail ESE. of Bromberg. Founded by the Teutonic Order in 1231, and a member of the Hanseatic League; became a Polish town in 1454; and was annexed to Prussia in 1793, and again finally in 1815. An important stronghold in the 17th century, it was five times besieged between 1629 and 1813; and since 1878 has been made a fortress of the first rank, the old fortifications being removed and a series of detached forts built. Copernicus was a native; and a colossal bronze statue of him was erected in 1853. Pop. 46,500.

THRACE, a name used by the ancients somewhat vaguely for a large region to the west of the Euxine (Black Sea), so as to include the whole country between the Ister (Danube) and the Aegean, and even part of the Scythian country beyond the Ister. It was accorded to Greece by the Peace Conference.

TIBET, or Thibet, a country in Central Asia, called by the natives Bod or Bodyul, lying between China and India, and inclosed between the Kuen-Lun, Altyn Tagh, and Nanshan Mountains on the N. and the

Himalayas on the S. Area, 700,000 square miles, eight times the size of Great Britain. Tibet is the loftiest region of such extent on the globe; its tablelands vary in height from 17,000 to 10,000 feet. The population is estimated at 6,000,000. The Tibetans are a Mongolic race, much more closely allied to the Burmese than to the Chinese or Mongols proper, and are broad-shouldered and muscular.

TIGRIS, a large river of Asiatic Turkey, rises south of Lake Goljik, in the mountains of Kurdistan, within a few miles of the eastern bend of the Euphrates, and flows 1,150 miles SE., E., and SE. again, till at Kurna it joins the Euphrates (q. v.) 90 miles above its mouth in the Persian Gulf. It receives the Bitlis, Great and Little Zab, and Dyala, all from the left. In its upper course the Tigris is very swift, and it brings down the mud. On its banks are Diarbekir, Mosul, and Bagdad, with the ruins of Nineveh, Seleucia and Ctesiphon. The river is navigable for small steamers to Bagdad.

TILSIT, a town of East Prussia, on the left bank of the Memel or Niemen, 65 miles NE. of Königsberg by rail. Here was signed, on the island in the river, the treaty of 1807 between Russia and Napoleon. Pop. 40,000.

TIRLEMONT, a Belgian town, 30 miles ESE. of Brussels. Here the French, under Dumouriez, defeated the Austrians in 1793. Pop. 18,000.

TOGOLAND. German colony on the Gulf of Guinea, West Africa. Annexed by Germany in 1884.

It is bounded on the south by the Atlantic, on the west by the British possessions on the Gold Coast; on the north and east by the French colonies of Upper Senegal and Dahomey. Area: about 33,700 square miles; population, about 1,000,000 negroes and negroids. In 1910 there were 372 whites, of whom 340 were Germans.

Climate: hot, humid and unhealthy. Flora: oil palms, rubber, timber and dyewood trees. Fauna: elephants and lions in the interior; cattle and sheep, horses and donkeys are plentiful.

It is rich in iron ore. The capital, Lome, a German creation, is a city of about 5,000 inhabitants and the seat of the Governor; it is the sea terminus of the railway systems, has a few churches, schools and hospitals, and several large business houses.

The territory surrendered to Anglo-French forces Aug. 25, 1914. It was made a mandatory of the League of Nations in 1919.

TOUL, a town in the French Dep. of Meurthe-et-Moselle, on the Moselle, 20 miles W. of Nancy. The Tullum Leucorum of the Romans, Toul maintained a semi-independence till 1545; on Sept. 23, 1870, surrendered to the Germans after bombardment; and since has been strongly fortified with a cordon of forts. Pop. about 10,000.

TRANSYLVANIA (i. e., "Beyond the Woods" from Hungary. Hungarian: Ardeal-forest country; German: Siebenburgen). Bounded by Hungary proper on the west and north, by Bukowina on the northeast and by Rumania on the east and south. Area about 21,000 square miles; population (1910) 2,678,367. The country, forming an irregular circle, is surrounded on all sides by the so-called Transylvanian Mountains, the southern continuation of the Carpathians, which, on the east and south borders, form a huge natural fortress. The highest peak (Negoi) is 8,345 feet high.

The principal rivers are the Maros, Aluta (which pierces the famous Roteturm Pass to enter Rumania) and the Szamos. Hot Summers alternate with very cold Winters, but the climate is healthy. There are numerous mineral springs of all kinds.

22.6 per cent. is arable land, 16.5 per cent. meadows and gardens, 9.5 per cent. pastures, 37.3 per cent. forests, 13.5 per cent. unproductive soil. The principal occupations of the inhabitants are agriculture, cattle raising and mining. Luxuriant vegetation: Maize, wheat, rye, hemp, flax, tobacco, &c. Fauna: Bears, wolves, foxes, boars, chamois, buf-faloes.

Transylvania has the richest gold mines in Europe; 1900 output about \$1,500,000. Other metals are silver, copper, lead and iron. The production of coal has been retarded by the abundance of timber.

The population is composed of Hungarians, Szeklers (a mixed race closely akin to the Hungarians), Saxons and Rumanians, which latter form the majority of the inhabitants. The Saxons are the posterity of the German immigrants brought by King Geza II (1141-61) from Flanders and the lower Rhine to repopulate and cultivate desolated territories.

Their literary language is high German; their spoken language is a kind of low German. The gypsies, many of whom have now taken to agriculture or gold washing, are estimated at about 50,000. Armenians, Bulgarians, Ruthenians and Greeks complete the ethnic mosaic.

The Hungarians are mostly Roman Catholics or Unitarians, the Germans Protestants, while the Rumanians adhere to the Greek Orthodox Church.

Transylvania formed part of the Roman province of Dacia. In 1004 King Stephen I. of Hungary became master of the land. In 1526 (after the battle of Mohacs) the voivode (Prince) John Zapolya became its independent ruler. In 1699 the Porte, which for more than a century and a half supported the successors of Zapolya against the House of Austria, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hapsburg dynasty over the country, which in 1765 was raised to a Grand Duchy by Maria Theresa. In 1849 Transylvania was separated from Hungary, but it was completely reincorporated with it in 1867. It is now incorporated in the Kingdom of Rumania.

TREBIZOND, the capital of a province of NE. Asia Minor, and a flourishing Black Sea port. It is surrounded by walls, outside which are Christian suburbs. On the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, one of the imperial Byzantine family, Alexis, founded the Empire of Trebizond—which stretched from the Phasis to the Halys—and repelled the Turks till 1462. Population, 50,000.

TRENT, a town of Austria, in the S. Tyrol, on the Adige's left bank, 145 miles by rail SSW. of Innsbruck, and 59 N. of Verona. Population, 30,000. Italian from 1809 to 1813. Trent is still quite Italian in aspect, language and habits, and the restoration to Italy of it and the district (Trentino), with Trieste, is the aim of irredentist agitation. It has been accorded to Italy by the Peace Treaty of 1919.

TREVISO, a town of Italy, 17 miles N. of Venice. Population, 41,000.

TRIESTE, the most important seaport of Austro-Hungary, and the chief trading town on the Adriatic, stands at the head of the Gulf of Trieste, an arm of the Gulf of Venice, 370 miles by rail SSW. of Vienna. In 1849 it was constituted an imperial free city, and attached and belonging to it is a

territory 36 square miles in extent. Population (1911), 229,475 (mostly Italian-speaking). Trieste was of importance under the Romans. In 1382 it passed finally to Austria. It is now under Italian sovereignty.

TSING-TAU, capital of the former German protectorate of Kiaochow, a free port with a good harbor, growing trade and a railway to Tsi-nan. Now under Japanese control.

TULA (Too'la), a town of Russia, 110 miles S. of Moscow by rail. It manufactures iron and steel goods, especially firearms. Population, 135,000. Area of Tula Government 12,000 square miles. Population, 1,800,000.

UDINE, a walled town of Italy, 85 miles by rail NE. of Venice. Population, 17,000.

UKRAINE, long contended for by Poland and Russia, is now an independent State.

USKUB, an old capital of Serbia, 130 miles NW. of Saloniki by rail, recovered from Turkey in 1912. Population, 30,000.

UST URT ("ü" as "oo"), the desert plateau between the Caspian and the Sea of Aral.

VALENCIENNES, a town and first-class fortress of France, in the department of Nord, stands at the entrance of the Rhonelle into the Scheldt (which flows through the town in several arms), by rail 155 miles NNE. of Paris and 58 SW. of Brussels. Valenciennes was ceded to France in 1678, and was taken by the Allies in 1793, after a siege of 84 days, but restored next year. Population, 35,000.

VAN, a walled town of former Turkey in Asia, the capital once of an Armenian kingdom, near the SE. shore of Lake Van, 145 miles SE. of Erzerum. Population, 35,000.

VERDUN, a fortified French town in the department of Meuse, 35 miles W. of Metz by rail. Population, 23,100. The fortress has been often besieged, in 1870 by the Germans for six weeks, when it capitulated. Scene of heroic and successful defense by the French in the World War.

VERMELLES, a village SW. of La Bassée, for two months, almost, the centre of continuous fighting. It was captured by the French Dec. 7, 1914.

VERVIERS, a Belgian town on the Vesdre, 15 miles ESE. of Liège. Pop. 47,000.



VIBORG, capital of a division of Finland, at the head of an inlet from the Gulf of Finland, 75 miles NW. of Petrograd, with Transund, 8 miles distant, for its port. Pop. 53,000.

VILNA, capital of a Government of W. Russia, on the Villia, 430 miles SW. of Petrograd by rail. Pop. 188,000. It was the Lithuanian capital.

VISTULA, a great river of Poland, rises in Austrian Silesia, 3,600 feet above sea level, among the outliers of Carpathians. Formed by three head waters, the White, Little and Black Vistulas, it flows 650 miles northward, but with many bends, and receiving the Bug and other tributaries, past Cracow, Warsaw, Plock, Lipno, Thorn, Kulm, Graudenz and Danzig till it enters the Baltic Sea by several mouths.

VITRY-LE-FRANCOIS, a fortified town in the French dept. Marne, on the Marne, 127 miles E. by S. of Paris. Pop. 7,984.

VLADIMIR, a town of Russia, on the Kliasma's left bank, 120 miles NE. of Moscow by rail. Founded in the twelfth century, it was in the fourteenth century practically capital of Russia. Pop. 30,000.

VLADIVOSTOK, a town of E. Asiatic Russia, near the north limit of Korea, on Peter the Great Bay. It has one of the finest harbors in the world. Here, in 1891, the Czarevitch cut the first sod of the great Transsiberian Railway. Founded in 1861, it had in 1910 a population of 90,000.

VOLHYNIA, a Government of W. Russia; area 27,743 square miles. Pop. 3,900,000.

VOLOGDA, capital of a NE. province of Russia on the River Vologda, 260 miles NE. of Moscow by rail. Pop. 32,000.

VOSGES, a range of mountains separating Alsace from the French departments of Vosges and Meurthe and the German Lorraine, and lying partly in Northeastern France and Western Germany; highest summits 4,100-4,677 feet.

VOSGES, a mountainous department of Northeastern France, formed out of the south part of the old province of Lorraine and bounded E. by German Alsace. Area 2,300 square miles; population (1911) 433,914.

WARSAW (Polish Warszawa; German Warschau; French Varsovie), formerly capital of the Kingdom of Poland (1587-1794), on the left bank

of the Vistula, 625 (695?) miles SSW. of Petrograd, and 320 (387?) miles E. of Berlin; built mostly upon a hill, rising something over 100 feet above the river. The old town, with its narrow streets, bears a somewhat medieval aspect. The famous suburb of Praga, stormed by the Russians in 1794, lies on the right bank of the Vistula.

Population (1912) 821,369. The old royal castle, erected by the Masovian dukes—Duke Conrad (9th century) is the reputed founder of the town—was greatly embellished by King John Sobieski (1624-1696), and the last King of Poland, Stanislas Poniatowski (1732-1798).

The university, founded in 1816, but suspended after the Polish revolution of 1830-31, was reopened in 1869 as a Russian institution (number of students in 1913 was 2,415).

Next to Lodz, Warsaw is the principal industrial town of Russian Poland, and, generally speaking, one of the most pleasant and animated cities of Eastern Europe.

July 28-30, 1656, near Warsaw, the Poles (King John Casimir) were defeated by Charles X. of Sweden and Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg. In 1795 Prussia annexed the city; in 1807 the latter and its surroundings were raised to a duchy; in 1813 Warsaw was incorporated with the Russian Empire. In 1919 it became the capital of the Republic of Poland.

WARTHE (Polish Warta), river of Russian Poland and Germany (length over 450 miles; navigable for 250 miles). It rises 35 miles northwest of Cracow, flows in a generally northwestern direction through a level and in part marshy country, joining the Oder at Kustrin. There is canal communication (through the Netze) with the Vistula.

WELLAND CANAL, a canal 26½ miles long, running through Canadian territory between Lakes Ontario and Erie. At least two attempts appear to have been made by Germans in the United States to destroy it, both of which were failures.

WILHELMSHAVEN, the chief naval port of Germany, on the W. side of the entrance of the Bay of Jahde, 45 miles NW. of Bremen. It is a fortress of the first rank. Pop. 35,000.

WINDAU, a Russian seaport in Courland, 120 miles NE. of Memel. Pop. 7,094.

YPRES, a Belgian town 30 miles SSW.

of Bruges by rail and 8 miles from the French frontier. It once was one of the most important manufacturing towns in Flanders, with 200,000 inhabitants in the 14th century and 4,000 looms. Pop. 17,000. Ypres is a very old town, dating from the 9th and 10th centuries. In 1688 it was strongly fortified by Louis XIV. Scene of terrific fighting in the World War.

YSER, a small Belgian coast river which, like the Meuse and the

Schelde, comes from France. After passing Nieuport it flows into the North Sea.

ZAMOSC, a fortified town of Russian Poland, 154 miles SE. of Warsaw. Pop. 16,500.

ZEEBRUGGE, port on the west coast of Belgium used by the Germans as a submarine base during the war. It was the scene of a brilliant British naval attack April 22, 1918, that inflicted severe damage upon harbor and mole.



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